BIBLIOTHECA CLASSICA.

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THE ANNALS OF TACITUS,

WITH A COMMENTARY

BY THE

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INTRODUCTION.

An editor of Tacitus is not much troubled by the task of collation. For the text of the first six books of the Annals there is but one authority. The Codex Mediceus prior was discovered by Arcimboldus in the Abbey of Corvey, in Westphalia, and placed by him in the hands of Leo X. On the death of that Pope the manuscript was deposited in the library of the Medici at Florence. It contains the first six books of the Annals (as at present arranged). The exact date of the Codex is uncertain; the ninth, tenth, or eleventh centuries are assigned as the period of its transcription. Ritter (see his preface) puts it in the ninth century; others, with greater probability, in the eleventh.

The Codex Mediceus alter contains the Annals from the eleventh book to the end of the sixteenth, and the five books of the History. It is written in the Lombard character, and in many places, where the writing is very faint, the gaps have been restored by another hand; not always accurately. At the end of one of the books there is a note appended: "Ego Sallustius legi et emendavi Romae felix Olibrio et Probino V. C. Cons. in foro Martis controversias declamans Oratori Endelechio. Rursus Constantinupoli recognovi Caesario et Attico Conss." This was of course reproduced from an older MS., from which the Codex Mediceus was transcribed. The date of this Codex Mediceus alter may have been also of the eleventh century. There are three other codices found in the Florentine Library, one containing the Annals from the eleventh book to the end, and the first two books of the History; the other two the same books of the Annals and the whole of the History now extant. They all are assigned to the fifteenth century. Beside these there are the Codex Farnesianus, containing the Annals from the eleventh to the sixteenth books, and the whole of the History; the date of which is supposed to be the fifteenth century; the Codex Budensis; the Codex Gudianus; the Codex Genuenis; the Codices Vaticani, Oxonienses, &c. But all these have no independent authority, being copies of the Mediceus alter, or copies of a copy.

Some account will naturally be looked for of the principle on which I have settled the spelling of the text. On examining it in the most

cursory manner, the reader will observe an absence of uniformity : the same words are not always written in the same way. This is intentional; not the result of mere oversight. As far as I can judge, the Roman writers themselves did not practise uniformity. In the majority of words, of course, there is only one way of spelling them rightly; but in others the usage does not appear to have been constant: it oscillated between two, or sometimes more forms. This is a fact settled beyond dispute. For instance, in the new Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, 'imperium' occurs three times, 'inperium' six. This variety of spelling in the inscriptions is borne out by a similar variety in the best manuscripts; and, as Professor Munro observes (Introd. to Lucret. Not. 1), the "sole relic of Latin yet disinterred from Herculaneum contains this verse, 'Utraque solemnis iterum revocaverat orbes.'" Consequently, I have not made a point of being more consistent than the Roman writers themselves appear to have been. Some words, as before remarked, can only be spelled correctly in one way; and where this is the case, I have so spelled them, in spite of the manuscripts. If I found 'coelum' in a MS., I should still write it 'caelum,' because the former is due to a false derivation; and, as far as I know, it is always 'caelum' in the inscriptions and MSS. beyond a certain date. In the text, therefore, 'caelum,' 'maestus,' 'silva,' 'cetera,' are always so printed. But in cases where the usage fluctuates, I have followed the MS. in its fluctuations; and so, not unfrequently within a few lines of the text, the same word will be found differently spelled; the explanation being that the difference is that existing in the MS.

Whenever the forms 'aput,' 'aliquit,' 'aliut,' 'quicquit,' 'illut,' and the like, occur in the MS. for 'apud,' 'aliquid,' 'aliud,' 'quicquid,' 'illud,' &c., I have so printed them; whenever these latter forms occur, I have printed *them.* This interchange of 't' and 'd' is very common. Quintilian remarks (Institutes of Oratory, i. 4. 16), that on old buildings at Rome 'Alexanter' and 'Cassantra' were found.

In i. 2 I have printed 'exsuto' for 'exuto.' The Medic. Cod. prior always so writes the word. 'Ex' and 'exs' were used by old writers quite indiscriminately. In the Monum. Ancyran. there occur 'sexsiens' and 'sexiens;' and in the epitaphs on the Scipios, 'saxsum' is found for the usual 'saxum;' and on a Gallic coin, 'Vercingetorixs.' So 'exsto' and 'exto' are found indifferently. Where, consequently, the MS. has 'exsutus,' I retain it; if 'exutus' is the reading, I retain *that.*

In i. 2 I keep 'reliqus' for 'reliquus.' The old Latins had the forms 'equos,' 'equs,' 'ecus,' for instance, but 'equus' not until later. Such varieties as 'relinquont,' 'relinqunt,' 'relincunt,' 'sequontur,' 'secuntur,' 'locuntur' occur in good MSS. for the more usual 'relinquunt,' 'sequuntur,' 'loquuntur.' Originally 'reliquus' was used as a four-syllable word (Lucret. i. 560; Plaut. Asin. ii. 4. 36), but

afterwards it became a trisyllable, and then could no doubt be written 'reliquus,' 'reliqus,' or 'relicus.' So 'promiscuus,' 'promisqus,' 'promiscus.'

In i. 4 I print 'omnis' for 'omnes,' with the Cod. Med.; so 'levis,' iii. 39; 'brevis,' ii. 6; 'memoris,' ii. 14; 'fetialis,' iii. 64, and elsewhere. I have simply in this point followed the MS. Varro (De Ling. Lat. viii. 66) says, "Sine reprehensione vulgo alii dicunt in singulari hac ovi et avi, alii hac ove et ave; in multitudinis hae puppis restis, et hae puppes restes." In the fragment of a very old MS. of Virgil, the date of which may be somewhere within the first three centuries after Christ, there are 'putris' and 'messis,' but 'messes' in the accusative. (See Munro's Lucret. Introd. Not. 1, whence I have drawn the above remarks.) 'Scipionis,' in ii. 33, I do not retain, because there is, as far as I know, no corroborative evidence of the existence of this form of the word. 'Sonoris,' 'doloris,' 'maioris' are found; but as 'e' and 'i' are often interchanged in the Cod. Med. I have not followed it in reading 'Scipionis.' In i. 69 I read 'laudis,' because 'laudium' is found elsewhere.

In i. 5 the Cod. Med. has 'conscis' for 'consciis.' As the genitives singular of substantives in 'ium' were almost always written with one 'i,' and the dative plural is also found similarly spelled (e. g. "ut interessent consilis publicis," in the Marm. Ancyr.), I have followed the MS. in such cases, writing 'conscis' for 'consciis,' 'is' for 'iis,' &c.

In i. 35 the Med. Cod. reads 'im pectus' for 'in pectus,' the preposition cohering intimately with its substantive, and the 'n' being assimilated to the initial consonant. So 'im Macronem,' vi. 43; 'im melius,' xii. 33; 'im penatibus,' xii. 2; 'sup pellibus,' xiv. 38; 'im modum,' xiv. 30; 'im mucronem,' xv. 54. I cannot understand how a transcriber would so write, unless he found these forms in the MS. he copied from. They do not occur systematically enough to render them apparently intended to carry out a preconceived theory, and yet are found too often to make them probably due to mere blundering. Similarly in Greek inscriptions εἰς τὴμ πόλιν is not uncommon for εἰς τὴν πόλιν, and ἐμ πόλει for ἐν πόλει. Nevertheless I have lacked the courage necessary to print these forms, although my own impression is that they are correct.

In i. 31 I have retained 'vicessima.' There are three forms occurring, 'vicesimus,' 'vicensimus,' 'vicessimus.' With reference to the last form, Quintilian remarks that in the time of Cicero, and somewhat later, the letter 's,' as often as it occurred between two long vowels, or followed a long vowel, was doubled, as 'caussae,' 'cassus,' 'divissiones' (Instit. of Orat. i. 7. § 20). There was no difference of pronunciation corresponding to the difference of spelling, 'causa' and 'caussa' being identical in sound. So 'obbrutesco' or 'obrutesco,' 'opportunus' or 'oportunus.' Servius says (Aen. i. 616), that in 'applicat' only one 'p' is sounded. I have

similarly retained the double 's' where the MS. gives it in 'accussator' (often), in 'lussisse' (i. 71), 'omississet' (ii. 85).

In i. 58 I have retained 'incolomitatem' for 'incolumitatem.' The interchange of 'o' and 'u' is common in inscriptions. For instance, 'nontiata' ('nunciata'), 'quomque' ('quumque'), 'aequom' ('aequum'), 'rei poplicae' ('reipublicae'), all occur in the Tiburtine Inscription. Again, 'consentiont' ('consentiunt'), 'filios' ('filius'), 'Luciom' ('Lucium'), 'mortuos' ('mortuus'), are all found in the epitaphs on the Scipios. In the Columna Rostrata, 'Duilios' ('Duilius'), 'consol' ('consul'), 'opidom' ('oppidum') occur, with other instances elsewhere.

In i. 61 I have retained 'elabsi.' Lucretius (v. 489) has 'elabsa,' and (vi. 92) 'praescribta;' and Virgil (Georg. i. 200), 'sublabsa.' This use of 'b' for 'p,' as Professor Munro observes, seems to have become more common in the silver age, as 'scriptus' is always written with 'p' in the new Corpus Inscrip. Latin.

In iii. 23 the Cod. Med. has 'aqua adque igni' for 'aqua atque igni.' This form is often found in the best MSS., and in inscriptions. I have therefore left it so, not without some misgivings as to the propriety of doing so.

In xi. 18 the Cod. Med. alter has 'tracxere,' and in 19, 'aucximus.' I have left the words in that form wherever they so occur. So Lucret. (iii. 1044), 'restincxit'—'cx,' 'x' being pronounced exactly alike; the reduplication of the consonant making no difference in the sound.

In i. 17, and iii. 54, the Cod. Med. has 'ad Hercule;' in iii. 69, 'ad Cornelius;' in iii. 72, 'ad Pompei'—in all these cases 'ad' being the reading for the usual 'at.' Quintilian (Instit. of Orat. i. 7. 5) observes that there had been a distinction *observed by many*, that 'ad,' when a preposition, should take the letter 'd,' but, when a conjunction, the letter 't.' It is a fair inference, I think, that Quintilian himself disregarded this distinction, and wrote 'ad' or 'at' indiscriminately. I think, probably, I should have been right in leaving these readings as they are found; but in an edition for general use it may not be wise to introduce a great number of forms to which the reader has been unaccustomed: a principle which will account for my reluctance to follow the MS. always, in printing, for instance, 'at quot' (i. 74) for 'ad quod,' and such forms as 'inquid,' 'velud,' &c., which *may* nevertheless be correct.

In i. 79, and elsewhere, I have retained 'permities' where the MS. gives it. These forms, 'permities,' 'permitiabilis,' &c., occur in the best manuscripts, and must have been in use by the Romans. These forms have been objected to on the ground that no sufficient explanation of them has been offered by any one, no probable derivation for them suggested. I should think it an adequate reply, that we are not bound to give any such explanation or derivation. The question is one of fact:

were they or were they not in use? If they were, they require no accounting for, except as a matter of curiosity. To take a parallel case in our own language. There is no doubt whatever as to the proper spelling of the word 'diocese;' nevertheless for years it appeared in a daily paper in the form of 'diocess.' So we continually find 'syren' for 'siren' in newspapers and books. If an editor of any work were to reproduce these words as he had reason to believe the original composer wrote them, I cannot see that he would be doing wrong, or in the least bound to supply derivations for the inaccurate forms 'diocess' or 'syren.'

LIFE OF TACITUS.

The praenomen of Tacitus is uncertain. In the Codex Mediceus, the sole authority for the first six books, he is styled P. Cornelius Tacitus in the margin, and in the subscriptions of the first three books—"finit P. Corneli Lib. i. (ii. iii.)." Apollinaris Sidonius (iv. 14 and 22) calls him Gaius. Consequently we must be content to know that in calling him Cornelius Tacitus we are correct; and that in calling him any thing more we may go wrong. His father was apparently procurator of Belgica: Pliny the elder (N. H. vii. 16) says, "Ipsi non pridem vidimus eadem fere omnia in filio Corneli Taciti Equitis Romani Belgicae Galliae rationes procurantis." Pliny the younger (Epist. vi. 20) speaks of himself as being in his eighteenth year when the famous eruption of Vesuvius took place, A.D. 79; elsewhere (vii. 20) he describes himself and Tacitus as nearly contemporaries: "aetate propemodum aequales: equidem adulescentulus cum tu iam fama gloriaque floreres." Pliny the younger was consequently born in A.D. 61 or 62, and Tacitus would probably be his senior by something like five years. This would make him born about A.D. 56 or 57. Interamna, now Terni, claims the honour of being the birth-place of Tacitus, and his remains were supposed to be deposited in some one of the tumuli which formerly existed near that town, until they were disturbed by some fanatic who regarded the illustrious historian as thus fittingly punished for his account of Christianity. When Tacitus grew towards manhood, his desire was to distinguish himself as an orator at the bar, and with a view to this he became a close attendant on Marcus Aper and Julius Secundus, at that period the great ornaments of the Forum (Dialog. de Orat. 2), and no doubt profited by his connexion with them, for Pliny (Epp. ii. 1.) speaks of his eloquence: "(Verginius Rufus) laudatus est a consule Cornelio Tacito. Nam hic supremus felicitati eius cumulus accessit, laudator eloquentissimus." It was not long before Tacitus looked round for a wife; and he was successful in obtaining for himself the daughter of Cn. Julius Agricola, subsequently legatus of Britain. The betrothal took place in the year 77 A.D., in the consulship of Agricola, and the marriage probably shortly after the expiration of his magistracy. Cf. Agricola 9: "Consul egregiae tum spei filiam iuveni mihi despondit ac post consulatum

collocavit, et statim Britanniae praepositus est." At the period of his marriage, then, Tacitus was about twenty-two. He, no doubt, was a man of some note subsequently to this, and began the usual career of office. His first magistracy was held under Vespasian, the second probably under Titus. In the History (i. 1) he gives some account of his gradual rise to honours: "Dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano inchoatam, a Tito auctam, a Domitiano longius provectam non abnuerim." Titus was princeps for a short time only, from the latter half of A.D. 79 to the latter part of A.D. 81. Within that period Tacitus was probably tribunus plebis or aedilis; if he were the former in A.D. 80, and one whole year elapsed between the quaestorship and tribunate, as in the case of his father-in-law Agricola (Agric. 6, "Mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis, atque etiam ipsum tribunatus annum"), Tacitus would have been quaestor in the year A.D. 78; or if two whole years elapsed, then in A.D. 77. He may have been aedilis on this supposition A.D. 82 or 83, but at all events he was praetor in the year A.D. 88. In the Annals (xi. 11) he speaks of himself as present at the ludi saeculares celebrated by Domitian while discharging that office: "Isque intentius adfui sacerdotio quindecimvirali praeditus ac tunc praetor." This was in the year A.D. 88. Shortly afterwards Tacitus left Rome accompanied by his wife. At all events they were both absent at the period of the death of Agricola, in the year A.D. 93, and Tacitus represents his absence from Rome to have been of four years' duration: "Nobis tam longae absentiae conditione ante quadriennium amissus es" (Agric. 45), although we may give a different meaning to these words. The cause of his absence is unknown; that he was banished by Domitian is improbable, I think, for he speaks of the honours he received under that princeps, and gives no hint of different treatment. He may, of course, have been during this period engaged in the government of some province, or, on the other hand, he may have retired from Rome and political life, to avoid the dangers of eminence under the later years of Domitian, or the guilt of complicity with his enormities. Whether he returned to Rome before the death of Domitian seems to me uncertain. From his expression in the Agricola, 45, "Mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus, nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit," it has been inferred that Tacitus himself was present at these scenes. If so, as Helvidius Priscus the younger was put to death under Domitian, A.D. 93 or 94, Tacitus must have returned immediately after the death of his father-in-law. But possibly in the words above quoted Tacitus may have been speaking rhetorically, and alluding to the conduct of the Senate of which he was a member, rather than his own personal share in the proceedings. Nevertheless I think the presumption is that he was really himself present. If so, then, as the motives which influenced him to leave the city after his praetorship, on the ground of avoiding danger under Domitian, would still be in force, I am inclined to suppose that the

cause of his four years' absence was his appointment to a provincial government.

However this may be, he was at Rome in the year 97 A.D., and was appointed consul suffectus with Nerva on the death of T. Virginius Rufus, whose funeral oratio was pronounced by Tacitus (Plin. Epp. ii. 1, quoted above). Nerva died A.D. 98, and during the short period between the close of the year 96 A.D. and the early spring of 98 A.D., Tacitus is usually supposed to have written the Agricola, because in the third chapter of that Biography he speaks of Nerva Caesar without the prefix of Divus elsewhere used (H. i. 1). But I think the form of the sentence—"Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit principatum ac libertatem augeatque quotidie felicitatem imperii Nerva Traianus"—combined with a remark elsewhere (Agric. 44): "sicuti durare in hac beatissimi saeculi luce ac principem Traianum videre, quod augurio votisque apud nostras aures ominabatur"—conveys to the reader a clear impression that the work was composed under Trajan. It was, without any doubt, under that Emperor that the Germania saw the light. He says (in c. 37), "Sexcentesimum et quadragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat cum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma, Caecilio Metello ac Papirio Carbone consulibus: ex quo si ad alterum Imperatoris Traiani consulatum computemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni colliguntur." The date of Trajan's second consulate is 98 A.D.; and that is the date of the writing of the Germania. The History was also composed under Trajan, as may be inferred from a passage already alluded to in the work itself (i. 1): "Quod si vita suppeditet principatum divi Nervae et imperium Traiani, uberiorem securioremque materiam, senectuti seposui, rara temporum felicitate ubi sentire quae velis, et quae sentias dicere licet." From the presence of the epithet 'Divus' in the mention of Nerva, and its absence in that of Trajan, there can be no doubt that Nerva was already dead, and Trajan yet living. The work begins with the second consulate of Galba, in the year 69 A.D., and extends to the death of Domitian, 96 A.D., and is said by Jerome (In Comment. ad Zachariam, c. 14) to have consisted of fourteen books; for he speaks of the whole narrative composed by Tacitus, from the death of Augustus to that of Domitian, as embracing thirty books: allowing sixteen of these for the Annals, the remainder must have made up the History. Meanwhile Tacitus did not altogether discontinue his forensic occupations. Marius Priscus (Plin. Ep. ii. 11), proconsul of Africa, was accused by the provincials of mal-administration; of banishing a Roman knight, and putting several of his friends to death; and of strangling another Roman knight, in consideration of receiving 300,000, and 700,000 serterces, as the price of the crime, from those at whose instances these murders were committed. Priscus demanded to be tried by judices, and not by the Senate. Pliny the younger and Tacitus on behalf of the Afri, for whom they were appointed to plead, resisted the demand of Priscus. In the year 100 A.D.

the cause was heard before the Senate; and ultimately Priscus was fined 700,000 sesterces, and banished from Italy; the Senate declaring that Pliny and Tacitus had discharged their duty faithfully. Priscus, however, did not seem much the worse for his condemnation, for he is the Marius of whom Juvenal speaks (i. 49): "Exul ab octava Marius bibit et fruitur Dis iratis: at tu, victrix Provincia, ploras." Tacitus pursued his literary employment after the completion of the History. He proposed to give a narrative of the earlier Empire, from the death of Augustus to the close of Nero's rule; so presenting a continuous recital of events, from the beginning of the principatus of Tiberius to the death of Domitian, with the trifling exception perhaps of that very small period which elapsed between the death of Nero and the beginning of the second consulship of Galba (H. i. 1). The Annals, the title by which this second historical work is known, was written after the History; for Tacitus speaks (xi. 11) of certain computations as fully detailed in those books which contained the events of Domitian's reign, alluding clearly to the History. The time at which the Annals were composed may be pretty nearly ascertained from a passage in ii. 61: "Exin ventum Elephantinen ac Syenen claustra olim Romani imperii, quod nunc rubrum ad mare patescit." It was Trajan who in his expedition to the East, in the years 114, 115 A.D., extended the frontier of the Empire (Eutrop. viii. 3). The Annals, then, could not have been written before the year 115 A.D. There is no proof, as far as I am aware, that the term Annals was originally applied especially to this portion of the writings of Tacitus. In the Codex Mediceus the only heading is "ab excessu divi Augusti," and in the Codex Mediceus alter, as I gather (see Orelli's Introduction to the Annals), the books are numbered from xi. to xxi. uninterruptedly; the last five being the books of the History. Tacitus himself in the Annals (iii. 65, iv. 32, xiii. 21) no doubt speaks of them under that name: "Quod praecipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit;" again, "Nemo annales nostros cum scriptura eorum contenderit, qui veteres populi Romani res composuere;" and lastly, "Cum ex dignitate populi Romani repertum sit res inlustres annalibus, talia diurnis actis mandare." But he uses the word elsewhere: "Quod si vatum, annalium ad testimonia vocentur, plures sibi ac locupletiores esse" (iv. 43); "Graecorum annalibus ignotus" (ii. 88); "miles nuntios introitus aperta secreta velut in annales referebat." Clearly the term in these passages does not seem to be used in distinction to 'Historia;' but in the sense of historical composition generally. I believe Tertullian (in Apol. adv. Gent. 16) is the only authority for the designation of the narrative from Galba's second consulate by the title of Histories, as distinguished from the term Annals applied to the earlier portion of the entire work: "hanc," he writes, "Cornelius Tacitus suspicionem eiusmodi inseruit. Is enim in quinta Historiarum suarum bellum Iudaicum exorsus," &c. I think it, consequently, very doubtful whether Tacitus made any distinction of title

between the two portions successively composed; and possibly he termed the work neither 'annales' nor 'historiae,' but simply "ab excessu Divi Augusti:" the probability nevertheless being that if any specific title was employed, it was 'annales' for the entire work.

Besides the works already mentioned, Tacitus had formed the idea of writing others: the principatus of Nerva, and Trajan (H. i. 1), and a life of Augustus (Ann. iii. 24) are spoken of as the occupation of future years: whether he wrote them or was prevented by death from doing so, is a point of which we must be content to be ignorant. The Annals, as we have seen, could not have been written much before the close of Trajan's life (A.D. 117); but whether Tacitus survived that Emperor or not is also unknown. The Emperor Marcus Claudius Tacitus (A.D. 275) professed to deduce his pedigree from the illustrious historian—whether rightly or wrongly there is no evidence to show.

There is a work usually ascribed to Tacitus, a Dialogus de Oratoribus. It was composed A.D. 75: "sextam iam felicis huius principatus stationem qua Vespasianus rem publicam fovet" (c. 17). At this date Tacitus would be something under twenty, and the writer of the Dialogue was, according to his own account, a very young man (c. 2, &c.). It is assigned to him by the Codices Neapolitani and Vaticani ("C. Cornel. Taciti dialogus de Oratoribus feliciter incipit"). To the objection that the style is not like that of Tacitus in his acknowledged writings, it is an easy reply, that the style of a young man at eighteen, and the same man at sixty-eight, are not generally the same. I think we may acquiesce contentedly in the general belief until something arises to disprove it: at present there is nothing.

It will naturally be a matter of interest to ascertain from what source Tacitus drew his information with reference to the events he describes. First, "oral tradition" furnished him with details in sundry cases. Cf. iii. 16: "Audire me memini ex senioribus visum saepius inter manus Pisonis libellum quem ipse non vulgaverit." The date of Piso's trial was about A.D. 20. Tacitus himself was born probably about A.D. 56. As there is a space between these epochs of something more than thirty years only, our author might easily have conversed with many who lived under Tiberius and were acquainted with the details of his reign. For instance (iii. 65), he tells us, "Memoriae proditur Tiberium quotiens curia egrederetur Graecis verbis in hunc modum eloqui solitum." Another tradition is spoken of in iv. 10: "Non omiserim eorundem temporum rumorem, validum adeo ut nondum exolescat;" and iv. 57: "Traditur etiam matris inpotentia extrusum." So (xi. 27) of later events: "Nihil compositum miraculi causa, verum audita scriptaque senioribus tradam." Other passages are doubtful; for instance, vi. 20, vi. 23, xiv. 9, H. i. 41, where such phrases as "sunt qui tradiderint," "crebrior fama tradidit," leave it uncertain whether Tacitus is speaking of oral or written tradition.

Further, Tacitus consulted, to use a modern phrase, files of newspapers. "Non apud auctores rerum," he writes (iii. 3), "non diurna actorum scriptura reperio," &c. He is here speaking of the "Acta diurna populi Romani." These contained notices of meetings, deaths, marriages, trials, and, in short, of any events of public interest. Cf. xiii. 31: "Nisi cui libeat laudandis fundamentis et trabibus quis molem amphitheatri apud campum Martis Caesar exstruxerat, volumina implere, cum ex dignitate populi Romani repertum sit res inlustres annalibus, talia diurnis urbis actis mandare;" and xvi. 22: "Diurna populi Romani per provincias per exercitus curatius leguntur ut noscatur quid Thrasea non fecerit." Cf. xii. 24: "Quos tunc Claudius terminos posuerit facile cognitu et publicis actis perscriptum."

Again, Tacitus drew information from the official record of the proceedings in the Senate. In xv. 74 he says, "Reperio in Commentariis Senatus," &c. These were drawn up by some authorized officer. Cf. v. 4: "Fuit in senatu Iunius Rusticus componendis patrum actis delectus." For some reason, as Nipperdey observes, these official records were apparently not available for a portion of the reign of Tiberius; at all events, Tacitus writes (ii. 88), "Reperio apud scriptores senatoresque eorundem temporum . . . lectas in senatu litteras." This cannot refer to the Commentarii Senatus, because all such records must be, from the nature of the case, contemporaneous, and the words 'eorundem temporum' would be altogether meaningless. Consequently, Tacitus must be speaking of senators who had composed memoirs, and whose presence in the Senate at the time would be a guarantee for the accuracy of their narratives, or, at all events, for their acquaintance with the matters discussed in their memoirs. However this may be, these Commentarii Senatus would be a sufficient authority for a very large number of facts; and no doubt they constituted the chief source of the writer's information.

Tacitus also consulted previous writers; for instance (i. 69), "Tradit C. Plinius Germanicorum bellorum scriptor;" (xiii. 20) "Plinius et Cluvius nihil dubitatum de fide praefecti referunt." The former of these wrote a history of his own times, from the point where Aufidius Bassus left off (cf. xv. 3, and H. iii. 28); the latter, apparently, a history of the Empire under Nero, Galba, and Otho. In the same chapter Fabius Rusticus is mentioned as a writer of the history of Nero's reign. Tacitus also uses such phrases as "inter auctores constat," "tradunt temporis eius auctores," "celeberrimos auctores habeo," &c., without giving any names. Amongst these may have been Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus, quoted by Suetonius (Calig. 8) as an authority on the question of the place of Caligula's birth; Aufidius Bassus (see above); the elder Seneca (Sueton. Tib. 73); Servilius Nonianus (Quint. x. 1. 102); Velleius Paterculus, &c.

Besides these, Tacitus had recourse to more private sources of informa-

tion. Agrippina (the mother of Nero) compiled memoirs touching her own life and adventures. Cf. iv. 53: "Id repperi in commentariis Agrippinae filiae quae Neronis principis mater, vitam suam et casus suorum posteris memoravit." Again, in xv. 16, he says, "Contraque prodiderit Corbulo Parthos inopes copiarum et pabulo attrito relicturos oppugnationem," referring no doubt to some memoirs compiled by Corbulo on the subject of his campaigns in the East; as Pliny (N. H. v. 20) speaks of him as an authority consulted by himself with reference to the sources of the Euphrates. Probably there were in existence many such histories: Tiberius wrote a brief narrative of his own life. This is mentioned by Suetonius (Tiber. 61): "commentario quem de vita sua summatim breviterque composuit." So too Claudius, on a more extensive scale, "composuit et de vita sua octo volumina" (Suet. Claud. 41). From all these sources enumerated above Tacitus probably drew his materials.

A few remarks may be appended as to the style of our historian. Tacitus is a very *picturesque* writer. For instance, a storm is thus described (ii. 23): "Primo placidum aequor mille navium remis strepere aut velis impelli: mox atro nubium globo effusa grando, simul variis undique procellis incerti fluctus prospectum adimere, regimen impedire: milesque pavidus et cassuum maris ignarus dum turbat nautas vel intempestive iuvat, officia prudentium corrumpebat. Omne dehinc caelum et mare omne in austrum cessit, qui tumidis Germaniae terris, profundis amnibus, immenso nubium tractu validus et rigore vicini septentrionis horridior rapuit disiecitque naves in aperta Oceani aut insulas saxis abruptis vel per occulta vada infestas." So, also, when Germanicus visits the scene of the slaughter of Varus and his troops (i. 61): "Incedunt maestos locos visuque ac memoria deformes: prima Vari castra lato ambitu et dimensis principiis trium legionum manus ostentabant: dein semiruto vallo, humili fossa accisae iam reliquiae consedisse intellegebantur: medio campi albentia ossa, ut fugerant, ut restiterant, disiecta vel aggerata. Adiacebant fragmina telorum equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora. Lucis propinquis barbarae arae, aput quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactaverant. Et cladis eius superstites, pugnam aut vincula elabsi referebant hic cecidisse legatos, illic raptas aquilas: ubi primum vulnus Varo adactum, ubi infelici dextera et suo ictu mortem invenerit: quo tribunali contionatus Arminius, quot patibula captivis, quae scrobes, utque signis et aquilis per superbiam inluserit."

Again, the effects produced by the fall of a theatre are thus described: "Et illi quidem quos principium stragis in mortem adflixerat, ut tali sorte cruciatum effugere. Miserandi magis quos abrupta parte corporis nondum vita deseruerat; qui per diem visu, per noctem ululatibus et gemitu coniuges aut liberos noscebant. Iam ceteri fama exciti, hic fratrem propinquum ille, alius parentes lamentari. Etiam quorum diversa de causa

amici aut necessarii aberant, pavere tamen, neque dum comperto quos illa vis perculisset, latior ex incerto metus."

The landing of Agrippina in Italy with the ashes of Germanicus is described thus: "Postquam duobus cum liberis, feralem urnam tenens, egressa navi defixit oculos, idem omnium gemitus, neque discerneres proximos, alienos, virorum feminarumve planctus, nisi quod comitatum Agrippinae longo maerore fessum obvii et recentes in dolore anteibant."

The state of the Roman streets under Nero after nightfall is drawn in a single touch: "In modum captivitatis nox agebatur." So again, xi. 23: "An parum quod Veneti et Insubres curiam inruperint nisi coetus alienigenarum velut captivitas inferatur?"

Here is a description of the wretched state of the Roman world under Galba and the three succeeding emperors (H. i. 2): "Haustae aut obrutae urbes: fecundissima Campaniae ora et urbs incendiis vastata, consumptis antiquissimis delubris: ipso Capitolio civium manibus incenso, pollutae caerimoniae: magna adulteria, plenum exsiliis mare, infecti caedibus scopuli."

Tacitus was a *thoughtful* writer; and his works abound in the results of his thoughtfulness. They are full of sententious expressions and maxims, the product of the author's talent for generalization. A few of these are subjoined. H. iv. 26, "Quod in pace fors, seu natura, tunc fatum et ira Dei vocabatur;" H. ii. 1, "Inclinatis ad credendum animis loco ominum etiam fortuita;" Germ. 21, "Periculosiores sunt inimicitiae iuxta libertatem;" H. iv. 64, "Haud facile libertas et domini miscentur;" vi. 42, "Paucorum dominatio regiae libidini propior est;" xv. 53, "Nisi si cupido dominandi cunctis affectibus flagrantior est;" H. i. 83, "Non posse principatum scelere quaesitum subita modestia et prisca gravitate retineri;" H. iv. 7, "Nullum maius boni imperii instrumentum quam bonos amicos esse;" H. ii. 92, "Nec unquam satis fida potentia ubi nimia est;" H. iv. 74, "Vitia erunt donec homines, sed neque haec continua et meliorum interventu pensantur;" H. i. 7, "Servorum manus subitis avidae et tamquam apud senem festinantes;" xiii. 19, "Nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile ac fluxum quam fama potentiae non sua vi nixae;" xv. 68, "Facetiae quae ubi multum ex vero traxere acrem sui memoriam relinquunt;" iii. 9, "Pavidis consilia in incerto sunt;" H. i. 15, "Assentatio erga Principem quemcunque sine affectu peragitur;" Germ. 19, "Corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocatur;" vi. 17, "Acribus, ut ferme talia, initiis, incurioso fine;" iv. 65, "Qui mos vulgo fortuita ad culpam trahentes;" xv. 21, "Initia magistratuum nostrorum meliora ferme, finis inclinat;" H. iii. 58, "Largus promissis et quae natura trepidantium est immodicus," and "In metu consilia prudentium et vulgi rumor iuxta audiuntur," and "Omnia inconsulti impetus coepta, initiis valida spatio languescunt;" H. iv. 1, "In turbas et discordias pessimo cuique plurima vis: pax et quies bonis artibus indigent."

Tacitus aims at *brevity*, and generally succeeds in attaining it, and not

seldom becomes obscure in the successful effort; consequently the clue to his meaning sometimes is to be obtained not so much from his actual words, as from the idea, so far as it can be ascertained, which filled his mind as he wrote. For instances of this cf. xi. 15, "sed benignitati," &c.; xii. 47, "visui tamen," &c.; H. ii. 23, "diffisus paucitati," &c. From this love of brevity there are perpetually occurring instances of zeugma (cf. ii. 58, iv. 49, vi. 24, &c.).

There still remains for consideration an important question: Tacitus may be picturesque in narrative, forcible in expression, profound in reflection—but is he also trustworthy? Is a statement credible because he makes it? Are we to believe his assertions because they *are* his? Now an author may be unworthy of credit for more reasons than one. He may be a deliberate falsifier, and make assertions he knows to be untrue; or, again, he may write uncritically, consulting his authorities without any attempt to discriminate between their respective values as evidence; or he may write heedlessly, consulting good authorities, but consulting them carelessly; or, lastly, he may write under the influence of prepossessions which blind his vision and warp his judgment. Now, I suppose no one could reasonably regard Tacitus as a deliberate falsifier of history, or accuse him of writing what he knows to be untrue; nevertheless I think that he sometimes makes assertions which, although he may not *know* them to be *false*, yet he does *not know* to be *true*, but notwithstanding he puts them forward because they help to fill in effectively the picture he is drawing—he falls a victim, in short, to *word-painting*. An instance of this may be seen in his account of an incident in the campaigns of Germanicus in Germany[1]. When the Roman general in his march eastward reached the Weser, he found a body of Germans assembled to oppose him on the right bank of the river. Arminius their leader demanded a parley with Flavius his brother, then serving in the Roman force. It was granted; and a conference ensues between the two brothers. The dialogue is reported in detail; and at last Flavius, losing his self-command, calls for his arms and horse, and is with difficulty withheld from plunging into the stream and hastening across to chastise his insolent brother. This is the account of our historian; he never apparently thought it necessary to learn the width of the river in order to ascertain whether such dialogue were possible. It is not given to any but those cast in the superhuman mould of heroes to converse across wide streams; or swim through them armed and accoutred to attack an adversary on the distant bank: but Tacitus had his picture in hand, and his colours must be effective at the expense of reality. Another instance of this word-painting occurs in the narrative of the same campaigns[2]. On the return from their expedition across the Weser of a large portion of the forces of Germanicus by sea to the

[1] ii. 9, 10.

[2] ii. 23.

mouth of the Ems, a storm caught the vessels which conveyed his troops. This was a great opportunity for an effective description of a storm at sea, and of the wreck of a large flotilla; and the historian is equal to the occasion. His account runs thus: "At first the placid waters re-echoed with the oars of a thousand ships, or were driven onwards by their sails; before long hail poured from out a black mass of clouds; the waves, veering fitfully before the shifting blasts, prevented all out-look and hindered the due management of the ship; and the soldiery, terror-stricken, and unacquainted with the disasters of the sea, while they throw the sailors into confusion, or render ill-timed help, interfered fatally with the duties of the more experienced crew. Then the whole sky and ocean was concentrated in a south wind, which, strengthened by a vast trail of clouds from the deep rivers in the swollen lands of Germany, and rendered all the wilder by the icy cold of the neighbouring pole, swept off and hurled the ships into the open sea, or to islands perilous with jagged rocks, or hidden shoals. After barely avoiding these with great difficulty, when the tide changed and set in the same direction as the wind, their anchors parted, and they could not bale out the deluge which burst in; horses, cattle, baggage, even their arms are thrown overboard to lighten the hulls, which were dripping with water pouring through the sides and the waves which buried them from above." This strikes one irresistibly as the writing of an author who sits down with the intention of describing a storm "on general principles," without any attempt to inquire whether the circumstances of the particular case warranted such description. In itself the exactness of the narrative in such matters is of no great importance, but want of exactness in one point unfortunately suggests similar want of exactness generally.

Or, as before remarked, a writer may consult all authorities without discrimination, or assert facts on evidence which, from the circumstances of the case, is entirely unworthy of credit. This latter is what Tacitus does, I think, occasionally. For instance, in his account[3] of the treatment of Agrippina the elder by Tiberius, he states the authority on which his statements rest. He quotes the memoirs of Agrippina the younger: "Id ego a scriptoribus annalium non traditum repperi in commentariis Agrippinae filiae quae Neronis principis mater vitam suam et casus suorum posteris memoravit." The daughter must, one would suppose, have learned the circumstances and conversations here given from the mother. Agrippina the elder, "pervicax irae et morbo corporis implicata," was not very likely to give an unbiassed account of the interview between herself and Tiberius. It may be said, of course, that the mention of the source whence the information here given was derived by the historian is sufficient to set the reader on his guard. And so it is

[3] iv. 53.

sufficient; but this was not apparently the reason why Tacitus mentioned the origin of the anecdote. On the contrary, no intimation whatever is given that the account was viewed by him with suspicion; no suggestion made that it might have been too highly coloured by her known violence of feeling. One can hardly, therefore, doubt that Tacitus would at other times also consult the same and similar memoirs composed by individuals naturally under the warping influence of prejudice and hostility. Any fact mentioned in them, any statement—no matter how 'ex parte'—would, I fear, be transferred to the page of the historian, if it gave piquancy to the narrative, without any careful sifting to ascertain the credibility or incredibility of the story.

Again, an author may consult trustworthy documents, but consult them carelessly, and give their scope and bearing inaccurately. Now it happens that Tacitus, in various parts of his annals, quotes or refers to certain Senatus consulta. It will be worth while to examine one or two of these quotations, to ascertain whether he has given accurately or not the bearing of the Senatus consulta spoken of in his narrative. Under the year A.D. 47[4], we are told that Claudius "lege lata saevitiam creditorum coercuit ne in mortem parentum pecunias filiis familiarum faenori darent." This can only mean, as far as the words go, that post-obits were forbidden; the usurers were restrained from lending money to young men, to be repaid on their succession to their father's estate. Now this Senatus consultum is preserved in the Digest[5], and runs as follows: "Cum inter ceteras sceleris causas Macedo, quas illi natura administrabat, etiam aes alienum adhibuisset et saepe materiam peccandi malis moribus praestaret, qui pecuniam ne quid amplius diceretur incertis nominibus crederet, placere ne cui qui filiofamilias mutuam pecunias dedisset etiam post mortem parentis eius cuius in potestate fuisset, actio petitioque daretur ut scirent qui pessimo exemplo faenerarent nullius posse filiifamilias bonum nomen exspectata patris morte fieri." From this we learn that the real object of the Senatus consultum Macedonianum was to prevent all lending of money to sons who were still in the power of their fathers, by refusing the creditor the right of enforcing at law the repayment of any debt so incurred, even after the death of the debtor's father, and his own consequent succession to the whole or a portion of his paternal inheritance. To express the object of this enactment as Tacitus has done, as intended simply to forbid post-obits, is most certainly inaccurate.

Again, under the proceedings of A.D. 53[6], Tacitus cites the Senatus consultum Claudianum. His account of it is as follows: "Inter quae refert ad Patres de poena feminarum quae servis coniungerentur: statuiturque ut ignaro domino ad id prolapsae in servitute, sin consensisset pro libertis haberentur." According to this account, the Senatus consultum

[4] xi. 13. [5] 14, tit. 6. [6] xii. 53.

provided for two classes of union between a free woman and a slave: the one, where the slave's master was not cognizant of the transaction; and the other, where he was cognizant, and gave his consent. In the first case, the woman became a slave — no doubt the slave of her paramour's master; in the second, she was placed on the footing of a freed woman.

Is this an accurate account of the matter? With this compare Gaius[7]: "Ecce enim ex senatus consulto Claudiano poterat civis Romana quae alieno servo, volente domino eius, coierit ipsa ex pactione libera permanere sed servum procreare: nam quod inter eam et dominum istius servi convenerit, ex senatus consulto ratum esse iubetur;" and[8] "Item si qua mulier civis Romana praegnas ex senatus consulto Claudiano ancilla facta sit ob id quod alieno servo invito et denuntiante domino eius coierit, complures distinguunt et existimant, siquidem ex iustis nuptiis conceperit, civem Romanum ex ea nasci: si vero volgo conceperit, servum nasci eius cuius mater facta est ancilla;" and[9] "Item feminae liberae ex senatus consulto Claudiano ancillae fiunt eorum dominorum quibus invitis et denuntiantibus nihilominus cum servis eorum coierint." From these passages, it results that by the Senatus consultum Claudianum, if a free woman cohabited with a slave against the wish of his master, and after notice from him that he would not permit it, then the woman became a slave. If the cohabitation took place with the consent of the slave's master, the woman might by especial compact with the master remain free; but any child born in consequence of the intercourse would be a slave. The cohabitation of a free woman with a slave, either without the master's knowledge, or without notice on his part of prohibition ('denuntiatio'), was not touched by the Senatus consultum, for it was already provided for by the Lex Aelia Sentia, which declared that the issue of a free woman and a slave was of servile condition[1].

Clearly Tacitus does not describe the matter correctly. He represents the reduction of the free woman to slavery as taking place where there was ignorance on the master's part: it only took place, we see from the passages of Gaius quoted above, when the master refused his consent, and gave prohibitory notice. On the other hand, if the master gave formal consent, the woman retained her freedom. As far as I know, if the cohabitation took place simply without the master's knowledge, the woman remained free, but the child became a slave by the provision of the Lex Aelia Sentia. It does not follow from any thing here said that the text of Tacitus, "pro libertis haberentur," is incorrect. From Paulus[2] it appears that under some circumstances (not stated) a free woman was reduced by the Senatus consultum in question to the condition of a 'liberta.' The reading, therefore, is probably verbally correct;

[7] i. 84. [8] i. 91. [9] i. 160.
[1] i. 86. [2] S. R. iv. tit. 10.

but it also proves how very confusedly and inaccurately the Senatus consultum is quoted by Tacitus.

Lastly, an author may write under the influence of prepossession in favour of or against some one or more of his characters, and so view every thing connected with them through a coloured medium. If the writer has a special affection for any individual dealt with in his narrative, failings will be extenuated, and every possible allowance made for all shortcomings; virtues will be made the most of; and if he is a soldier in command, successes will be amplified, and the results of his campaigns announced with a flourish of trumpets. On the other hand, if the actor is not a favourite of the writer, his policy is depreciated, his motives impugned, and his conduct generally scrutinized with hostile eyes; apparent excellencies disallowed, and doubtful failings transferred unhesitatingly into the domain of ascertained vices. Now with Tacitus, Germanicus the younger is a favourite. Let us examine the account of the concluding operations of the admired hero in Germany. After crossing the Weser[3] at various points in the face of the enemy, and driving them back, he advances until he finds the confederate Germans posted in the depths of a sacred grove. After a progress in disguise through the camp to test the feelings of his troops, a cheering dream, and a stirring address, a battle ensues: from early noon to nightfall the combat rages; over a space of ten miles the ground was thickly strewn with the dead. To commemorate the signal victory a trophy was erected, and an inscription attached to it containing a detailed list of the vanquished tribes. The Germans themselves were utterly disheartened, and on the point of retiring across the Elbe[4]. But suddenly the scene changes: the erection of the inscription with its vaunting list roused the lately cowed forces of the enemy to fury; they rush to arms once more, and throw aside all recollection of their crushing defeat. After a vigorous attack on the Roman legions, in which noble and commoner, old and young vie with each other in impetuous bravery, they select a new position, a plain surrounded by woods and morasses. Here Germanicus again attacks them: once more the ground is covered with the bodies of the slain: the Roman soldiers are urged to take no captives, to refuse quarter and exterminate the foe. But in spite of the utter overthrow, at nightfall the victorious legions are recalled; no word is said of any pursuit of the broken enemy, no mention of any request on their part for peace. One tribe indeed, the Angrivarii, hastily offered to capitulate, and Germanicus found it convenient to regard their surrender as a general acknowledgment of defeat by their countrymen at large.

Germanicus now withdraws his forces, some by land, some by sea. These latter on their passage were tossed by storms, and many vessels

[3] ii. 12. [4] ii. 19.

were wrecked. The news of this disaster roused the Germans—so little were they affected by their late apparently hopeless defeat—once more to begin hostilities. Germanicus, however, promptly takes measures to repress the rising, and organizes an invasion of the country of the Marsi and Chatti. After gaining certain successes in these operations, he once more withdraws his legions into winter-quarters. His reflections are pleasant[5]. The enemy was really now wavering: counsels of submission were in the ascendant: one year more, and the victory would be complete. But the one year more was not to be granted him. He was presently recalled from the scene of his operations. Now it is evident that this account of the war, full, as Tacitus describes it, of glorious, yet vague and unfruitful successes—successes passed over almost in silence by Dion Cassius—is little more than a fancy picture, highly coloured and elaborately wrought, to do honour to one who ranked high in the historian's estimation, and was foremost amongst the darlings of the Roman people[6]. Again, as Germanicus was the idol of the people of Rome, and Tacitus shared in this idolatry, so Tiberius was their detestation, and this feeling was also shared by the historian. Tiberius was ungenial, awkward, and morose, perverse in temper, and obstinately bent on his own way, even when he gained nothing by it. This temperament made him unpopular, more than his cruelties: these the citizens would have borne, as they bore them from other rulers; but they could not endure his ungeniality and perverseness: 'hoc nocuit Lamiarum caede madenti:' and the result was that, especially in all his relations with Germanicus and his family, he was judged without discrimination, and with unreasoning suspicion accused of the darkest machinations.

Tiberius was popularly supposed to have formed deliberate plans for the humiliation of Germanicus, and finally to have compassed his death. Tacitus, sharing in this belief, or unwilling to forego the opportunity of blackening the character of the Princeps, 'his favourite aversion,' begins to assume the badness of the motives of Tiberius at a very early period of the story. For the removal of Germanicus from his command on the Rhine he can see only one motive: it was done 'per invidiam.' And yet the policy advocated by Tiberius was not unreasonable or unsound[7]: "the war had been chequered with grave disasters, as well as distinguished by great successes: better results, with fewer drawbacks, might be obtained by a policy of craft: the nations of Germany might well be left to the disintegrating results of mutual jealousies; a method of dealing with those barbarous tribes in previous instances not unfruitful in the happiest results." All this appears to me only evidence of the prudence of Tiberius in declining to continue a war so barren in useful results and wasteful of the resources of the Empire. Nor, after all, could one well blame Tiberius if, in addition to these motives, he was influenced by the consideration

[5] ii. 26. [6] ii. 41. [7] ii. 26.

that it would be politic to remove from his command at so favourable a juncture one whom his troops had already offered to place on the Imperial throne. At all events, Tiberius herein did nothing more than carry out the policy of Augustus, his professed model. One may, therefore, reasonably doubt whether Tacitus was not influenced by his feelings when he concluded his account with the remark that Germanicus was perfectly aware "fingi ea, seque per invidiam parto iam decori abstrahi."

After the removal of Germanicus from his command on the Rhine, he was despatched on a mission of importance to the East. Archelaus the king of Cappadocia had just died, and his kingdom was annexed to the Empire: the people of Commagene and of certain portions of Cilicia were anxious for a Roman in preference to a native government. To arrange these and other matters of importance Tiberius thought it necessary, or pretended to do so, to send Germanicus with especial powers. But the Emperor took the precaution of removing from the government of Syria, Creticus Silanus, who was connected by marriage with Germanicus, and had placed in command of that province Cnaeus Piso, a man of turbulent and haughty character. The object of this manœuvre was to check, by the counteracting influence of Piso, the possible ambition of Germanicus[8]. Such at least was the clear belief of Piso himself, and Tacitus beyond doubt, I think, intends to leave on the mind of his readers an impression that such was really the case: "Permissae Germanico provinciae quae mari dividuntur, maiusque imperium quoquo adiisset, quam his qui sorte aut missu principis obtinerent. *Sed Tiberius demoverat Syria Creticum Silanum per adfinitatem conexum Germanico .... praefeceratque Cn. Pisonem.*" But Tiberius would hardly have selected such an instrument for his purpose: he would scarcely have chosen a man who treated the Imperial family with undisguised contempt; one, of whom the historian observes that "vix Tiberio concedere: liberos eius ut multum infra despectare." And besides, what proof is there of any scheme at all of the kind? Piso himself had clearly received no distinct intimation of any such purpose: he *believed* Tiberius to have such purpose, but it was only a conjecture of his own: "*nec dubium habebat* se delectum qui Syriae imponeretur ad spes Germanici coercendas." Others however thought they knew more of the arrangement than Piso himself: "credidere quidam data et a Tiberio occulta mandata:" and this belief Tacitus cannot resist mentioning, although it is inconsistent with his previous remark. But in truth all these suggestions of a crooked policy on the part of Tiberius seem altogether unnecessary. Piso is described by him elsewhere as 'adiutor Germanico datus[9].' This arrangement might be intended to reproduce, with a necessary difference, that made by Augustus in the case of Caius Caesar, when entrusted with the command of Armenia. Sulpicius Quirinius, then pro-

[8] ii. 43. [9] iii. 12.

bably proconsul of Syria, was appointed 'rector[1]' to the young Caesar. For Germanicus was provided not a 'rector,' his age being advanced enough to render such aid unnecessary, but an 'adiutor:' in both cases the officer already in command of Syria might be selected, and especially in the second instance this was likely to be so, as Tiberius professed to take his predecessor as his model in policy.

Piso was not long in showing the course of action which he intended to carry out, whatever his motives may have been. To some extent Germanicus appears to have incurred his anger personally, by a refusal to grant a pardon to a convicted forger[2]. But other acts of Piso cannot be sufficiently explained by the existence of any such feeling. The language of Tacitus runs thus: "Postquam Syriam ac legiones attigit, largitione, ambitu, infimos manipularium iuvando, cum veteres centuriones, severos tribunos demoveret locaque eorum clientibus suis vel deterrimo cuique attribueret, desidiam in castris, licentiam in urbibus, vagum ac lascivientem per agros militem sineret; eo usque corruptionis provectus est ut sermone vulgi parens legionum haberetur: nec Plancina se intra decora feminis tenebat, sed exercitio equitum decursibus cohortium interesse." I do not see how these acts of Piso could be any part of a scheme dictated by Tiberius to disgrace Germanicus. Rather, considering the natural character of Piso, scarcely deigning to regard Tiberius as superior to himself, and looking down with contempt on the Imperial family, one would be inclined to suppose that Piso had formed a vague plan of seizing the throne for himself.

On the return of Germanicus from a tour in Egypt, he found his arrangements in the army and towns of Syria overruled or entirely altered by Piso. The anger of Germanicus at this display of insolence seems to have determined Piso to leave Syria at once; but he abandoned his plan in consequence of the failing health of the young Caesar: "dein Piso abire Syria statuit, mox adversa Germanici valitudine detentus . . . . opperiens aegritudinem quae rursum Germanico acciderat[3]." This language appears to me altogether inconsistent with any notion of poison, and to imply beyond question that the ill-health of Germanicus occurring unexpectedly caused a hasty alteration in the plans of Piso. Immediately afterwards, however, the idea of poison is introduced, and the language of Tacitus hints, or rather states plainly, that Germanicus himself entertained a belief that he was being poisoned: "saevam vim morbi augebat persuasio veneni a Pisone accepti;" but, as a sort of corroborative evidence, he mentions that there were found beneath the flooring and in the walls of Piso's house, bones, charms, and all the usual machinery of incantation. Poison hardly requires to be supplemented by witchcraft. The body of Germanicus, after his death, was exposed to

[1] iii. 48. [2] ii. 55. [3] ii. 69.

view, stripped of its clothing, in the forum at Antioch. Whether it did or did not display signs of poison, was a disputed point: each man imported into the investigation his own preconceived theory. If he believed Germanicus to have been poisoned, he traced the marks of poison in the body; if he did not start with the belief, he saw nothing. The charge against Piso, as regards the administration of poison, rests upon a foundation altogether insufficient; much less, so far, is there any evidence against Tiberius.

The suspicions of the Emperor's connivance in the death of Germanicus seem to have been increased by the obstinacy with which Tiberius kept out of sight after the arrival of the corpse at Rome. But whatever proof there might be herein of his perverse temper, one can hardly suppose that Tiberius was afraid, as was suggested, of being unable to conceal his real feelings; and besides, satisfaction at the death of any one does not imply necessarily any complicity in his murder.

On the return of Piso to Rome, he was formally accused by Fulcinius Trio, Servaeus, and others[4], and explicitly charged with the murder of Germanicus. The only evidence mentioned by Tacitus as adduced to support the charge, was a story that in a banquet given by Germanicus, Piso had, with his own hands, poisoned the viands at table[5]. This was justly considered to be incredible. Pliny the elder (N. H. xi. 71) mentions that Vitellius, in his speech, inferred the administration of poison to Germanicus from the fact that his heart would not burn. But the presence of disease would, it was believed, produce the same effect: consequently the charge fell to the ground. Piso however, feeling his condemnation under the circumstances inevitable, anticipated his sentence by suicide.

Tacitus, however, could not stop here: there was no proof whatever, according to his own showing, of guilt on the part of Piso, or of complicity on the part of Tiberius. But there was once in existence a vague rumour as to the nature of Piso's death, to the effect that it was not suicide, but inflicted on him by the Emperor's orders: "audire," he says, "me memini ex senioribus visum saepius inter manus Pisonis libellum quem ipse non vulgaverit, sed amicos eius dictitavisse litteras Tiberii et mandata in Germanicum contineri; ac destinatum promere apud patres principemque arguere ni elusus a Seiano per vana promissa foret: nec illum sponte extinctum, verum immisso percussore[6]."

Tacitus certainly does not profess to vouch for the accuracy of this account: "quorum neutrum adseveraverim;" but I think Dean Merivale is perfectly right in asserting[7] that, in spite of this disclaimer, Tacitus intends his readers to believe the report. And this introduction of mere rumour, unfavourable to a personage he dislikes, whilst verbally protesting

[4] iii. 13. [5] iii. 14. [6] iii. 16.
[7] History of the Romans under the Empire, c. 42.

against its acceptance on his authority, seems to me to show an animus which materially injures his character for impartiality, and therefore the credibility of his narrative.

A few words may not be out of place with reference to some minor peculiarities of the style of Tacitus.

He has many poetical words and constructions. For instance, 'experientia' (i. 4) in the sense of 'usus;' 'festinare' with an accusative ('caedem' &c., i. 6); 'capax,' i. 13, in the sense of 'capable of,' 'fitted for;' 'solari' (i. 14); 'deripere' (i. 20); 'ciere nomina' (i. 20); 'desolari' (i. 30); 'lymphatus' (i. 32, found also in Livy and the elder Pliny); 'ardescere' (i. 32); 'dehinc' (i. 34); 'indiscretus' (i. 35, also in the elder Pliny); 'degener' (i. 40); 'inausus' and 'intemeratus' (i. 42); 'temerare' (i. 53); 'inoffensus' (i. 56, also in later prose writers); 'evictus' (i. 57); 'maestus' (applied to places and things, i. 61); 'operari' (absolutely in the sense of sacrificing, i. 64); 'pervigil' (i. 65); 'resultare' (also in the silver age prose writers, i. 65); 'lapsare' (i. 65); 'prensare' (i. 68); 'praetemptare' (i. 73); 'notescere' (i. 73); 'gestamen' (ii. 2); 'di penetrales' (ii. 10); 'densere' (ii. 14, also in the elder Pliny); 'truculentia' (ii. 24); 'secundare' (ii. 24); 'recludere' (ii. 25); 'dedignari' (ii. 34); 'ausum' as a substantive (ii. 39); 'vanescere' (ii. 40); 'despectare' (ii. 43); 'suescere' (ii. 44); 'properanter' (ii. 55, but also in Sallust); 'penetrabilis' (ii. 61, also in very late writers); 'impatiens' with a genitive (ii. 64, but also in later prose); 'placitum' as adjective (ii. 66, but also in Sallust); 'feralis' (ii. 75); 'silentia' in the plural (ii. 82); 'eburnus' (ii. 83); 'nescius' in the sense of 'unable' (iii. 1); 'honorus' (iii. 5); 'asperare' (iii. 12); 'radere' for 'eradere' (iii. 17); 'revolvere' (to reflect upon, iii. 18); 'aeternum' (adverbially used, iii. 26); 'fatiscere' (iii. 38); 'receptare' (iii. 60); 'inviolabilis' (iii. 62); 'arcere' with infinitive (iii. 72); 'prolicere' (iii. 73); 'insenescere' (iv. 6, and late prose); 'origo' (as the founder of a race, iv. 9); 'cura' (elaborate work, iv. 11); 'rependere' (metaphorically used, iv. 35); 'abrumpere' ('spem,' iv. 50); 'nutare' (to totter, iv. 55); 'adsimulare' (iv. 59); 'valescere' (iv. 61); 'resolvi' (iv. 67); 'verbere' (iv. 9); 'circumfluus' (vi. 37); 'flere' (for 'deflere' vi. 10); 'exspes' (vi. 24); 'evincire' (vi. 42); 'didere' (xii. 1); 'incustoditus' (xii. 4); 'poenas expendere' (xii. 19); 'partire' (xii. 30, but once in Sallust); 'raptare' (to plunder, xii. 54); 'innumerus' (xii. 56); 'demissus' (sprung from, xii. 58); 'rapi' (for 'diripi,' xiii. 2); 'reclinis' (xiii. 16); 'refugus' (xiii. 40, also in late prose); 'livere' (to envy, xiii. 42); 'exercere' ('solum,' xiii. 54); 'ramale' (xiii. 58, but also in Seneca); 'gravare' (to increase, xiv. 12); 'pavescere' with an accusative (xiv. 30, only in Silius); 'abitus' (xiv. 37, in the sense of 'outlet'); 'gravescere' (xiv. 51); 'aegrescere' (xv. 25, but also in Pliny); 'subvectare' (xv. 43); 'flammare' (xv. 44); 'promere' with an ablative (xv.

54); 'tenuare' (but also in Seneca and Quintilian, xv. 63); 'mensare' (xv. 69); 'conjectare erat' (xvi. 34).

Tacitus also has adjectives for adverbs; as 'subitus irrupit,' 'pergit properus,' 'occulti laetabantur,' and the like: a usage which may be regarded as far commoner in the poets than in prose writers, although it is of course found not unfrequently in the latter.

He often has "Greek accusatives of respect," as H. i. 85, "animum vultumque conversis;" i. 50, "frontem ac tergum vallo, latera concaedibus munitus;" ii. 13, "contectus umeros ferina pelle;" vi. 9, "clari genus;" xv. 64, "frigidus iam artus."

He uses the infinitive after many adjectives and verbs, such as 'certus,' 'properus,' 'impellere,' &c. This is noticed in another paragraph.

Tacitus uses the following words and constructions, which appear, as a rule, only in writers of the silver age:—'Suspectare' in the sense of 'to suspect' (i. 5); 'curatissimus,' elaborate (i. 13); 'adstrepere' (i. 18); 'cumulare in aliquem' (i. 21); 'invidere' with an ablative (i. 22); 'obtendere' in the sense of alleging in excuse (i. 26); 'epistulae' of one letter (i. 30); 'excusatum esse' (i. 47); 'praesumere' (except in the poets, i. 48); 'indulgere' ('aliquid alicui,' i. 52); 'conterminus' (i. 60, but found in Ovid); 'inquies' (i. 65, but once in Sallust); 'oberrare' (i. 65, but in Horace); 'ambire' (in the sense of investing, surrounding, i. 68, but in Virgil); 'diffamare' (to asperse, i. 72); 'perinde quam si' (i. 73); 'curulis' (sub. 'sella,' i. 75); 'matrimonium' for a wife (ii. 13); 'oppetere' (absolutely for to die, ii. 24, but previously in Virgil); 'favorabilis' (ii. 36); 'inconcussus' (ii. 43); 'firmator' (ii. 46); 'sponte' followed by a genitive (ii. 59); 'insolescere' (ii. 63, but also in Sallust); 'sacrificalis' (ii. 69); 'praeliator' (ii. 73); 'excedere' absolutely to die (ii. 75); 'inauditus' without a judicial hearing (ii. 77); 'militaris' as a substantive (iii. 1); 'probatio' (iii. 7); 'nullo' for 'nulla re' (iii. 15); interfectrix (iii. 17); 'permovere' ('invidiam' &c., iii. 23); 'improsper' (iii. 24); 'adeo non' in the sense of 'nedum' (iii. 34); 'consortium' (iii. 34); 'iutus' (iii. 35); 'praesidens' (iii. 40); 'praeminere' (iii. 56); 'progener' (iii. 75); 'intectus' (uncovered, iv. 1); 'impenetrabilis' (not to be overcome, iv. 12); 'incuriosus' (iv. 23); 'permitiabilis' (iv. 34); 'suffugium' (iv. 47, but in Ovid 'de nuce' 119); 'manualis' (iv. 51); 'devotiones' (iv. 52); 'interstinctus' (iv. 57); 'enimvero' (but, ii. 64); 'praeceps' as an adverb (iv. 62, and in Ammianus xxix. 1); 'appellitare' (iv. 65); 'obiectus' (iv. 67, but in the Augustan poets); 'percolere' (iv. 68, but in Plautus); 'eniti' absolutely 'to bring forth' (v. 1, but previously in Virgil, Aen. iii. 327); 'gravari' with an accusative (v. 8, but found in the poets); 'marcidus' (vi. 4, but in Ovid of flowers); 'intellectus' (subst., vi. 36); 'distinctus' (subst., vi. 28, only in Statius besides); 'ambigere' followed by accusative and infinitive (vi. 28); 'inardescere' (vi. 32, but already in the poets); 'auxiliator' (vi. 37);

'individuus' (an inseparable friend, &c., vi. 10); 'prodigentia' (vi. 14); 'adventare' with accusative (vi. 44); 'cupitor' (xii. 7); 'adductus' (severe, xii. 7); 'dehonestamentum' (xii. 14, but once in a fragment of Sallust); 'inclarescere' (xii. 37); 'conversatio' (xii. 49); 'effluvium' (xii. 57); 'regere' (used absolutely, ii. 12); 'imitamentum' (xiii. 4); 'incutere' (to hurl, xiii. 39); 'mansitare' (xiii. 44); 'velamentum' (metaphorically used, xiii. 47); 'phonasci' (xiv. 15); 'tremor terrae' (xiv. 27); 'rebellatio' (xiv. 31); 'emptitare' (xiv. 41); 'indubius' (xiv. 45); 'antecellere' with an accusative (xiv. 55); 'adusque' (xiv. 58, but found in poetry); 'evalescere' (xiv. 58, except in poetry); 'profugus' with a genitive (xv. 1); 'subvectus' (xv. 4); 'transmittere' (to pass over, xv. 31); 'meditamentum' (xv. 35); 'placamentum' (xv. 44); 'restrictus' (severe, xv. 48); 'adcurrere' with an accusative (xv. 53); 'imaginari' (xv. 69); 'indutus' (subst., xvi. 4); 'celebritas' (frequency, xvi. 29, and in the elder Pliny); 'dissociatio' (xvi. 34); 'queritari' (xvi. 34).

The following words and constructions are peculiar to Tacitus, or at all events are found only in him:—'Regnatrix' (i. 4); 'adcrescere' with dative (i. 19); 'provisu' (i. 27); 'languescere' of the moon under eclipse (i. 28: so 'hebescere'); centurionatus (i. 44); 'pretium esse' (i. 57); 'antehabere' (i. 58); 'coepta' ('luce,' i. 65); 'superstagnare' (i. 79); 'nihil reliqui facere quominus' for 'quin' (i. 21, cf. v. 5, xiii. 14, xiv. 39); and on the other hand 'quin' for 'quominus' (xiv. 29); 'dedecus adire' (i. 39); 'iacere odia' to sow the seeds of hatred (i. 69); 'stagnare' used transitively (i. 76); 'abstrahere' with a dative (ii. 26); 'iustis locis' (ii. 5); 'uterus' (pro alveo, ii. 6); 'suggredi' (ii. 12); 'colligere hastas' (in the sense of drawing back the spears, ii. 21); 'superurgere' (ii. 23); 'quinquiplicari' (ii. 36); 'incessus' in the sense of 'onset' (ii. 55); 'Areum iudicium' for 'Areopagus' (ii. 55); 'adnexus' for 'vicinus' (ii. 64); 'vertere in se' (ii. 64); 'praelegere' to skirt (ii. 79); 'adpugnare' (ii. 81); 'gnarus' passively used (iii. 6); 'modum adicere' (iii. 6); 'imperator' used adjectively (iii. 6); 'distrahere fama' like our pulling a man to pieces (iii. 10); 'contrectare oculis' (iii. 12); 'sanctor' (iii. 26); 'subversor' (iii. 28); 'adcumulator' (iii. 30); 'irreverentia' (iii. 31); 'dedecorus' (but also in Plautus, iii. 32); 'postulare' with ablat. of the charge (iii. 38); 'incusare' with infinitive (iii. 38); 'exstimulator' (iii. 40); 'gladiatura' (iii. 43); 'cruppellarius' (iii. 43); 'cunctatum (est)' passively used (iii. 46); 'inturbidus' (iii. 52); 'advertere' to punish (iii. 52); 'adipisci' with a genitive (iii. 55); 'praeminere' with accusative (iii. 56); 'postscribere' (iii. 64); 'propolluere' (iii. 66); 'conclamari' (to be saluted, iii. 74); 'veno dari' (iv. 1); 'super id quod' (iv. 11); 'perstimulare' (iv. 12); 'in maius audiri' (iv. 23); 'dispergere rumorem' (iv. 24); 'obstringere' (without an accusative, iv. 31); 'pervigere' (iv. 34); 'sisti' (of a temple, iv. 37); 'multum superque' (iv 39); 'rescriptu' (iv. 40);

'perrumpere' (with an accusative of a person, iv. 40); 'transcendere' (of a narrative, iv. 56, and of a river, iv. 44, with 'fossas,' however, in Caesar, B. C. iii. 46); 'proripere se' with a dative (iv. 45); 'capessere noctem' (iv. 48); 'properus' with infinitive (iv. 52); 'praescribi' in the sense of 'obtendi' (iv. 52); 'condemnator' (iv. 66, also in Tertullian); 'subsidium' as a harbour of refuge (iv. 67); 'antire' with a dative (v. 3); 'incusare in aliquem' (v. 7); 'satis collocare,' to write enough (vi. 27); 'urgeri' ('criminum,' vi. 29); 'genticus' (iii. 43); 'infensare' (vi. 34); 'abscessus' (absence, vi. 38); 'incelebratus' (but once in a fragment of Sallust, vi. 7); 'provivere' (vi. 25); 'negotium dare' followed by an infinitive (vi. 12); 'advectare' (vi. 13); 'continuus' (for a constant friend, vi. 26); 'situs' (founded, vi. 41); 'provisor' (in the sense of one who foresees, xii. 4); 'emercari' (xii. 14, but the passive in Ammianus Marcellinus, xxi. 6); 'praecellere' (with a dative, in the sense of commanding, xii. 15); 'vimentum' (xii. 16); 'id auctoritatis' (xii. 18); 'triumphari' (used personally, xii. 19); 'coeptare arma' (xii. 32); 'praeiacere' (with an accusative, xii. 36); 'divortium' (in the sense of a strait, xii. 63); 'properato' (xiii. 1); 'abnuere quin' (xiii. 14); 'professorius' (xiii. 14); 'praerigere' (xiii. 35); 'escensus' (xiii. 39); 'negotiosus dies' (opposed to 'dies festus,' xiii. 41); 'aemulatus' (xiii. 46); 'provolutus' ('ad libita,' xiv. 2); 'hactenus ne' (xiv. 7); 'obiectus' (in the concrete, xiv. 8); 'perpetrare ut' (xii. 58); 'accusare' (followed by an accusative and infinitive, xiv. 18); 'impertire aures' (xiv. 21); 'diffamare' (with accusative of adjective, xiv. 22); 'prohibere quin' (xiv. 29); 'concertator' (xiv. 29); 'terga praebere' (xiv. 37); 'praeumbrare (xiv. 47); 'patrator' (xiv. 62, and once in Avienus); 'ambedere' (xv. 5); 'egenus' with an ablative (xv. 12); 'contra dare' (xv. 13); 'sellisternia' (xv. 44); 'deprecabundus' (xv. 53); 'stagnum' (a bath, xv. 64); 'sesquiplaga' (xv. 67); 'profligator' (xvi. 18); 'perornare' (xvi. 26).

A construction very usual in Tacitus is a genitive of a substantive and gerundive in agreement with it, to express the object or purpose. Cf. i. 3, "abolendae infamiae;" ii. 59, "Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis." Cf. also iii. 7, 9, 27, 41.

The dative of the gerundive is found after adjectives, such as 'idoneus,' 'opportunus,' 'callidus,' 'inhabilis,' 'intentus,' 'facilis;' or with verbs, to express 'purpose' or 'object.' Cf. H. iii. 32, "balineas abluendo cruori propere petit;" ii. 21, xiii. 29, &c. Sometimes the gerund is so found. Cf. xv. 16, "testificando misisset," and iii. 17, "restaurando sufficeret."

The perfect participle passive is very frequently used absolutely, in the ablative, without any substantive: 'addito,' 'adiecto,' 'certato,' 'credito,' 'edito,' 'disceptato,' 'intellecto,' 'praedicto,' 'proviso,' 'quaesito,' 'repetito,' 'non distincto,' 'properato,' 'pensitato,' all occur in Tacitus for the first time.

He has often simple accusatives after verbs of motion, where other writers would add a preposition: 'Aegyptum proficiscitur,' 'Aventinum defertur,' 'campos propinquabant.'

Also after compound verbs (without any preposition): 'accedere,' 'accurrere,' 'assidere,' 'adventare,' 'appellere,' 'advolvi,' 'involare,' &c.

After passive verbs: 'quidquam imbui,' 'falsa exterreri,' 'pleraque argui.'

The dative is a favourite case in such phrases as 'esse derisui,' 'inrisui,' 'metui,' 'despectui,' 'ostentui,' 'usui,' 'obtentui.'

It is also commonly employed to take the place of an accusative with the preposition 'in' and 'ad,' in such phrases as 'centurionem morti deposcere;' and after adjectives, 'facilis,' 'inhabilis,' &c. Also it is used after substantives, instead of a genitive, as 'suffugium hiemi,' 'subsidia dominationi,' 'minister bello,' &c.

Tacitus uses an ablative of locality very frequently, as 'Aegypto,' 'Armenia,' 'Britannia,' 'Syria;' and not only in the case of proper names, as 'campo aut litore,' 'campis,' 'suggestu,' 'balineis,' 'tumulo,' 'medio.'

Also of the mode: 'catervis concurrere,' 'clamore et impetu circumfundi.'

A genitive often follows a neuter adjective, as 'extremo paludis,' 'certo anni,' 'laeva maris,' 'pauca campestrium,' 'in prominenti litoris,' 'post multum vulnerum.'

The genitive is used after adjectives to point out the sphere of their operation, as 'incertus,' 'laetus,' 'ferox,' 'turbidus,' 'aeger,' 'fidens,' 'ingens,' 'validus,' 'promptus,' 'captus,' 'diversus,' all with 'animi.' Similarly 'securus potentiae,' 'trepidus admirationis et metus,' 'modicus voluptatum,' 'immodicus laetitiae,' 'nimius sermonis,' 'inglorius militiae,' 'spernendus morum,' 'diversus morum,' 'atrox odii,' 'procax otii,' and others.

Tacitus uses the infinitive where the earlier classical writers adopt some other construction; for instance, after 'niti,' 'impellere,' 'perpellere,' 'subigere,' 'adigere,' 'orare,' 'scribere,' 'monere,' 'admonere,' 'hortari,' 'suadere,' 'persuadere,' 'praecipere,' 'imperare,' 'nuntiare,' 'inducere,' 'illicere,' 'deposcere,' 'exposcere,' 'certare,' 'pangere,' 'componere,' 'negotium dare,' 'flagrare,' 'merere.' Also with the adjectives 'certus,' 'properus,' 'factus,' 'manifestus,' 'peritus,' 'eruditus,' 'facilis,' 'exercitus.'

The future infinitive (omitting 'esse') is found after 'sperari' ('sperabantur secuturae'), 'haberi,' 'incusari.'

Other peculiarities of words or constructions are pointed out in various places in the notes.

ERRATA.

In i. 69, *for* gratis *read* grates

In i. 74, *for* accusator *read* accussator

CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER I.

CONTENTS.

Sempronius Gracchus. 54. Institution of Sodales Augustales. Factions amongst the pantomimists. 55—57. Attack on the Chatti. Arminius. Segestes. 58. Address of Segestes. 59, 60. Arminius induces the Cherusci and other tribes to take up arms. 61, 62. Relics of the legions of Varus. 63—68. Operations against Arminius. Defeat of the Germans. 69. Spirited conduct of Agrippina. The jealousy of Tiberius aroused by it. 70. Return of the legions of Germanicus. 71. Surrender of Segimerus. 72—74. The affected moderation of Tiberius. Accusations under the Lex Maiestatis. 75. Liberality of Tiberius. 76. Flooding of the Tiber. Gladiatorial shows of Drusus. 77. Check put to the licence of the theatre. 78. Temple to Augustus. The Centesima Tax. 79. Proposals to prevent the inundations of the Tiber. 80. Policy of Tiberius with reference to provincial governors. 81. Uncertainty about the Comitia Consularia.

The events of this book extend over the years A.C. 14 and 15, or A.U.C. 767, 768.

1. Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere; libertatem et consulatum L. Brutus instituit. dictaturae ad tempus sumebantur; neque decemviralis potestas ultra biennium, neque tribunorum militum consulare ius diu valuit. non Cinnae, non Sullae longa dominatio; et Pompei Crassique potentia cito in Caesarem, Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere, qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine principis sub imperium accepit. sed veteris

1. *Urbem*] The opening sentence here forms a hexameter. Rycke says Tacitus wrote in this way, because Sallust did so before him: a very foolish reason, if it were true. One would rather think it accidental, as it probably was; or did the Translators of our Bible wish to rival both Sallust and Tacitus, when they wrote, "Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them"?

libertatem] By 'libertas' Tacitus means security from the arbitrary caprices of Tarquinius, the freedom enjoyed in a state where the laws are supreme, and not the will of one man. Juvenal conveys the same idea when he speaks of "*legum* prima securis" (viii. 268).

ad tempus] In vi. 11 Tacitus has "*in* tempus deligebatur qui ius redderet," and therefore seems to use the expressions convertibly. So xiii. 22, "Plautus *ad* praesens silentio transmissus est," and yet xv. 44, "repressaque *in* praesens exitiabilis superstitio." In H. i. 44 the two forms are combined, "munimentum ad praesens in posterum ultionem." This form, 'ad praesens,' is said to be almost peculiar to the silver age of Latinity. The sense is 'for a time,' the dictatorship not being a yearly office, or for a stated time, but for such a period, not exceeding six months, as should turn out to be requisite.

ultra biennium] The Decemvirs took office in 451 A.C., and were reappointed in 450 A.C. At the expiration of this last year they refused to resign or appoint successors, and were not ejected until seven months of the year 449 A.C. had elapsed. As their authority did not continue during the whole of the third year, Tacitus, counting by yearly periods, would naturally say 'non ultra biennium.' This seems to me a better explanation than Walther's, that their government in the third year was not really 'potestas,' constitutional rule, but mere despotism.

dominatio] This is originally the irresponsible power vested in the master of the house ('domus'). It is used here appropriately for the lawless usurpations of Cinna, who, with Marius as his colleague, nominated himself by his own authority to the consulate for the year 86 A.C., and retained office during the next two years, and of Sulla, who held the dictatorship from 82 A.C. to 79 A.C.

in Augustum cessere] Not 'yielded to Augustus,' which would rather be 'Augusto,' but 'were merged in or transferred to Augustus.' Cf. H. i. 11, "provinciae in pretium belli cessurae erant."

principis] 'Princeps senatus' was the title originally given to the first of

populi Romani prospera vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt; temporibusque Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec gliscente adulatione deterrerentur. Tiberii Gaique et Claudii ac Neronis res florentibus ipsis ob metum falsae, postquam occiderant, recentibus odiis compositae sunt. inde consilium mihi pauca de Augusto et extrema tradere, mox Tiberii principatum et cetera, sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo.

2. Postquam Bruto et Cassio caesis nulla iam publica arma, Pompeius aput Siciliam oppressus exsutoque Lepido, interfecto

the living censorii. Cf. Liv. xxvii. 11. The holder of it was generally, although not necessarily (cf. A. Gell. xiv. 7) called on by the presiding magistrate to express his opinion on the matter in hand. It was a constitutional appellation, and therefore adopted by Augustus, who was careful to retain the forms of liberty when the reality had passed away. So i. 9, "non regno tamen, neque dictatura, sed principis nomine constitutam rem publicam." Under the guise of being merely 'princeps senatus,' Augustus contrived to bring under his absolute control all the powers of the state.

claris scriptoribus] In other writers this would probably have been 'a claris scriptoribus.' Tacitus, however, often omits the preposition. Cf. xiv. 8, "respicit Anicetum trierarcho et centurione comitatum." He uses, moreover, the dative, instead of the ablative and preposition. Cf. xiv. 18, "agros regi Apioni quondam habitos." This construction is most usual after participles (cf. xi. 29), but is also found with finite verbs. Cf. xii. 54, "cui pars provinciae habebatur," and xiii. 20, "provecta nox erat et Neroni per vinolentiam trahebatur." It is consequently difficult to say whether above 'scriptoribus' is the dative or ablative.

deterrerentur] Lipsius proposed to read 'detererentur,' because in H. ii. 76 Tacitus has "si quid ardoris ac ferociae miles habuit, popinis . . . deteritur." But Tacitus does not apparently intend to say that genius decayed, but that it was intimidated.

falsae] 'Falsified,' 'made deceptive.' Cf. i. 7, "tanto magis falsi ac festinantes, vultuque composito," and xvi. 32, "falsos et amicitiae fallaces." It has a passive meaning in H. ii. 17, "adesse omnem Caecinae exercitum trepidi ac falsi nuntiarent."

procul habeo] Cf. H. i. 1, "Mihi Galba, Otho, Vitellius nec beneficio nec iniuria cogniti."

2. *Postquam*] For the omission after 'postquam' of the verb of existence, cf. xii. 35 and vi. 33. After this particle Tacitus uses the indicative mood (xiv. 44, ii. 65, &c.) : otherwise the verb could hardly be omitted. For the subjunctive 'sit' or 'esset' can be understood apparently in three cases only. (1) When there are two clauses joined by a conjunction, and the verb of existence can be supplied from the other verb, as H. iv. 34, "tentaverat interim Civilis obsessorum animos tamquam apud Romanos res, et suis victoria provenisset," and i. 65, "quum aput Romanos invalidi ignes, interruptae voces, atque ipsi adiacerent vallo." (2) If the particle has two or more verbs depending on it, without a conjunction, as i. 9, "quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii princeps et vitae supremus: quod Nolae . . . vitam finivisset," which is very much akin to the first case. (3) If the subjunctive is the oratio obliqua of the indicative, as H. iii. 56, "quis ordo agminis, quae cura explorandi alios rogitans." For two passages which violate these usages see on i. 7.

publica arma] After the battle of Philippi, 42 A.C., the contest was no longer between a commonwealth and aspirers to supreme power, but between rival claimants of empire: whichever gained the day, the republic was equally extinguished.

Pompeius] Sextus Pompeius, the son of Pompeius Magnus, was defeated by M. Agrippa, 36 A.C., between Mylae and Naulochus. He fled into Asia, and was put to death by Titius, a lieutenant of Antonius.

exsutoque Lepido] 'Stripped of his forces.' Cf. Suet. Octav. 16, "M. Lepidum superbientem XX. legionum fiducia spoliavit exercitu, supplicemque concessa vita Circeios in perpetuum relegavit."

Antonio ne Iulianis quidem partibus nisi Caesar dux reliqus, posito triumviri nomine consulem se ferens et ad tuendam plebem tribunicio iure contentum, ubi militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit, insurgere paulatim, munia senatus magistratuum legum in se trahere, nullo adversante, cum ferocissimi per acies aut proscriptione cecidissent, ceteri nobilium, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur ac novis ex rebus aucti tuta et praesentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent. neque provinciae illum rerum statum abnuebant, suspecto senatus populique imperio ob certamina potentium et avaritiam magistratuum, invalido legum auxilio, quae vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur.

3. Ceterum Augustus subsidia dominationi Claudium Marcellum sororis filium admodum adulescentem pontificatu et curuli aedilitate,

'Exsuto' is for 'exuto.' The old writers used 'exs' or 'ex' indifferently: as 'Alexander' or 'Alexsander,' and in the Marm. Ancyr. we find 'sexsiens.' Therefore I follow the Cod. Med., rather than adopt one invariable form.

posito] Sc. 'deposito.' Cf. xv. 2, "ipse positis adversus Hyrcanos discordiis vires intimas molemque belli ciet."

tribunicio iure contentum] Augustus was not actually made tribune of the plebs; he had been raised to patrician rank, and could hardly with propriety have been invested with an office belonging solely to members of the plebs. But there were bestowed on him the privileges and rights of that magistracy. By this he obtained the power of rejecting any legislative enactment distasteful to him, in virtue of the 'veto.' It also secured the inviolability of his person, and gave him the tribune's power of relieving a plebeian from any oppressive use of authority by any other magistrate. The tribune also was the general defender of the plebs, and thus Augustus, by virtue of his tribunitian office, came naturally to be looked on as the great champion of the popular element in the state. The various rights thus acquired by the Emperor were so important, that Tacitus says (iii. 56), "id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret, ac tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperia praemineret."

annona] Augustus arranged for the importation of corn to Rome from Egypt and other countries (Suet. Aug. 18, "Aegyptum in provinciae formam redactam ut feraciorem habilioremque annonae urbicae redderet"), and made largesses of it to the populace at a cheap rate or gratuitously (Suet. Aug. 41).

servitio promptior] Tacitus has various constructions with this adjective: xv. 25, "promptus in pavorem;" vi. 48, "promptus adversum insontes." In other writers it is usually followed by 'ad' with an accusative.

opibus] An instrumental ablative: 'were raised from their former position by having influence and wealth bestowed on them.' Cf. i. 3, "Marcellum pontificatu et curuli aedilitate . . . extulit." Also iv. 17, "adulescentium animos praematuris honoribus ad superbiam extolleret."

potentium] Sulla, Marius, C. Julius Caesar, Cn. Pompeius. The provincials suffered from these contests carried on under the pretence of supporting the cause of the Senate, or the people, and they looked with distaste on such names.

3. *subsidia dominationi*] Cf. H. iv. 52, "non legiones non classes perinde firma imperii monumenta quam numerum liberorum." For the dative after a substantive, cf. ii. 33, "postulavit modum argento, supellectili, familiae." Also ii. 60, "dona templis," and xv. 49, "initium coniurationi."

admodum adulescentem] According to Propertius (iii. 18. 11) he seems to have been in his twentieth year when he was aedile, and to have died while holding that office :

M. Agrippam ignobilem loco, bonum militia et victoriae socium, geminatis consulatibus extulit, mox defuncto Marcello generum sumpsit; Tiberium Neronem et Claudium Drusum privignos imperatoriis nominibus auxit, integra etiam tum domo sua. nam genitos Agrippa Gaium ac Lucium in familiam Caesarum induxerat, necdum posita puerili praetexta principes iuventutis appellari, destinare consules specie recusantis flagrantissime cupiverat. ut Agrippa vita concessit, Lucium Caesarem euntem ad Hispaniensis exercitus, Gaium remeantem Armenia et vulnere invalidum mors fato propera vel novercae Liviae dolus abstulit, Drusoque pridem extincto Nero solus e privignis erat, illuc cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis adsumitur omnisque per exercitus ostentatur, non obscuris, ut antea, matris artibus, sed palam hortatu. nam senem Augustum devinxerat adeo, uti nepotem unicum, Agrippam Postumum, in insulam Planasiam proiecerit, rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide

"Quid genus aut virtus aut optima profuit illi
Mater, et amplexum Caesaris esse focos?
Aut modo tam pleno fluitantia vela theatro,
Et per maternas omnia gesta manus?
Occidit, et misero steterat vigesimus annus."

geminatis consulatibus] M. Agrippa was consul in two successive years, 28 and 27 A.C., a distinction usually reserved for the Emperors. He was consul for the first time 37 A.C.

generum] Julia, daughter of Augustus, by his wife Scribonia, married first Marcellus, son of Octavia (sister of Augustus), then M. Vipsanius Agrippa, and lastly Tiberius.

imperatoriis] Cf. iii. 74, "Tiberius Blaeso tribuit ut imperator a legionibus salutaretur prisco erga duces honore. Concessit quibusdam et Augustus id vocabulum." Tiberius obtained this honour for successes over the Germans.

induxerat] Agrippa had a third son, M. Agrippa Caesar Postumus, adopted by Augustus at the same time as Tiberius, but afterwards disinherited and banished to Planasia. He was adopted by 'adrogatio' as 'sui iuris' after his father's death, whereas the other two were adopted by 'mancipatio' ("per assem et libram," Suet. Aug. 64), as being in the power of their father, who was still alive. There are silver coins extant commemorating these honours, with the inscription, "C. L. CAESARES, AVGVSTI F. COS. DESIG. PRIN. IVVENT."

principes iuventutis] See Smith's Dict. of Antiquities under 'Equites.'

destinare] I have retained the reading of the Cod. Med., because it *is* the reading; and is in itself less probable than 'destinari.' Elsewhere Tacitus joins a passive and an active infinitive. H. iv. 28, "vastari Ubios Treverosque, et Mosam amnem transire iubet." It is true that in the Marm. Ancyr. the form is "Senatus Populusque Romanus, postquam utrumque consul ipse in forum deduxi, annum quintum et decimum agentis consules designavit;" but a writer of the period of Tacitus might easily speak of the act as proceeding from the Emperor.

illuc cuncta vergere] That is, the tide of favour set in the direction of Nero; he was the centre towards which every thing converged.

proiecerit] For the sequence of tenses, Ritter quotes ii. 81, "adeoque commoverat ut signifer legionis sextae signum ad eum transtulerit." Cf. also iii. 24, iv. 51. The perfect is sometimes used instead of the more usual imperfect, because the fact is represented as in some sort continuing to the present time, or perhaps rather in order to give prominency to the idea of the actual occurrence of the event.

ferocem, nullius tamen flagitii conpertum. at hercule Germanicum Druso ortum octo aput Rhenum legionibus inposuit adscirique per adoptionem a Tiberio iussit, quamquam esset in domo Tiberii filius iuvenis, sed quo pluribus munimentis insisteret. bellum ea tempestate nullum nisi adversus Germanos supererat, abolendae magis infamiae ob amissum cum Quintilio Varo exercitum quam cupidine proferendi imperii aut dignum ob praemium. domi res tranquillae, eadem magistratuum vocabula; iuniores post Actiacam victoriam, etiam senes plerique inter bella civium nati: quotus quisque reliquus qui rem publicam vidisset?

4. Igitur verso civitatis statu nihil usquam prisci et integri moris: omnis exsuta aequalitate iussa principis aspectare, nulla in praesens formidine, dum Augustus aetate validus seque et domum

The imperfect would not so distinctly assert the actual occurrence, although it would of course imply it. There seems to be the same difference of meaning between the imperfect and the perfect in Latin (in this combination) as between ὥστε with an infinitive and ὥστε followed by an indicative in Greek.

flagitii] Cf. Liv. vii. 4, "iuvenem nullius probri compertum."

at hercule] A common form. Cf. i. 26, iii. 54, H. i. 84 and elsewhere, as well as frequently in other writers. It expresses the astonishment of Tacitus at the apparently inconsistent policy of Augustus, who removed his grandson, Agrippa Postumus, to gratify Livia, and yet distinguished by marks of favour Germanicus, who might prove a dangerous rival to Tiberius.

esset] Tacitus uses the subjunctive after 'quamquam' oftener than the indicative. Cf. i. 24, iv. 67, xii. 14. For the indicative cf. xii. 11 and 31. 'Quamvis' is followed by a subjunctive in Tacitus, as it is in Cicero. It is not easy to say whence the difference of moods (for 'quamquam' as a rule is followed by an indicative in the Latin writers) arose. Perhaps originally 'quamvis' was used to express a view put forward speculatively, rather as a matter of possibility than a matter of fact: to express the latter view 'quamquam' was employed. 'Quamquam fortis erat, in fugam se contulit,' would, on this supposition, mean that the man ran away, although he was actually a brave man; 'quamvis fortis esset' would rather imply, in spite of any bravery which might and perhaps did exist in the man, he ran away; he fled, bravery (possibly inherent) notwithstanding. In the former case the bravery is viewed as undoubtedly existing in the man; in the latter it is viewed without any sharply defined reference to the man concerned. If this be so, one would expect strict accuracy to be disregarded in actual usage.

abolendae magis infamiae] For the case see note on ii. 59, under 'cognoscendae antiquitatis.'

quotus quisque] Cf. De Oratoribus Dialogus, c. 29, "quotum quemque inveneris qui domi quidquam aliud loquatur?" The subjunctive ('vidisset') is used naturally, because no person is definitely meant, but the clause describes the character of a class generally. No given person who had actually seen a constitutional government is contemplated, but any person who from age or other circumstances could have had the opportunity of seeing the republic.

4. *seque et domum*] Tacitus frequently uses this combination of particles. H. iii. 63, "seque et liberos suos Vespasiano permisisset." Agric. 18, "seque et arma et equos regunt." Livy too has it, but it is not usual in Cicero. On the other hand, Cicero and Livy have 'et . . . que' in a distributive sense. Cic. Tusc. iii. 3, "at et morbi perniciosiores pluresque sunt animi quam corporis." Liv. iv. 2, "id et singulis universisque semper honori fuisse." Tacitus usually does not combine 'et' and 'que' thus, but cf. xii. 7, "et iuventutem . . . legionesque ipsas."

et pacem sustentavit. postquam provecta iam senectus aegro et corpore fatigabatur aderatque finis et spes novae, pauci bona libertatis in cassum disserere, plures bellum pavescere, alii cupere, pars multo maxima inminentis dominos variis rumoribus differebant: trucem Agrippam et ignominia accensum non aetate neque rerum experientia tantae moli parem, Tiberium Neronem maturum annis, spectatum bello, set vetere atque insita Claudiae familiae superbia, multaque indicia saevitiae, quamquam premantur, erumpere. hunc et prima ab infantia eductum in domo regnatrice; congestos iuveni consulatus, triumphos; ne iis quidem annis, quibus Rhodi specie secessus exulem egerit, aliquid quam iram et simulationem et secretas libidines meditatum. accedere matrem muliebri inpotentia: serviendum feminae duobusque insuper adulescentibus, qui rem publicam interim premant, quandoque distrahant.

5. Haec atque talia agitantibus gravescere valitudo Augusti, et

aegro et corpore] 'Et' is here equivalent to 'etiam.' Cf. Germ. 31, "et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum apud Chattos in consensum vertit."

superbia] Cf. Suet. Tib. 2, "notissimum est Claudios omnes optimates assertoresque unicos dignitatis ac potentiae patriciorum semper fuisse, atque adversus plebem adeo violentos ac contumaces ut ne capitis quidem quisquam reus apud populum mutare vestem aut deprecari sustinuerit."

exulem egerit] The only difficulty about this reading is that 'agere exulem' would rather mean 'to play the exile' than 'to be an exile.' But I do not think this very material. The words appear to imply rather, that under the guise of voluntary retirement, the character Tiberius really filled was that of an exile; and this might naturally be expressed by 'exulem agere,' as opposed to 'specie secessus.' If 'exul' be read, then 'egerit' is used absolutely, as in iii. 48, "Tiberium quoque Rhodi agentem coluerit." In all such cases it seems to me safer to follow the manuscripts closely, if possible.

aliquid] The usual expression would have been 'aliud quicquam quam . . .' Generally speaking, '*aliquis*' is some one term of a series, picked out by the speaker with more or less precision: '*quisquam*' one of a series not so picked out. 'Non aliquis,' therefore, strictly conveys a negation of one term only, 'non quisquam' a negation of all the terms; but how these run into each other is clearly seen from a passage in the Bell. Gall. viii. 1, "non esse autem alicui civitati sortem incommodi recusandam, si tali mora reliquae se possent vindicare in libertatem," where the exact sense is 'any given state' picked out for distinction's sake, as opposed to all the rest, which is very much the same virtually as the sense conveyed by 'cuiquam.' Cf. Cic. de Invent. i. 54, "quod nobis hoc primis acciderit nec alicui umquam." I know of no other instance of 'aliquis' followed by 'quam.'

inpotentia] The word is an exact rendering of ἀκράτεια, implying an absence of all power over self, an incapacity for self-restraint. Cf. iv. 57, xii. 57. Below, the two youths are Drusus the son, and Germanicus the adopted son, of Tiberius.

quandoque] 'At some time or other,' 'sooner or later.' Cf. vi. 20, "et tu, Galba, quandoque degustabis imperium." Suet. Julius Caesar 35, "ne quandoque violentiorem praesidem nacta novarum rerum materia esset." The word is sometimes used for 'quandocumque.' Cf. i. 6, "ne cunctaretur Agrippam morte adficere, quandoque ipse supremum diem explevisset." Cf. also iv. 38, and Horat. de Arte Poet. 359. So 'quisque' is used for 'quicumque.' Cf. Liv. xxv. 29, "quo quisque terra quisque mari venerit, nostra tropaea ostendat."

5. *agitantibus*] This is almost certainly an ablative. Cf. i. 29, "orantibus rursum idem Blaesus et L. Apronius mittuntur," and Agric. 18, "famam auxit, aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacu-

quidam scelus uxoris suspectabant. quippe rumor incesserat, paucos ante menses Augustum, electis conscîs et comite uno Fabio Maximo, Planasiam vectum ad visendum Agrippam; multas illic utrimque lacrimas et signa caritatis spemque ex eo fore ut iuvenis penatibus avi redderetur: quod Maximum uxori Marciae aperuisse, illam Liviae. gnarum id Caesari; neque multo post extincto Maximo, dubium an quaesita morte, auditos in funere eius Marciae gemitus semet incusantis, quod causa exitii marito fuisset. utcumque se ea res habuit, vixdum ingressus Illyricum Tiberius properis matris litteris accitur; neque satis conpertum est, spirantem adhuc Augustum aput urbem Nolam an exanimem reppererit. acribus namque custodiis domum et vias saepserat Livia, laetique interdum nuntii vulgabantur, donec provisis quae tempus monebat simul excessisse Augustum et rerum potiri Neronem fama eadem tulit.

isset." Similarly Caesar, Bell. Gall. iv. 12, "celeriter nostros perturbaverunt. Rursus resistentibus ad pedes desiluerunt." The subject may be omitted in this way, when it can be easily supplied from a preceding substantive, as in vi. 16, "veniam a principe petivere, et concedente annus in posterum sexque menses dati." Also xiv. 53, "tempus sermoni orat, et accepto ita incipit." And also if the subject is 'men generally,' as in Liv. ii. 23, "sciscitantibus unde ille habitus." Cf. Tacitus xiii. 7, xv. 51.

Marciae] She was cousin of Augustus, as will be seen from the annexed table:—

C. Iulius Caesar

C. Iulius Caesar Dictator — Iulia m. M. Atius Balbus

Atia m. C. Octavius — Atia (Minor) m. Marcius Philippus

Octavia — Octavius (Caesar Augustus) — Marcia.

gnarum] Tacitus uses this word actively, as H. ii. 29, "gnarus civilibus bellis plus militibus quam ducibus licere;" and passively, as i. 63, "in paludem gnaram vincentibus." This use seems peculiar to Tacitus, although other writers use 'ignarus' passively. Cf. Sall. Jug. 52, "regio hostibus ignara."

dubium] For the absolute use of 'dubium,' 'incertum,' and the like, cf. xiv. 7, "quos statim acciverat, incertum an et ante ignaros," and xi. 18 and 22. Also Suet. C. Julius Caesar 57, "in obeundis expeditionibus dubium cautior an audentior." It is equivalent to 'haud scio an,' and 'est' is omitted.

utcumque] This word is used in two senses. It means 'in whatever way:' vi. 8, "utcumque res casura erat." Cf. also Liv. xxxii. 3, "utcumque seu iniuncta seu suscepta foret militia, et eam exhaustam esse." Besides this it is used like an adverb, in the sense of 'somehow or other.' Cf. xii. 51, "sed coniux gravida primam utcumque fugam toleravit," she made shift to endure it somehow or other. Cf. also ii. 14, "primam utcumque aciem hastatam, ceteris praeusta aut brevia tela." In the latter sense it does not seem to be found in Cicero, but occurs in Livy, Pliny, and latter writers. Cf. Liv. xxix. 15, "quae dubiis in rebus utcumque tolerata essent."

spirantem] Suetonius (Tib. 21) speaks positively, "iam quidem affectum sed tamen spirantem adhuc Augustum reperit."

6. Primum facinus novi principatus fuit Postumi Agrippae caedes, quem ignarum inermumque quamvis firmatus animo centurio aegre confecit. nihil de ea re Tiberius aput senatum disseruit: patris iussa simulabat, quibus praescripsisset tribuno custodiae adposito, ne cunctaretur Agrippam morte adficere, quandoque ipse supremum diem explevisset. multa sine dubio saevaque Augustus de moribus adulescentis questus, ut exilium eius senatus consulto sanciretur perfecerat: ceterum in nullius umquam suorum necem duravit, neque mortem nepoti pro securitate privigni inlatam credibile erat. propius vero Tiberium ac Liviam, illum metu, hanc novercalibus odiis, suspecti et invisi iuvenis caedem festinavisse. nuntianti centurioni, ut mos militiae, factum esse quod imperasset, neque imperasse sese et rationem facti reddendam aput senatum respondit. quod postquam Sallustius Crispus particeps secretorum (is ad tribunum miserat codicillos) comperit, metuens ne reus subderetur, iuxta periculoso ficta seu vera promeret, monuit Liviam ne arcana domus, ne consilia amicorum, ministeria militum vulgarentur, neve Tiberius vim principatus resolveret cuncta ad senatum vocando: eam condicionem esse imperandi, ut non aliter ratio constet quam si uni reddatur.

7. At Romae ruere in servitium consules, patres, eques. quanto quis inlustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festinantes, vultuque composito, ne laeti excessu principis neu tristiores primordio, lacrimas

6. *praescripsisset*] The subjunctive is due to the oratio obliqua really: it represents the matter as it was stated on the authority of Tiberius. The indicative would have made the statement the assertion of the historian. Tacitus distinctly accuses Tiberius of the murder, but Suetonius observes that it was doubtful whether Augustus had really left an order to despatch Agrippa, or Livia had commanded it, with or without the connivance of her son.

duravit] Cf. xiv. 1, "usque ad caedem eius duratura filii odia." Tacitus, as here, uses the word personally in xii. 40, "ut maior laus compositis, vel si duravissent venia iustior tribueretur." Sometimes it has a transitive meaning, as the passive occurs in H. iv. 59, "nec illi quamquam ad omne facinus durato, verba ultra suppeditavere."

novercalibus] For Agrippa had been adopted by Augustus at the same time as Tiberius, and was therefore stepson of Livia, the wife of Augustus.

periculoso] An ablative absolute, the participle of existence being omitted. Cf. iii. 60, "libero ut quondam quid firmaret mutaretve." Cf. also Liv. xxviii. 36, "incerto prae tenebris quid aut peterent aut vitarent," and 28, "haud cuiquam dubio quin hostium essent."

ratio constet] 'The accounts could only balance, if they were rendered to one person throughout.' It is a metaphor from book-keeping, at which the Romans were expert, where the receipts and expenditure balance duly, if the accounts are correct. Facciolati quotes Plin. Epist. ii. 4, "liberalitas ita temperanda est ne nimia profusione inarescat; sed temperanda in aliis: in te vero facile ratio constabit etiamsi modum excesseris."

7. *ne laeti*] Here 'essent' of course is understood, and this violates the prevalent usage of Tacitus. See note on ch. 2 above, under 'postquam.' A second passage is H. i. 85, "arduus rerum omnium modus ne contumax silentium, ne suspecta libertas." The subjunctive is omitted also after 'tamquam' in G. 39, and 'dum' in vi. 26. Just below the Cod. Med.

gaudium questus adulationem miscebant. Sex. Pompeius et Sex. Apuleius consules primi in verba Tiberii Caesaris iuravere, aputque eos Seius Strabo et C. Turranius, ille praetoriarum cohortium praefectus, hic annonae; mox senatus milesque et populus. Nam Tiberius cuncta per consules incipiebat, tamquam vetere re publica et ambiguus imperandi: ne edictum quidem, quo patres in curiam vocabat, nisi tribuniciae potestatis praescriptione posuit sub Augusto acceptae. verba edicti fuere pauca et sensu permodesto: de honoribus parentis consulturum, neque abscedere a corpore idque unum ex publicis muneribus usurpare. sed defuncto Augusto signum praetoriis cohortibus ut imperator dederat; excubiae arma cetera aulae; miles in forum, miles in curiam comitabatur. litteras ad exercitus tamquam adepto principatu misit, nusquam cunctabundus nisi cum in senatu loqueretur. causa praecipua ex formidine, ne Germanicus, in cuius manu tot legiones, immensa sociorum

has 'adulatione,' the 'm' no doubt having been lost before 'miscebant.' The words evidently run in pairs.

iuravere] The Consuls began the ceremony by swearing to obey the commands of Tiberius, just as the soldiers took the oath of obedience to their general. ἦ μὴν πειθαρχήσειν καὶ ποιήσειν τὸ προσταττόμενον (Polyb. vi. 21). The form 'in verba' is no doubt used, because the general, or some person in his name, dictated the oath, and the soldiers repeated it after him.

imperandi] Tacitus is fond of employing genitives after adjectives, to express the locality of the action indicated. The genitive denotes origin or source, and is therefore the natural case to use to express the locality of the feeling conveyed by the adjective, locality and origin being closely connected. 'Ferox,' 'immodicus,' 'promptus,' 'anxius,' 'incertus,' are continually joined with 'animi.' Cf. H. iii. 43, "ambiguus futuri."

praescriptione] The tribuni plebis had the right of convoking the Senate, as well as the Consuls and Praetors. The edict whereby Tiberius summoned the Fathers, began with his name and official designation as tribunus plebis, or rather as possessed of the tribunitial power.

abscedere] The pronoun 'se' is omitted before 'abscedere;' an omission not unusual in other writers before the future infinitive, but rare before the present: not, however, uncommon in Tacitus. Cf. iv. 52, "imaginem veram, caelesti sanguine ortam intellegere," sc. 'se intellegere.' Cf. also xiv. 48, xv. 17. For the meaning cf. iii. 5, "ipsum quippe asperrimo hiemis Ticinum usque progressum, neque abscedentem a corpore simul urbem intravisse." The body of Augustus was escorted from Nola by the Decuriones of the municipal towns and colonies to Bovillae, and thence to Rome by the Equites (Suet. Aug. 100), and attended by Tiberius.

idque unum] Tiberius undertook to convene the Senate to discuss the question of showing honour to the remains of Augustus. As the right of convoking the Fathers belonged to certain magistracies, it was 'munus publicum,' which 'non abscedere a corpore' could hardly be.

cetera aulae] 'All the other paraphernalia of a court,' lictors, laurelled fasces, and other imperial appendages.

adepto] The passive sense of the word is not uncommon. Cf. Sall. Jug. 107, Suet. Tib. 38. Elsewhere Tacitus uses it actively, as xi. 14. Similarly 'commentus' and 'pactus' are used in both senses.

in cuius manu] A curious instance of zeugma, for the words only suit exactly two out of the three clauses they are constructed with. Cf. ii. 58, "datum id non modo precibus Artabani sed etiam contumeliae Pisonis;" i. 17, "hinc vestem arma tentoria (emi), hinc saevitiam centurionum . . . redimi." H. v. 22, "utque ad fallendum silentio (agebant), sic coepta caede cuncta clamoribus miscebant."

auxilia, mirus aput populum favor, habere imperium quam expectare mallet. dabat et famae, ut vocatus electusque potius a re publica videretur quam per uxorium ambitum et senili adoptione inrepsisse. postea cognitum est ad introspiciendas etiam procerum voluntates inductam dubitationem: nam verba vultus in crimen detorquens recondebat.

8. Nihil primo senatus die agi passus nisi de supremis Augusti, cuius testamentum inlatum per virgines Vestae Tiberium et Liviam heredes habuit. Livia in familiam Iuliam nomenque Augustum adsumebatur; in spem secundam nepotes pronepotesque, tertio gradu primores civitatis scripserat, plerosque invisos sibi, sed iactantia gloriaque ad posteros. legata non ultra civilem modum, nisi quod populo et plebi quadringenties tricies quinquies, praetoriarum cohortium militibus singula nummum milia, legionariis aut cohor-

adoptione] If there were intended to be any difference of meaning conveyed by the variation of construction, the ablative would probably be used to express more direct agency than the accusative and preposition. But Tacitus so continually alters his constructions, that it appears to be done for mere variety's sake. Cf. Agric. 41, "exercitus temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi;" iv. 51, "nox aliis in audaciam, aliis ad formidinem oportuna;" ii. 70, "ea haud minus ira quam per metum accepta."

inductam] Cf. Suet. Nero 11, "inducta est et Afranii togata quae incendium inscribitur." This may be the metaphor here, *stage-like*, and therefore *assumed*. Or it may be a simile from colouring, or overlaying with varnish.

8. *per virgines Vestae*] Cf. Suet. Jul. 83, "testamentum demandaverat virgini Vestali maximae." Wills were sometimes deposited with friends, sometimes in temples for security.

heredes] According to Suetonius (Aug. 101), Tiberius was left two-thirds ("ex parte dimidia et sextante"), and Livia the remaining third. Failing these ('in spem secundam'), Drusus the son of Tiberius was left one-third, and Germanicus and his children two-thirds. It was usual to name 'heredes secundo gradu,' in case of failure of the persons named in the first instance.

nomenque Augustum] Cf. ii. 52, "Furio nomini partum decus militiae." Livia received the title of Augusta. It occurs in various inscriptions, and on coins. As the name of Augusta was a new one, 'Augustae,' the reading of the Cod. Med., can hardly be right. 'Augustum' is an adjective. So in the Marm. Ancyr. iv. 21, "forumque Augustum," and Suet. Aug. 100, "saeculum Augustum."

civilem modum] Cf. Suet. Jul. 75, "laceratam existimationem suam civili animo tulit," and Tib. 10, "genus vitae civile," and Juv. v. 112, "poscimus ut cenes civiliter." 'Civilis modus' here means the bounds usually observed by a citizen, as distinguished from any thing especially suited to the Emperor's peculiar eminence.

populo et plebi] Suetonius says "legavit populo Romano quadringenties, tribubus tricies quinquies sestertium." The former sum would be paid into the treasury; the latter to the members of the thirty-five tribes individually. Probably the poorer members only of these tribes would accept the largess, so that 'plebi' is used to express this, rather than 'tribubus,' which would strictly embrace every Roman citizen, of whatever rank. Cf. xiii. 31, "plebeique congiarium quadringeni nummi viritim dati, et sestertium quadringenties aerario inlatum est." The opposition here between 'populus' and 'plebs' is not the old one between burghers and plebeians, but between the Roman state as a whole, and the poorer individuals amongst the populace. Cf. H. ii. 88, "et effusa plebes se castris miscuerat." H. ii. 92, "gratum primoribus civitatis etiam plebes adprobavit," where 'plebes' is used to express the lower orders generally.

legionariis aut cohortibus] I do not see any great difficulty about 'aut,' although nearly all the commentators do.

tibus civium Romanorum trecenos nummos viritim dedit. tum consultatum de honoribus; ex quis maxime insignes visi, ut porta triumphali duceretur funus, Gallus Asinius, ut legum latarum tituli, victarum ab eo gentium vocabula anteferrentur, L. Arruntius censuere. addebat Messalla Valerius renovandum per annos sacramentum in nomen Tiberii; interrogatusque a Tiberio num se mandante eam sententiam prompsisset, sponte dixisse respondit, neque in iis quae ad rem publicam pertinerent consilio nisi suo usurum, vel cum periculo offensionis: ea sola species adulandi supererat. conclamant patres corpus ad rogum umeris senatorum ferendum. remisit Caesar adroganti moderatione, populumque edicto monuit ne, ut quondam nimiis studiis funus divi Iulii tur-

Augustus left 300 sesterces to every soldier enrolled either in some entire legion serving together, or in some cohort detached on separate duty. Cf. iii. 41, "excita cohorte quae Lugduni praesidium agitabat;" xiii. 8, "additis cohortibus alisque quae apud Cappadociam hiemabant." Whether there may not have been also cohorts unattached, as it were, not belonging to any legion at all, I cannot say. For this use of 'aut' in a distributive sense, or to distinguish, as Walther puts it, the species from the genus, there are many instances in Tacitus. Cf. i. 64, "quadragesimum id stipendium Caecina parendi aut imperitandi habebat," where the genus service is subdivided into its species of command and obedience. So also ii. 55, "insignem utrumque perfidia in nos aut fide." H. iv. 71, "Rigodulum montibus aut Mosella amne saeptum." Tacitus omits altogether the money left by Augustus to the 'cohortes urbanae,' to each man of which, according to Suetonius (Aug. 101) and Dio Cassius (lvi. 32), 500 sesterces were left. Dio himself omits what Tacitus records, the legacy to the tribes. This looks as though there were contradictory accounts afloat as to the real contents of the will. Ritter's explanation can hardly, I think, be correct, viz. that Tacitus did not regard a legacy to the four or five thousand men belonging to the 'cohortes urbanae' as 'extra civilem modum,' as the amount would not be large, only something like 20,000*l*., more or less; for it seems as much 'ultra civilem modum' as the legacy to the Praetorians, although the amount was less.

visi] As Orelli correctly explains, "populo de hisce decretis tum sermocinanti," although the next sentence is rather awkward; but after writing 'ut porta triumphali duceretur funus,' Tacitus probably modified the clause, to give the names of the proposers of the honours mentioned.

porta triumphali] This would appear to be somewhere between the Capitol and the Tiber, a space less than a quarter of a mile, and near the Porta Carmentalis and Flumentana. Orelli says it was between these two, but I do not know that he has any authority for saying so.

sponte dixisse] See note on ch. 7 for the omission of the pronoun.

remisit] This *could* mean 'refused,' 'declined to accept,' 'let them off this duty.' Cf. i. 10, "quamquam fas sit privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere." H. iii. 5, "remissum id munus." But Suetonius (Aug. 100) distinctly asserts this proposal to have been carried out, "senatorum umeris delatus in campum, crematusque." The word, therefore, seems rather to mean 'gave it up to them,' 'let them have their way, and do as they pleased.' Cf. Suet. Claud. 35, "sero enim ac vix remisit ne feminae praetextatique pueri et puellae contrectarentur." Tiberius let the senators know that they might carry out their proposal or not; it was all one to him. His conduct was a combination of moderation and superciliousness: the former, because he showed no eagerness for the display of unusual honours to Augustus; the latter, because he let the senators know that it was quite a matter of indifference to him whether this proposal was carried out or not.

turbassent] Cf. Suet. Jul. 84. The funeral pile was suddenly fired by two armed men, and the bystanders threw on broken forms, sticks, dresses, &c.

bassent, ita Augustum in foro potius quam in campo Martis, sede destinata, cremari vellent. die funeris milites velut praesidio stetere, multum inridentibus qui ipsi viderant quique a parentibus acceperant diem illum crudi adhuc servitii et libertatis inprospere repetitae, cum occisus dictator Caesar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum facinus videretur: nunc senem principem, longa potentia, provisis etiam heredum in rem publicam opibus, auxilio scilicet militari tuendum, ut sepultura eius quieta foret.

9. Multus hinc ipso de Augusto sermo, plerisque vana mirantibus, quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii princeps et vitae supremus, quod Nolae in domo et cubiculo in quo pater eius Octavius vitam finivisset. numerus etiam consulatuum celebrabatur, quo Valerium Corvum et C. Marium simul aequaverat, continuata per septem et triginta annos tribunicia potestas, nomen imperatoris semel atque vicies partum aliaque honorum multiplicata aut nova. at apud prudentes vita eius varie extollebatur arguebaturve. hi pietate erga parentem et necessitudine rei

crudi] 'Crudus' is used for what is 'raw' (cf. Suet. Nero 37, "crudam carnem et quidquid daretur mandere"), and so of a wound still fresh and unhealed. The slavery established by C. Julius Caesar had not had time to become indurated: the sore still bled, and was not skinned over.

provisis] 'Resources for his successors in their contest against a republican government having been secured.' Augustus took good care that his successors should not enter on a conflict, if there was to be one, without resources at their back.

9. *accepti*] Augustus died on the 19th of August. On the 22nd of September, 43 A.C., he was made consul with Q. Pedius, for Velleius Paterculus says (ii. 65), "consulatum iniit Caesar X. Kal. Octobris." Dio Cassius (lvi. 30) however agrees with Tacitus, and makes the election take place on the anniversary of his death, viz. August 19th; and Suetonius (Aug. 31) gives the same account. Perhaps the earlier date is that on which the remnant of the Senate left at Rome on the entrance of Augustus agreed to nominate him to the vacant office. See Merivale's "Romans under the Empire," c. 26.

aequaverat] Valerius Corvus was consul for the sixth time 299 A.C., and Caius Marius for the seventh time 86 A.C. Augustus was consul for the thirteenth time 2 A.C.

imperatoris] The Emperor for the time being, as generalissimo of the forces of the empire, possessed the 'imperium;' but on any great victory being obtained, the title was assumed especially, as an extraordinary honour. The Emperor was equally saluted Imperator, whether the victory was gained by himself personally or by his generals.

necessitudine] Lipsius observes that the word is equivalent to 'necessitate.' And the words can often be interchanged. Cf. Cic. pro Sulla 1, "si nostram accusatione sua necessitatem familiaritatemque violasset," where 'necessitudinem' might have been used. On the other hand, Sall. Cat. 61, "necessitudo etiam timidos fortes facit," might have been 'necessitas' &c. Still Tacitus may use the words differently. Cf. iv. 20, "quartam accusatoribus secundum necessitudinem legis, cetera liberis concessit;" xii. 9, "super priorem necessitudinem sponsus iam et gener;" xii. 30, "proximos per campos vagi, necessitudinem pugnae attulere;" xii. 46, "coniunctionem fratrum ac priorem aetate Pharasmanem et cetera necessitudinum nomina referens;" xv. 36, "in privatis necessitudinibus proxima pignora praevalerent." On the other hand, i. 19, "necessitate expressa quae per modestiam non obtinuissent;" i. 30, "inminentem necessitatem sponte praevenit." In these instances 'necessitudo' seems

publicae, in qua nullus tunc legibus locus, ad arma civilia actum, quae neque parari possent neque haberi per bonas artes. multa Antonio, dum interfectores patris ulcisceretur, multa Lepido concessisse. postquam hic socordia senuerit, ille per libidines pessum datus sit, non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisse quam *ut* ab uno regeretur. non regno tamen neque dictatura, sed principis nomine constitutam rem publicam; mari Oceano aut amnibus longinquis saeptum imperium; legiones, provincias, classes, cuncta inter se conexa; ius aput cives, modestiam aput socios; urbem ipsam magnifico ornatu; pauca admodum vi tractata, quo ceteris quies esset.

10. Dicebatur contra: pietatem erga parentem et tempora rei publicae obtentui sumpta: ceterum cupidine dominandi concitos per largitionem veteranos, paratum ab adulescente privato exercitum, corruptas consulis legiones, simulatam Pompeianarum gratiam partium; mox ubi decreto patrum fasces et ius praetoris invaserit, caesis Hirtio et Pansa, sive hostis illos, seu Pansam venenum vulneri adfusum, sui milites Hirtium et machinator doli Caesar abstulerat, utriusque copias occupavisse; extortum invito

rather a tie or chain than compulsion, which is the force of 'necessitas.' If so, the genitive 'rei publicae' here is a subjective one, the tie imposed on him by the state: in 'necessitate rei publicae' it would be an objective one, the force brought to bear on the state.—In xii. 30, the sense would rather be the entanglement which a battle would force on them, than the necessity of fighting.

ornatu] Augustus so beautified the city that he boasted of having left in marble what he found only in brick. He built a forum, a temple to Apollo on the Palatine, and to Iuppiter Tonans on the Capitol, and to Mars Ultor, a basilica in the name of his grandsons, and a theatre in that of Marcellus.

10. *tempora*] 'Exigencies.' Cf. Cic. ad Fam. ii. 18, "tempora rei publicae qualia futura sint quis scit?"

consulis] In A.C. 44, after the year of C. Julius Caesar's death, M. Antonius was consul. While he was collecting forces to attack D. Brutus, two of his legions, Quarta and Martia, went over to Augustus (Cic. Philipp. iii. 8—10).

Pompeianarum] Pompeius Magnus had been the ostensible champion of the Senate and Optimates. Octavianus joined this party on his first appearance at Rome. Antonius was naturally hostile to this party, as having blockaded D. Brutus at Mutina, and endeavoured to expel him from Cisalpine Gaul, the province given him by C. Julius Caesar and confirmed to him by the Senate (Suet. August. 10). Octavianus was appointed to the command of the army against Antonius, with the title and insignia of Propraetor, and was sent with the consuls Hirtius and Pansa to force Antonius to raise the siege of Mutina. Cf. Cic. Philipp. v. 16, "Senatui placere C. Caesarem pontificem pro praetore, senatorem esse sententiamque loco praetorio dicere."

sui milites] Cf. Cic. pro Sest. 68, "nunc sui cives e civitate eiecerunt." Epist. ad Attic. ix. 12, "illum ulciscentur mores sui." In such cases 'suus' of course is not strictly reflexive, for it refers to the subject of the verb, and not its object. It can only be used in this way in the sense of 'his own,' as distinguished emphatically from what belongs to others.

abstulerat] As a general rule in the oratio obliqua, the dependent verbs, if in the subjunctive, represent the views of those whose sentiments are being stated; if in the indicative, they are representations of the writer's or narrator's own views. But this rule does not always hold good, apparently. Cf. i. 46, "civitas incusare Tiberium quod dum

senatu consulatum, armaque quae in Antonium acceperit contra rem publicam versa; proscriptionem civium, divisiones agrorum, ne ipsis quidem qui fecere laudatas. sane Cassii et Brutorum exitus paternis inimicitiis datos, quamquam fas sit privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere: sed Pompeium imagine pacis, sed Lepidum specie amicitiae deceptos; post Antonium, Tarentino Brundisinoque foedere et nuptiis sororis inlectum, subdolae adfinitatis poenas morte exsolvisse. pacem sine dubio post haec, verum cruentam: Lollianas Varianasque clades, interfectos Romae Varrones, Egnatios, Iulos. nec domesticis abstinebatur: abducta Neroni uxor et consulti per ludibrium pontifices an concepto necdum edito partu rite nuberet; Q. Tedii et Vedii Pollionis luxus; postremo Livia gravis

patres et plebem ludificetur, dissideat interim miles," and compare "orarit ut maneret in castello dum Caesar consulitur," where there seems no difference in the meaning. After 'dum' Tacitus generally uses the present indicative: xiv. 58, xv. 45, 59, et saepius. Also after relatives the indicative is often found. Cf. i. 39, "venisse qui irrita facerent quae per seditionem expresserant;" ii. 36, "censuit ut legionum legati qui ante praeturam ea militia fungebantur;" iv. 56, "L. Sullam testem adferebant . . . omnis qui adstabant detraxisse corpori tegmina." There are many other instances. It looks from these last passages as though the indicative is used where the clause is virtually a definition or resolution of some single word, or put quite abstractedly. In the last sentence quoted, 'qui adstabant' is merely a resolution of 'adstantes.' This principle would explain at once why it is after relatives chiefly that the indicative is found, where the subjunctive would naturally occur; for the definition is put forward in an abstract way, irrespective of any one's views or representations. In the passages here, it is not easy to apply this principle to the occurrence of the indicative mood, with 'sive . . . seu,' between the subjunctives 'invaserit' and 'acceperit.' Possibly, if Tacitus had worded the clause differently, so as to use a relative, 'e quibus alterum venenum vulneri adfusum, alterum sui milites abstulerant,' the sentence would have been explicable as above; and Tacitus may have retained the same turn, although the matter is put forward in the shape of two hypothetical alternatives. I think the explanation of the frequent occurrence of the indicative after 'dum' lies in the general use of the present tense after it, in a past narrative; or rather both are due alike to the desire to put the fact vividly before the reader and to give the exact words of the speaker, in the wish for the utmost possible liveliness of expression. It is the same principle which explains so many irregularities in Thucydides. These remarks may be applied to the words 'qui fecere' just below.

imagine pacis] After the reconciliation of Octavianus and Antonius, Sextus Pompeius by his cruisers cut off the corn supplies of Rome. At last, after a conference at Misenum, 39 A.C., he was reconciled to his opponents, and received Sardinia, Corsica, and the province of Achaia. On the ground of his allowing piracy in the Mediterranean, they quarrelled with him, and Pompeius was defeated near Mylae.

foedere] At Tarentum, on the occasion of war with Sextus Pompeius, Antonius and Octavianus entered into mutual engagements, the latter to help Antonius in his war against the Parthians, and Antonius to reinforce the fleet of Octavianus. After the capture of Perusia and the death of Fulvia, Antonius and Octavianus came to an understanding and re-divided the provinces between them, the former taking the eastern and the latter the western, and holding Italy in common. The reconciliation was cemented by the marriage of Antonius with Octavia, the sister of his colleague.

Varrones, &c.] Varro Murena and M. Egnatius were put to death by Augustus (Suet. Aug. 19). Iulus Antonius was commanded to kill himself, by reason of his adultery with Julia.

Tedii] The reading of the Cod.

in rem publicam mater, gravis domui Caesarum noverca. nihil deorum honoribus relictum, cum se templis et effigie numinum per flamines et sacerdotes coli vellet. ne Tiberium quidem caritate aut rei publicae cura successorem adscitum, sed quoniam adrogantiam saevitiamque eius introspexerit, comparatione deterrima sibi gloriam quaesivisse. etenim Augustus paucis ante annis, cum Tiberio tribuniciam potestatem a patribus rursum postularet, quamquam honora oratione, quaedam de habitu cultuque et institutis eius iecerat, quae velut excusando exprobraret. ceterum sepultura more perfecta templum et caelestes religiones decernuntur.

11. Versae inde ad Tiberium preces. et ille varia edisserebat de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia. solam divi Augusti mentem tantae molis capacem: se in partem curarum ab illo vocatum experiendo didicisse quam arduum, quam subiectum fortunae regendi cuncta onus. proinde in civitate tot inlustribus viris subnixa non ad unum omnia deferrent: plures facilius munia rei publicae sociatis laboribus exsecuturos. plus in oratione tali dignitatis quam fidei erat; Tiberioque etiam in rebus quas non occuleret,

Med. is 'nuberetque tedii.' I have followed the usual correction, 'Q. Tedius,' although no such person is known, for want of any thing better. Draeger has 'Q. Pedii,' and Nipperdey 'quae edito.' Ritter 'Gai Matii' originally, but 'Q. Pedii' in his latest edition (1864). Vedius Pollio fattened his lampreys on live slaves.

vellet] There is some difficulty in this. During his lifetime Augustus refused divine honours in Rome, and only allowed the provincials to erect temples to him in conjunction with the name of Rome. Cf. Suet. Aug. 52, "templa . . . in nulla provincia nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine. Nam in urbe quidem pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore." So Inscrip. Latin. n. 606, "ROMAE ET AVGVSTO CAESARI DIVI F. PATRI PATRIAE." It was only after his death that a flamen and priests were appointed at Rome; and besides, Augustus could hardly be blamed for what was done to honour him after his death. But apparently the worship of Augustus while still living had begun in Italy, and in the provincial towns there may well have been flamens and priests appointed before his death. At all events, there are flamens mentioned in inscriptions as existing at Pompeii, Pisa, Praeneste, and elsewhere, and these may have been appointed during his lifetime.

deterrima] 'By a very mischievous comparison.' Cf. Suet. Tib. 21, "Augustum expugnatum precibus uxoris (Tiberii) adoptionem non abnuisse, vel etiam ambitione tactum ut tali successore desiderabilior ipse quandoque fieret."

de habitu cultuque, &c.] 'Deportment and dress and habits of life.' 'Cultus' and 'habitus' are joined together in ii. 59. The latter is used for bodily characteristics. Cf. Agric. 11, "habitus corporum varii, namque rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae." 'Cultus' is used for dress, food, and generally 'way of living.' Cf. Suet. Jul. 45, "cultu notabilem ferunt, usum enim lato clavo," and Caesar B. G. vi. 19, "funera sunt pro cultu Gallorum magnifica." Suetonius does not give a very favourable portraiture of the personal appearance of Tiberius: "incedebat cervice rigida et obstipa, adducto fere vultu . . . quae omnia ingrata" &c. (Tib. 68).

11. *quam arduum*] For the omission of the verb of existence, see note on 'ne laeti,' c. 7.

occuleret] The subjunctive is used because the idea is general: no particular instances are in the writer's mind, but the statement is that whenever any thing occurred which Tiberius had not any wish to conceal, he still displayed the same hesitation and ambiguity of speech.

seu natura sive adsuetudine, suspensa semper et obscura verba: tunc vero nitenti, ut sensus suos penitus abderet, in incertum et ambiguum magis implicabantur. at patres, quibus unus metus si intellegere viderentur, in questus lacrimas vota effundi; ad deos, ad effigiem Augusti, ad genua ipsius manus tendere, cum proferri libellum recitarique iussit. opes publicae continebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, et necessitates ac largitiones. quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam.

12. Inter quae senatu ad infimas obtestationes procumbente, dixit forte Tiberius se ut non toti rei publicae parem, ita quae-

For a rather curious extension of this principle, see a passage xv. 46, and the note on it.

libellum] Cf. Suet. Aug. 101, "de tribus voluminibus uno mandata de funere suo complexus est; altero indicem rerum a se gestarum quem vellet incidi in aeneis tabulis quae ante Mausoleum statuerentur; tertio breviarium totius imperii, quantum militum sub signis ubique esset, quantum pecuniae in aerario et fisco et vectigaliorum residuis."

tributa] This is not an easy passage; for it is not clear what 'tributa' here are, and what 'vectigalia.' The 'tributum' was originally paid in Italy by Roman citizens; being a land or house tax, and also a tax on movables. The 'tributum' was given up after the conquest of Macedonia, 167 A.C., but, according to Plutarch (Aemil. Paul. 38), re-imposed in the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa. This however was apparently only temporarily, and under the early empire it does not seem to have been paid: at least Pliny (H. N. xxxvii. 17) speaks of it as obsolete. Dr. Merivale (History of the Romans under the Empire, c. 52) supposes, nevertheless, the property tax on movables to have been retained, but he quotes no authority for this view, and I do not know that he has any. However this may be, it is clear, I think, that certain taxes were levied in the provinces, to which the name of 'tributa' was given. Suetonius (Claud. 25) says, "Iliensibus tributa in perpetuum remisit," and (Vespasian 16) "auxisse tributa provinciis." Cf. also Domitian 12. Tacitus has (xiii. 50) "quippe sublatis portoriis sequens ut tributorum abolitio expostularetur." Since just before he spoke of Nero's financial scheme as "pulcherrimum donum generi mortalium," I believe the reference is to the taxation of the whole Roman world, and mainly therefore to the taxation of the provinces. In these latter, every one who possessed land paid a tenth of his grain produce; but this seems to have been in most cases changed by Augustus for a fixed rent-charge upon the estimated value of the land. Those who had no land (in the provinces) paid on their personal effects; and in the case of labourers and slaves, a poll tax was levied, and paid by their employers or masters. It seems to me that these direct taxes paid in money are here styled 'tributa.' Indirect imposts, such as 'portoria' (cf. xiii. 50, "vectigalia omitti iubet," followed by "sublatis portoriis sequens," &c.), 'scriptura,' &c., and tithes ('decumae') when paid in kind, are termed 'vectigalia.' I am aware that there are assertions made in this note which many will question, but the subject is a difficult one, and opinions vary greatly on the matter.

necessitates ac largitiones] 'Necessary disbursements and bounties.' The former would include all the payments for the troops, public works, and civil list; the latter the expenditure on the corn distributed amongst the poorer inhabitants, and largesses of various kinds, as 'congiarii,' 'viscerationes,' &c. For 'necessitates,' in the sense above, cf. xiii. 50, "ut ratio quaestuum et necessitas erogationum inter se congruerent."

12. *Inter quae*] For the position of 'quae' cf. i. 15, 75, ii. 13. Also 'post quae' (i. 13), 'adversus quae' (iii. 59), 'ob quae' (ii. 30).

cumque pars sibi mandaretur, eius tutelam suscepturum. tum Asinius Gallus 'interrogo' inquit, 'Caesar, quam partem rei publicae mandari tibi velis.' perculsus inprovisa interrogatione paulum reticuit: dein collecto animo respondit nequaquam decorum pudori suo legere aliquit aut evitare ex eo, cui in universum excusari mallet. rursum Gallus (etenim vultu offensionem coniectaverat) non idcirco interrogatum ait, ut divideret quae separari nequirent, sed et sua confessione argueretur, unum esse rei publicae corpus atque unius animo regendum. addidit laudem de Augusto Tiberiumque ipsum victoriarum suarum quaeque in toga per tot annos egregie fecisset admonuit. nec ideo iram eius lenivit, pridem invisus, tamquam ducta in matrimonium Vipsania M. Agrippae filia, quae quondam Tiberii uxor fuerat, plus quam civilia agitaret Pollionisque Asinii patris ferociam retineret.

13. Post quae L. Arruntius haut multum discrepans a Galli oratione perinde offendit, quamquam Tiberio nulla vetus in Arruntium ira: sed divitem, promptum, artibus egregiis et pari fama publice, suspectabat. quippe Augustus supremis sermonibus cum tractaret, quinam adipisci principem locum suffecturi abnuerent aut inpares vellent vel idem possent cuperentque, M'. Lepidum dixerat capacem sed aspernantem, Gallum Asinium

cui excusari] There does not seem to be any other undoubted instance of the construction of 'excusari' with a dative of the thing. Nipperdey quotes Plin. Panegyr. 57, "iam excusatus honoribus et expletus," but this may be the ablative, a construction which occurs elsewhere, as well as the ablative with the preposition 'ab.'

suarum] Gallus reminded Tiberius of his successes in the field and services in the state, to show that he was as able to govern the Roman empire as Augustus had been. Of course the successes here mentioned are those of Tiberius, not of Gallus.

13. *pari fama*] 'Possessed of excellent qualities and corresponding repute in his public capacity.' L. Arruntius was consul in A.D. 6. For this use of 'publice' cf. Suet. Tib. 37, "Cyzicenis publice libertatem ademit." H. i. 51, "publice donatos in ignominiam exercitus iactabant."

suffecturi] Used absolutely: 'likely to prove competent.' Cf. Cic. Philipp. ii. 7, "nec scriba sufficere, nec tabulae nomina illorum capere potuerunt."

M'. Lepidum] The Codex Mediceus has 'M.,' that is, Marcus Lepidus. As two Lepidi are mentioned in Tacitus, it is not easy to decide where Marcus Lepidus and where Manius Lepidus is intended, for the authority of the MSS. is scarcely any thing in such a case. Marcus Lepidus was consul A.D. 6, and Manius Lepidus A.D. 11. In iii. 22 Manius Lepidus is written at length in the Codex Mediceus. Assuming this to be correct, perhaps we can arrive at some probable conclusion as to the proper reading in other places. From this passage it is a fair inference, perhaps, that this Lepidus was an orator of some power; if so, Manius Lepidus would be the reading in iii. 11 and 50, and perhaps iv. 20 and vi. 27. Tacitus speaks highly of him in this last passage, which certainly makes it probable that in i. 13 he is also meant: perhaps too in iv. 56. In iii. 32 Marcus Lepidus seems to be intended, as he is described by Sextus Pompeius as "socors, inops, et maioribus suis dedecorus;" and even the Senate only regard him as 'mitis' rather than 'ignavus,' a lukewarm praise which would hardly suit Manius Lepidus, of whom Tacitus speaks so highly. In iii. 35

avidum et minorem, L. Arruntium non indignum et, si casus daretur, ausurum. de prioribus consentitur, pro Arruntio quidam Cn. Pisonem tradidere; omnesque praeter Lepidum variis mox criminibus struente Tiberio circumventi sunt. etiam Q. Haterius et Mamercus Scaurus suspicacem animum perstrinxere, Haterius cum dixisset 'quousque patieris, Caesar, non adesse caput rei publicae?', Scaurus quia dixerat, spem esse ex eo non inritas fore senatus preces, quod relationi consulum iure tribuniciae potestatis non intercessisset. in Haterium statim invectus est; Scaurum, cui inplacabilius irascebatur, silentio tramisit. fessusque clamore omnium, expostulatione singulorum flexit paulatim, non ut fateretur suscipi a se imperium, sed ut negare et rogari desineret. constat Haterium, cum deprecandi causa Palatium introisset ambulantisque Tiberii genua advolveretur, prope a militibus interfectum, quia Tiberius casu an manibus eius inpeditus prociderat. neque tamen periculo talis viri mitigatus est, donec Haterius Augustam oraret eiusque curatissimis precibus protegeretur.

M. Lepidus apparently is a different person from the M. Lepidus of iii. 32, and must therefore be Manius. From the fact of Marcus Lepidus being spoken of in iii. 32 as poor, he is probably meant in ii. 48 and iii. 72. To put the matter clearly, the following passages relate to Manius Lepidus: i. 13, iii. 11, iii. 35, iii. 50, iv. 20, iv. 56, vi. 27. Marcus Lepidus is spoken of in ii. 48, iii. 32, iii. 72, vi. 40 (see the note there). The substance of this note is taken from Nipperdey.

relationi consulum] If Tiberius had really chosen to stop the proposal brought forward by the Consuls for lodging the government in his hands, he might have done so by interposing the veto he possessed by virtue of his tribunitial power. That he did not take this decisive measure, was a proof that he was only pretending reluctance. There is no distinct mention of the Consuls having brought forward such a measure, but it is clear that they must have done so.

flexit] Cf. iv. 37, "Quorum rumore arguebatur in ambitionem flexisse." Also vi. 15, "flexit ad graviora."

genua] For the case cf. vi. 64, xv. 71, H. iv. 81; but on the other hand, see i. 23, "singulorum pedibus advolutus."

an] This is a very common idiom in Tacitus, where 'an' is used as if 'incertum' or 'dubium' had preceded. Although not expressed, no doubt these words were in the writer's mind, and influenced the form of the expression. Cf. ii. 67, "fugam temptans an ficto crimine interficitur;" ii. 42, xiv. 7, xv. 69. The same form occurs in Cicero de Finibus ii. 32, "quum Simonides an alius quis artem memoriae polliceretur." Cf. also Ad Fam. vii. 9. 2.

oraret] Tacitus clearly might have said 'orabat,' and the question is why he wrote 'oraret' in preference. He uses the indicative in many passages, such as i. 5, "nuntii vulgabantur, donec excessisse Augustum fama eadem tulit." Germ. 37, "inde otium donec occasione discordiae nostrae etiam Gallias adfectavere." Cf. also Germ. 46, H. iv. 66. This is in accordance with the usual practice to use the indicative after 'donec' to convey the expression of some actual fact. Of course there is no difficulty in the use of the subjunctive after 'donec' to express the contemplated occurrence of a future contingency. But Tacitus employs the subjunctive in cases which cannot be ranked under this head easily. Cf. Germ. 1, "Danubius plures adit donec in Ponticum erumpat." A. ii. 6, "Rhenus Germaniam praevehitur donec Oceano misceatur." Germ. 35, "gentium lateribus obtenditur donec in Chattos usque sinuetur." Cf. also xii. 40, xiii. 13, Germ. 31. With these compare Liv. xlv. 7, "progredi prae turba occurrentium non poterat donec consul lictores misisset." These passages

14. Multa patrum et in Augustam adulatio. alii parentem, alii matrem patriae appellandam, plerique ut nomini Caesaris adscriberetur 'Iuliae filius' censebant. ille moderandos feminarum honores dictitans eademque se temperantia usurum in iis quae sibi tribuerentur, ceterum anxius invidia et muliebre fastigium in deminutionem sui accipiens ne lictorem quidem ei decerni passus est aramque adoptionis et alia huiusce modi prohibuit. at Germanico Caesari proconsulare imperium petivit, missique legati qui deferrent, simul maestitiam eius ob excessum Augusti solarentur. quo minus idem pro Druso postularetur, ea causa quod designatus consul Drusus praesensque erat. candidatos praeturae duodecim nominavit, numerum ab Augusto traditum; et hortante senatu ut augeret, iure iurando obstrinxit se non excessurum.

15. Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt: nam

seem to me only explicable on the supposition that the event is rather looked at from the standing-point of the actor himself, and so to his conception represented as a future contingency. In the passage from the Germ. 1, the Danube seems to be regarded as a person contemplating his future course to the end, and the other passages seem to depend on a somewhat similar explanation. In Livy, as quoted above, the underlying idea seems to be that the man felt he must wait until lictors were sent. In the text the notion perhaps is that Tiberius persisted in his obduracy, feeling that he should drive Haterius to some extreme course. The event which occurred as it were "cast its shadow before," and is expressed by Tacitus as though Tiberius were viewing it gradually arising.

14. *appellandam*] The gerundive is frequently used after 'censere.' Cf. iii. 17, "nomen Pisonis radendum fastis censuit, pars ut filio concederetur." Cf. also iv. 20, "partem bonorum publicandam, pars ut liberis relinqueretur censuerat."

invidia] 'Invidia' here does not mean the odium he feared that he might be subjected to: a sense the word often has, as ii. 72, "invidiam et adrogantiam effugerat," and Cic. ad Attic. ii. 9, "non enim poterimus ulla esse in invidia, spoliati opibus:" but a grudging feeling, as Hor. Epist. i. 2. 58, "Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni Maius tormentum." In this sense Cicero uses 'invidentia' sometimes. Tiberius was afraid the honours paid to Augusta would overshadow his own reputation.

aramque adoptionis] That is, the altar raised to commemorate the adoption of Augusta into the Julian family. See c. 8.

proconsulare imperium] According to Dio (lvi. 25), Germanicus was sent A.D. 11 to the Rhine with the 'proconsulare imperium,' although he was not consul until A.D. 12. Tiberius perhaps obtained a renewal of this power in A.D. 14. As it could only be exercised without the city, it was useless to bestow it on Drusus. This seems more likely than that the 'proconsulare imperium perpetuum' granted to the Emperors should be intended, which could be held within the city. See Ritter's note.

se] The pronoun is the subject of 'excessurum,' probably, for cf. iv. 31, "iure iurando obstringeret e re publica id esse."

15. *translata*] C. Julius Caesar divided with the people, assembled in the Comitia, the appointment of the annual magistrates: *they* chose half, and he nominated the remainder. The selection of consuls he retained in his own hands. Augustus continued this practice, and restricted himself to the nomination of half the magistrates. Later on, he gave his nominees letters of recommendation. Tiberius transferred his nominations and recommendations, addressing them to the Senate instead of the people; but the Comitia still apparently met and formally ratified the choice of the Senate, for at the end of this book (i. 81) Tacitus speaks of the 'comitia consularia' as still held. Therefore, as Dr. Merivale (in ch 44 of his

ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio principis, quaedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant. neque populus ademptum ius questus est nisi inani rumore, et senatus largitionibus ac precibus sordidis exsolutus libens tenuit, moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quattuor candidatos commendaret, sine repulsa et ambitu designandos. inter quae tribuni plebei petivere, ut proprio sumptu ederent ludos qui de nomine Augusti fastis additi Augustales vocarentur. sed decreta pecunia ex aerario, utque per circum triumphali veste uterentur: curru vehi haut permissum. mox celebratio annua ad praetorem translata, cui inter cives et peregrinos iurisdictio evenisset.

16. Hic rerum urbanarum status erat, cum Pannonicas legiones seditio incessit, nullis novis causis, nisi quod mutatus princeps licentiam turbarum et ex civili bello spem praemiorum ostendebat. castris aestivis tres simul legiones habebantur, praesidente Iunio Blaeso, qui fine Augusti et initiis Tiberii auditis ob iustitium aut gaudium intermiserat solita munia. eo principio lascivire miles, discordare, pessimi cuiusque sermonibus praebere aures, denique luxum et otium cupere, disciplinam et laborem aspernari. erat in castris Percennius quidam, dux olim theatralium operarum, dein

"History under the Romans") observes, the process henceforward was, the appointment of all magistrates (below the rank of consuls) partly in accordance with the Emperor's nomination, partly by free selection, and subsequent to this, the ratification of the choice by the formal sanction of the Comitia.

inani rumore] That is, 'in mere idle talk:' the complaints never took any serious form.

libens tenuit] 'Gladly accepted the arrangement.' Below, for 'moderante' cf. ii. 29, "ita moderans ne lenire neve asperare videretur." Tiberius restricted himself to nominating four candidates for the praetorship.

Augustales] These games were held on the 12th of October. There were in the lifetime of Augustus games celebrated in honour of his birthday, held on the 23rd of September (AVGVSTI NATALIS LVDI CIRC. IX. KAL. OCT.). The tribunes of the commons seem to have proposed the establishment of new games, to be solemnized every year, without any reference to the old birthday games, as the dates are different. Dio Cassius (liv. 34) speaks of the Augustalia as having first been celebrated 11 A.C.; but he appears to be confusing the two sets, unless he regarded the later games as merely an authorized continuation of the former.

utque] This depends on 'decretum,' supplied from 'decreta.' Cf. xiv. 12, "decernuntur supplicationes, utque Quinquatrus ludis annuis celebrarentur."

vehi] The Praetors, while superintending the Ludi Circenses, wore the triumphal robe, and drove in chariots from the Capitol and through the forum to the Circus Maximus. This was denied to the tribunes, to prevent their being put on the same footing with the higher magistrates.

evenisset] A commoner word in this sense is 'obvenire.' Cf. iii. 33, "cui provincia obvenisset." Also iv. 56, Agric. 6, and Caesar, B. C. i. 6.

16. *aut gaudium*] There were two distinct reasons for the cessation from military duties, the 'iustitium' proclaimed on account of the death of Augustus (just as Caligula ordered a 'iustitium' on the death of his sister Drusilla), and the rejoicings at the accession of the new Emperor. The words do not imply that Tacitus did not know which was the real cause, but that they both existed, and combined to produce the total result. See note on 'aut' in i. 8.

operarum] These were bodies of

gregarius miles, procax lingua et miscere coetus histrionali studio doctus. is inperitos animos et quaenam post Augustum militiae condicio ambigentes inpellere paulatim nocturnis conloquiis aut flexo in vesperam die et dilapsis melioribus deterrimum quemque congregare.

17. Postremo promptis iam et aliis seditionis ministris velut contionabundus interrogabat, cur paucis centurionibus, paucioribus tribunis in modum servorum oboedirent. quando ausuros exposcere remedia, nisi novum et nutantem adhuc principem precibus vel armis adirent? satis per tot annos ignavia peccatum, quod tricena aut quadragena stipendia senes et plerique truncato ex vulneribus corpore tolerent. ne dimissis quidem finem esse militiae, sed aput vexillum tendentes alio vocabulo eosdem

claqueurs engaged in the interests of different actors, to applaud them, and counteract the manœuvres of their rivals or opponents. Cf. Plin. Epist. vii. 24, "alienissimi homines in honorem Quadratillae . . . per adulationis officium in theatrum cursitabant, exsultabant, plaudebant, mirabantur . . . qui nunc exiguissima legata theatralis operae corollarium accipient ab herede qui non spectabat." Cf. i. 77, Suet. Tib. 37, Plaut. Amphit. Prolog. 64. For 'operae' in the sense of bands of workmen, cf. Cic. ad Attic. iv. 3. 3, "qui erant mecum facile operas aditu prohibuerunt."

miscere] A favourite word of Tacitus. Cf. Agric. 15, "vim et contumelias miscere," to introduce violence and insults into the dispute. H. i. 38, "miscentur auxiliaribus galeis scutisque," confusedly armed with the helmet and shield of auxiliary troops. H. iv. 68, "turbidis miscendis seditionibus." The sense is therefore 'to breed uproar and disorder in assemblies, with all the partisanship of a theatrical quarrel.' He could stir up a meeting into strife by the exercise of the arts of the claqueur acquired by practice in the theatre.

17. *ausuros*] In the oratio recta this would have been 'audebimus.' Cf. Agric. 15, "quantulum enim transisse militum :" here the oratio recta would have 'transivit.' A. ii. 2, "ubi illam gloriam trucidantium Crassum :" in the oratio recta this would be 'illa gloria erat.' A. xiii. 43, "cur enim neminem alium delectum?" On the other hand cf. xiii. 49, "cur enim tam levia consectaretur?" i. 19, "cur contra morem obsequii vim meditentur?" In this second set of passages, in the oratio recta the verb would have been in the second person; and this, according to Madvig, settles the mood in the oratio obliqua.

tricena] The usual term of service up to this time had been twenty years for the legionary troops and sixteen for the Praetorians. In few instances only, one would suppose, could thirty or forty years' service have been exacted without discharge.

tendentes] 'Encamped.' Cf. xiii. 36, H. i. 31, &c.

alio vocabulo] That is as 'vexillarii,' or 'vexilla veteranorum :' veterans who after a certain length of service were, until their full discharge, retained under a flag ('vexillum') free from the usual military duties, but called into service on especial emergency. Cf. i. 36, "exauctorari qui sena dena (stipendia) fecissent ac retineri sub vexillo, inmunes nisi propulsandi hostis." There would be a number of these attached to each legion (perhaps not exceeding 500, iii. 21), and they might act independently, or several 'vexilla' be united, H. ii. 83. But all 'vexilla' were not 'vexillarii' in this sense. The word denotes a body of troops detached from their own legions, and serving apart when occasion required. So Caesar, B. G. vi. 36, "complures erant in castris ex legionibus aegri relicti, ex quibus qui hoc spatio dierum convaluerant circiter trecenti sub vexillo una mittuntur." Cf. such phrases as 'vexillum tironum,' ii. 78; 'equitum,' H. ii. 11; and 'delectorum,' xv. 26. In Agric. 18 there is "contractis legionum vexillis." I think when Tacitus uses the word with the simple addition of the number of the legion or the word 'legionum'

labores perferre. ac siquis tot casus vita superaverit, trahi adhuc diversas in terras, ubi per nomen agrorum uligines paludum vel inculta montium accipiant. enimvero militiam ipsam gravem, infructuosam: denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimari: hinc vestem arma tentoria, hinc saevitiam centurionum et vacationes munerum redimi. ad hercule verbera et vulnera, duram hiemem, exercitas aestates, bellum atrox aut sterilem pacem sempiterna. nec aliut levamentum quam si certis sub legibus militia iniretur, ut singulos denarios mererent, sextus decumus stipendii annus finem adferret, ne ultra sub vexillis tenerentur, set isdem in castris praemium pecunia solveretur. an praetorias cohortes, quae binos denarios acceperint, quae post sedecim annos penatibus suis reddantur, plus periculorum suscipere? non obtrectari a se urbanas excubias: sibi tamen aput horridas gentes e contuberniis hostem aspici.

alone, as in the passage last quoted, he means the 'vexillarii' or 'vexilla veteranorum.' If he does not intend these, he adds a phrase like 'tironum' or the like, to show that he means only separate bodies detached under a flag on service.

denis in diem assibus] Originally the pay of the soldier was 2 obols a day, or the third of a denarius (equivalent to a drachma), or $3\frac{1}{3}$ ases a day. C. Julius Caesar doubled this (Suet. Jul. 26), and apparently Augustus raised it to a denarius or 10 ases. The soldier's dress was by a law introduced by Caius Gracchus provided free of cost, but stoppages for dress, &c., seem, from this passage, still to have been made.

redimi] With the first clause 'emi' is to be supplied. Orelli quotes a very similar instance of zeugma from xv. 11, "peditum siquis integer longinqua et avia (petivere), vulnerati castra repetivere." Below, 'ad' is for 'at.' See the Introduction for the spelling.

singulos denarios] Originally the denarius contained 10 ases, but in the second Punic war, 217 A.C., the as was made an ounce in weight, and 16 of these went to a denarius. But Pliny says (Hist. Nat. xxxiii. 3) "denarium in militari stipendio semper pro X. assibus datum." The explanation of this passage seems to be as follows:—The soldiers claimed a denarius a day, or 16 ases, according to the value of the denarius after 217 A.C. or thereabouts. The soldiers (Suet. Dom. 7) seem to have received at this time 9 aurei a year: these are equivalent to 225 denarii or 3600 ases, and give 10 ases a day as the pay—10 ases, that is, of the smaller value, of which 16 made a denarius. In this way a soldier's pay, reckoned at 10 ases a day, was only equivalent to five-eighths of a denarius, and so virtually he was mulcted of three-eighths of his pay, according to the old reckoning. The only two ways of correcting the loss would have been either to pay him 16 ases a day, or retain weightier ases of the old standard. From the observation of Pliny quoted above, the demand of the legions does not seem to have been complied with. Of course his remark cannot mean that 10 ases, when a soldier's pay was concerned, were allowed to count for a denarius or 16 ases, for in that case the troops would have had no ground for complaint. If I understand his words, he intends to say that when the soldier had earned 10 ases, he was considered to have obtained the denarius he was entitled to—a pleasant fiction, as it was really not 10 ases but 16 which were required to make up the denarius.

isdem in castris] The soldiers wished to be paid in the camp where they were, on receiving their discharge.

binos denarios] This is not very clear. Dio (liii. 11) says the Praetorians received double the pay of the legionaries. If these last received 10 ases a day, the Praetorians did not receive 2 denarii, but only 20 ases, unless the speaker was thinking of the practice of reckoning the denarius as representing 10 ases instead of 16.

18. Adstrepebat vulgus, diversis incitamentis, hi verberum notas, illi canitiem, plurimi detrita tegmina et nudum corpus exprobrantes. postremo eo furoris venere, ut tres legiones miscere in unam agitaverint. depulsi aemulatione, quia suae quisque legioni eum honorem quaerebant, alio vertunt atque una tres aquilas et signa cohortium locant; simul congerunt caespites, exstruunt tribunal, quo magis conspicua sedes foret. properantibus Blaesus advenit, increpabatque ac retinebat singulos, clamitans 'mea potius caede imbuite manus: leviore flagitio legatum interficietis quam ab imperatore desciscitis. aut incolumis fidem legionum retinebo, aut iugulatus paenitentiam adcelerabo.'

19. Aggerabatur nihilo minus caespes iamque pectori eius usque adcreverat, cum tandem pervicacia victi inceptum omisere. Blaesus multa dicendi arte non per seditionem et turbas desideria militum ad Caesarem ferenda ait, neque veteres ab imperatoribus priscis neque ipsos a divo Augusto tam nova petivisse; et parum in tempore incipientes principis curas onerari. si tamen tenderent

18. *Adstrepebat*] This word is not used by the writers of the best age, but is common in Tacitus: xi. 17, H. ii. 90. It occurs in an active sense H. iv. 49.

eum honorem] That is, each of the three legions wished its own name, eagle, &c., to be given to the united force; and as none of the three would give way, the scheme fell to the ground.

signa cohortium] There is some difficulty here. Are the 'signa cohortium' the same as the 'vexilla' of ch. 20, and the 'vexilla' of ch. 34? Caesar, B. G. ii. 25, says "quartae cohortis . . . signiferoque interfecto, signo amisso," which certainly seems to indicate that the cohort had a standard of its own, distinct from the eagle of the legion to which it belonged, and the ensigns of the maniples into which it was divided. Under the later Emperors this seems to have been the case beyond doubt, and therefore we may, I think, assume that such was the case under Tiberius. The standards of the maniples were apparently termed 'vexilla,' since Tacitus in c. 20 says "manipuli vexilla convellunt." It may be observed, however, that 'vexillum' was also the flag of *any* detachment of troops from a legion, whence in H. ii. 18 we find "cohortes et mille vexillarios . . . correptis signis vexillisque." But a difficulty is presented by i. 34, "vexilla praeferri (iubet) ut id saltem discerneret cohortes." If the 'vexilla' here mentioned are the standards of the three maniples in the cohort, then, as far as one can see, the maniples *would be* distinguished, and this would be at variance with the inference to be drawn from the previous clauses, "discedere in manipulos iubet; sic melius audituros responsum;" for these words clearly imply that the soldiers refused to arrange themselves in maniples. I think the difficulty may be obviated by supposing the 'vexilla' of the maniples to be carried forward not separately, but together. Then the soldiers of the three maniples, arranging themselves in any order chance suggested, would still, although the maniples were not kept distinct, yet in the aggregate form one single cohort. This seems to me a better solution than supposing 'vexilla' to be used for 'signa,' and to mean the standards of the cohorts. Possibly, the whole proceeding being a hasty and disorderly one, the 'signa cohortium' for some reason may not have been at hand for use, and the grouping the 'vexilla' of the maniples together a sudden expedient.

19. *pectori*] For the dative cf. i. 74, "saevitiae principis adrepit." Also xiv. 53.

imperatoribus priscis] 'Generals of the old-fashioned stamp.' Cf. ii. 32, "in P. Marcium more prisco advertere." Below, 'incipientes curas' is 'the Emperors' burdens at the beginning of his reign.'

in pace temptare quae ne civilium quidem bellorum victores expostulaverint, cur contra morem obsequii, contra fas disciplinae vim meditentur? decernerent legatos seque coram mandata darent. adclamavere ut filius Blaesi tribunus legatione ea fungeretur peteretque militibus missionem ab sedecim annis: cetera mandaturos, ubi prima provenissent. profecto iuvene modicum otium: sed superbire miles, quod filius legati orator publicae causae satis ostenderet necessitate expressa quae per modestiam non obtinuissent.

20. Interea manipuli ante coeptam seditionem Nauportum missi ob itinera et pontes et alios usus, postquam turbatum in castris accepere, vexilla convellunt direptisque proximis vicis ipsoque Nauporto, quod municipii instar erat, retinentis centuriones inrisu et contumeliis, postremo verberibus insectantur, praecipua in Aufidienum Rufum praefectum castrorum ira, quem dereptum vehiculo sarcinis gravant aguntque primo in agmine, per ludibrium rogitantes an tam immensa onera, tam longa itinera libenter ferret. quippe Rufus diu manipularis, dein centurio, mox castris praefectus, antiquam duramque militiam revocabat, vetus operis ac laboris et eo inmitior, quia toleraverat.

meditentur] For the tense, in the oratio obliqua, cf. ii. 5, "at si mare intretur;" xv. 62, "habeat;" H. iv. 75, "si Cerialis velit," followed by 'mallet.' In all these cases of course the imperfect might have been used. But Tacitus seems to have used the present designedly. The imperfect would represent the idea as existing entirely in the mind of the speaker, a pure hypothesis. The present implies that the matter is put forward as more or less likely to happen. I think in iv. 75 the present 'velit' is used to hint that in the speaker's mind *that* is what Cerialis is most likely aiming at, whereas the second alternative is put forward more problematically. In the text 'meditentur' is used because Germanicus intends to imply that violence is what they seem really bent on; whereas 'meditarentur' would be a simple hypothesis, without any indication of the probability of its being verified. It is something of the principle which seems to originate such change of mood as is found in Thucydides (iii. 22): παρανῖσχον φρυκτοὺς ὅπως ἀσαφῆ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς φρυκτωρίας ᾖ καὶ μὴ βοηθοῖεν.

mandaturos] This depends on 'adclamavere,' repeated in a slightly different sense: 'they shouted out a demand that . . . . and shouted out that they would give their other instructions' &c. Of course the infinitive is the natural mood after 'adclamare,' but the idea of 'ordering' is easily connected with this.

20. *municipii*] Cf. H. i. 67, "direptus longa pace in modum municipii extructus locus." Also H. iv. 22. Perhaps, as Nipperdey remarks, the word 'municipium' is used because of the number of Roman citizens resident there. Or, rather, the exact idea is 'like an Italian town,' for the place is not compared to a 'colonia.'

vehiculo] The dative case. Cf. xiii. 57, "tegmina corpori derepta iniciunt."

manipularis] Cf. ii. 55, "infimos manipularium." The word is used for a soldier in the ranks. See the next chapter.

vetus] The Codex Mediceus has 'intus.' I have followed Lipsius in printing 'vetus.' Cf. vi. 12, "scientiae caerimoniarumque vetus." Also vi. 44, H. iv. 20 and 76.

quia toleraverat] One charm of Tacitus' writings lies in the sagacity of the remarks with which he often closes his paragraphs. Cf. the last sentences of H. i. 10, 22, 38. As for the remark here, it does not seem necessarily true that suffering breeds compassion: it may do

21. Horum adventu redintegratur seditio, et vagi circumiecta populabantur. Blaesus paucos, maxime praeda onustos, ad terrorem ceterorum adfici verberibus, claudi carcere iubet; nam etiam tum legato a centurionibus et optimo quoque manipularium parebatur. illi obniti trahentibus, prensare circumstantium genua, ciere modo nomina singulorum, modo centuriam quisque cuius manipularis erat, cohortem, legionem, eadem omnibus inminere clamitantes. simul probra in legatum cumulant, caelum ac deos obtestantur, nihil reliqui faciunt quo minus invidiam misericordiam metum et iras permoverent. adcurritur ab universis, et carcere effracto solvunt vincula desertoresque ac rerum capitalium damnatos sibi iam miscent.

22. Flagrantior inde vis, plures seditioni duces. et Vibulenus quidam gregarius miles, ante tribunal Blaesi adlevatus circumstantium umeris, aput turbatos et quid pararet intentos 'vos quidem' inquit 'his innocentibus et miserrimis lucem et spiritum reddidistis: sed quis fratri meo vitam, quis fratrem mihi reddit? quem missum ad vos a Germanico exercitu de communibus commodis nocte proxima iugulavit per gladiatores suos, quos in exitium militum habet atque armat. responde, Blaese, ubi cadaver abieceris: ne hostes quidem sepultura invident. cum

so occasionally, and may also do just the opposite. The cruellest slave overseer is said to be one who has been a slave himself. Archbishop Whately observes that when Sterne remarks of a negro slave, that she had suffered oppression and had learnt mercy, it would have been more true to have said, *although* she had suffered much oppression. Long-continued oppression tends to brutalize the victim, and breeds reckless moroseness, which seeks for revenge directly or indirectly. A short course of suffering does produce compassion, for by reason of its brevity the mind has not time to harden.

21. *permoverent*] Ernesti proposes to read 'permoveant.' But the sequence of tenses is common enough, for 'faciunt' is merely the historical present, and really describes a past event, and the construction is the same as if a past verb had preceded. Cf. ii. 22, "bellum Stertinio mandat ni deditionem properavissent." Cf. Liv. vii. 37, "cum vidisset hostes, milites ad castra oppugnanda ducit."

iam miscent] The soldiers went to such lengths that at last from that point ('iam') they did not object to let deserters join them in their lawless proceedings, a companionship they would have despised before. Cf. Germ. 46, "cetera iam fabulosa," at this point fable begins.

22. *gladiatores suos*] Cf. xiii. 31, "Edixit Caesar ne quis magistratus aut procurator, qui provinciam obtineret, spectaculum gladiatorum aut ferarum aut quod aliud ludicrum ederet."

ubi] One would have expected 'quo' here. Walther, with the penetration of a commentator who sees peculiar beauty in every expression of the writer, discovers 'ubi' to be 'invidiosius dictum.' But the expression is equivalent to 'ubi cadaver abiectum iacet?' Cf. Suet. Nero 48, "abiecti in via cadaveris." Translate, 'where is the body you have tossed aside?'

sepultura] Cf. Germ. 33, "ne spectaculo quidem proelii invidere." Orelli quotes Lucan vii. 798, "invidet igne rogi." Plin. Epist. ii. 10. 2, "quousque et tibi et nobis invidebis, tibi maxima laude, nobis voluptate?" The usual construction is an accusative of the thing and dative of the person. Horace, Sat. ii. 6. 84, has "neque illi Sepositi ciceris nec longae invidit avenae."

osculis, cum lacrimis dolorem meum implevero, me quoque trucidari iube, dum interfectos nullum ob scelus, sed quia utilitati legionum consulebamus, hi sepeliant.'

23. Incendebat haec fletu et pectus atque os manibus verberans. mox disiectis quorum per umeros sustinebatur, praeceps et singulorum pedibus advolutus tantum consternationis invidiaeque concivit, ut pars militum gladiatores qui e servitio Blaesi erant, pars ceteram eiusdem familiam vincirent, alii ad quaerendum corpus effunderentur. ac ni propere neque corpus ullum reperiri, et servos adhibitis cruciatibus abnuere caedem, neque illi fuisse umquam fratrem pernotuisset, haud multum ab exitio legati aberant. tribunos tamen ac praefectum castrorum extrusere, sarcinae fugientium direptae, et centurio Lucilius interficitur, cui militaribus facetiis vocabulum 'cedo alteram' indiderant, quia fracta vite in tergo militis alteram clara voce ac rursus aliam poscebat. ceteros latebrae texere, uno retento Clemente Iulio, qui perferendis militum mandatis habebatur idoneus ob promptum ingenium. quin ipsae inter se legiones octava et quinta decuma ferrum parabant, dum centurionem cognomento Sirpicum illa morti deposcit, quintadecumani tuentur, ni miles nonanus preces et adversum aspernantis minas interiecisset.

24. Haec audita quamquam abstrusum et tristissima quaeque maxime occultantem Tiberium perpulere ut Drusum filium cum primoribus civitatis duabusque praetoriis cohortibus mitteret, nullis satis certis mandatis, ex re consulturum. et cohortes delecto milite supra solitum firmatae. additur magna pars praetoriani equitis et robora Germanorum, qui tum custodes imperatori aderant; simul praetorii praefectus Aelius Seianus, collega Straboni patri suo datus, magna aput Tiberium auctoritate, rector iuveni

23. *Incendebat haec*] 'He kindled these remarks with tears.' The words formed a kind of fuel, and his tears added the necessary heat to set them in a glow. Cf. i. 69, "accendebat haec onerabatque Seianus." Also ii. 82.

ni . . . aberant] A common form in Tacitus. See below at the end of this chapter, and cf. i. 35, "ferrum deferebat in pectus ni proximi prensam dextram vi adtinuissent." Also ii. 10, 63, &c. Of course the expression is elliptical, 'haud multum aberant, vel certe haud multum abfuissent ni' &c.

fracta vite] The vine-switch was the mark of the centurion's rank (cf. Juv. viii. 247, "Nodosam post haec frangebat vertice vitem, Si lentus pigra muniret castra dolabra"), with which he punished the men. See the woodcut in Smith's Dict. of Antiq. of a centurion with the vine-switch in his hand.

Sirpicum] 'Sirpe' is laserwort. Was Sirpicus a nickname, because he used laserwort for a switch, or was it the man's name? 'Cognomentum' proves nothing, for it is used either for a real name or a nickname. Probably the name was given in joke.

24. *custodes*] This was a body-guard of Germans, chiefly Batavians, dismissed by Augustus after the defeat of Varus, but apparently resumed by him.

iuveni] See note on 'dominationi,' c. 3.

et ceteris periculorum praemiorumque ostentator. Druso propinquanti quasi per officium obviae fuere legiones, non laetae, ut adsolet, neque insignibus fulgentes, sed inluvie deformi et vultu, quamquam maestitiam imitarentur, contumaciae propiores.

25. Postquam vallum introït, portas stationibus firmant, globos armatorum certis castrorum locis opperiri iubent: ceteri tribunal ingenti agmine circumveniunt. stabat Drusus silentium manu poscens. illi quotiens oculos ad multitudinem rettulerant, vocibus truculentis strepere, rursum viso Caesare trepidare; murmur incertum, atrox clamor et repente quies; diversis animorum motibus pavebant terrebantque. tandem interrupto tumultu litteras patris recitat, in quis perscriptum erat, praecipuam ipsi fortissimarum legionum curam, quibuscum plurima bella toleravisset; ubi primum a luctu requiesset animus, acturum aput patres de postulatis eorum; misisse interim filium, ut sine cunctatione concederet quae statim tribui possent; cetera senatui servanda, quem neque gratiae neque severitatis expertem haberi par esset.

26. Responsum est a contione, mandata Clementi centurioni quae perferret. is orditur de missione a sedecim annis, de praemiis finitae militiae, ut denarius diurnum stipendium foret, ne veterani sub vexillo haberentur. ad ea Drusus cum arbitrium senatus et patris obtenderet, clamore turbatur. cur venisset neque augendis militum stipendiis neque adlevandis laboribus, denique nulla bene faciendi licentia? at hercule verbera et necem cunctis permitti. Tiberium olim nomine Augusti desideria legionum frustrari solitum: easdem artes Drusum rettulisse. numquamne nisi ad se

ostentator] Sejanus was to point out to the troops sent from Rome the dangers of failure in their duties, and the rewards to be granted if they discharged those duties faithfully. This appears to be the meaning, as 'ceteri' would more naturally, I think, be the rest of the detachment sent from Rome, than the soldiers in revolt.

insignibus] Cf. xv. 29, "inde eques, insignibus patriis, hinc agmina legionum stetere fulgentibus aquilis signisque," and H. i. 38, "non praetorianus aut legionarius insignibus suis distingueretur," and H. iv. 29, "audacia aut insignibus effulgens." See also Caesar, B. G. ii. 21, "ut non modo ad insignia accommodanda sed etiam ad galeas induendas . . . tempus defuerit." From these passages, it is, I think, certain that Tacitus does not by 'insignia' mean the standards, but all a soldier's ornaments, arms, &c. If 'standards' had been meant, Tacitus would probably have written 'insignibus effulgentibus.'

25. *gratiae*] 'Indulgent consideration.' The Senate, Germanicus said, ought to be consulted whether the demands of the soldiers were to be acceded to or refused, and would no doubt consider the question without erring on the side of excessive severity or leniency.

26. *rettulisse*] 'Had brought up again,' 'brought into use.'

nisi ad se, &c.] This is the reading of the Codex Mediceus, which Lipsius alters to 'ad se nisi,' a more natural reading; but the question is whether Tacitus may not have written the other. As Walther suggests, the particle may qualify 'ad se:' 'were *they* the only troops to whom the sons of households, not the heads, were

filios familiarum venturos? novum id plane quod imperator sola militis commoda ad senatum reiciat. eundem ergo senatum consulendum, quotiens supplicia aut proelia indicantur: an praemia sub dominis, poenas sine arbitro esse?

27. Postremo deserunt tribunal, ut quis praetorianorum militum amicorumve Caesaris occurreret, manus intentantes, causam discordiae et initium armorum, maxime infensi Cn. Lentulo, quod is ante alios aetate et gloria belli firmare Drusum credebatur et illa militiae flagitia primus aspernari. nec multo post digredientem cum Caesare ac provisu periculi hiberna castra repetentem circumsistunt, rogitantes quo pergeret, ad imperatorem an ad patres, ut illic quoque commodis legionum adversaretur; simul ingruunt, saxa iaciunt. iamque lapidis ictu cruentus et exitii certus adcursu multitudinis quae cum Druso advenerat protectus est.

28. Noctem minacem et in scelus erupturam fors lenivit: nam luna claro repente caelo visa languescere. id miles rationis ignarus omen praesentium accepit, suis laboribus defectionem sideris adsimulans, prospereque cessura quae pergerent, si fulgor et claritudo deae redderetur. igitur aeris sono, tubarum cornuumque concentu strepere; prout splendidior obscuriorve, laetari aut maerere; et postquam ortae nubes offecere visui creditumque conditam tenebris, ut sunt mobiles ad superstitionem perculsae

sent; subordinates, themselves in the power of their fathers, not principals.' As a matter of fact, the assertion was no doubt wrong, but the soldiers would probably not have a very accurate knowledge of history, especially in their angry mood.

27. *occurreret*] This is a subjunctive of indefinite frequency, like the Greek optative. Cf. ii. 2, "quotiens per urbes incederet."

causam discordiae] This is an accusative of apposition, not to a particular word, but to the entire sentence. Cf. i. 49, "cupido involat eundi in hostem, piaculum furoris." Also ii. 64, and H. i. 44, "omnes conquiri et interfici iussit . . . munimentum ad praesens, in posterum ultionem." So in Greek, Ἑλένην κτάνωμεν Μενέλεῳ λύπην πικράν, Eurip. Orest. 1105. Cf. also Herc. Fur. 59.

periculi] The genitive is of course an objective one, but in xii. 6 there is a subjective one after 'provisu:' "provisu deum vidua iungeretur principi."

28. *languescere*] The moon was eclipsed. The usual word is 'deficere,' as Cic. de Div. i. 53, "si luna defecisset in signo Leonis."

adsimulans] The Codex Mediceus has 'a' before 'suis,' and 'ac' written in the margin. I have followed most of the commentators in omitting it, but if 'ac' be retained, the construction is 'accepit, ignarus rationis ac adsimulans' &c.

prospereque] This depends on some verb of assertion, supplied from 'adsimulans.' Cf. ii. 45, "fugacem Maroboduum appellans . . . ac mox per dona et largitiones petivisse foedus."

pergerent] Walther makes the verb active, which seems quite unnecessary. I do not see why it should not be 'what was going on.' Although I admit that I can give no instance of 'pergere' being used of things, yet I would rather suppose it to be so employed here than alter the text.

strepere] Cf. Juv. vi. 441, "iam nemo tubas, nemo aera fatiget: Una laboranti poterit succurrere lunae," and Liv. xxvi. 5, "cum aeris crepitu qualis in defectu lunae silenti nocte cieri solet."

semel mentes, sibi aeternum laborem portendi, sua facinora aversari deos lamentantur. utendum inclinatione ea Caesar et quae casus obtulerat in sapientiam vertenda ratus circumiri tentoria iubet; accitur centurio Clemens et si alii bonis artibus grati in vulgus. ii vigiliis, stationibus, custodiis portarum se inserunt, spem offerunt, metum intendunt. 'quousque filium imperatoris obsidebimus? quis certaminum finis? Percennione et Vibuleno sacramentum dicturi sumus? Percennius et Vibulenus stipendia militibus, agros emeritis largientur? denique pro Neronibus et Drusis imperium populi Romani capessent? quin potius, ut novissimi in culpam, ita primi ad paenitentiam sumus? tarda sunt quae in commune expostulantur: privatam gratiam statim mereare, statim recipias.' commotis per haec mentibus et inter se suspectis, tironem a veterano, legionem a legione dissociant. tum redire paulatim amor obsequii: omittunt portas, signa unum in locum principio seditionis congregata suas in sedes referunt.

29. Drusus orto die et vocata contione, quamquam rudis dicendi, nobilitate ingenita incusat priora, probat praesentia; negat se terrore et minis vinci: flexos ad modestiam si videat, si supplices audiat, scripturum patri ut placatus legionum preces exciperet. orantibus rursum idem Blaesus et L. Apronius, eques Romanus e cohorte Drusi, Iustusque Catonius, primi ordinis centurio, ad Tiberium mittuntur. certatum inde sententiis, cum alii opperiendos legatos atque interim comitate permulcendum militem censerent,

vigiliis, &c.] 'Patrols, and sentries.' These words are constantly joined. Cf. i. 32, xi. 18, xiii. 35. Those sentries who were on duty at the gates were 'custodiae portarum,' and were therefore a subdivision of the general term 'stationes.'

novissimi] This can hardly mean that the whole Pannonian army was the last in a series of revolted troops, for they began the disturbance at once on the death of Augustus, and the insubordination of the German legions was subsequent in point of time. As below Tacitus says the younger soldiers were by these representations detached from the veterans, perhaps the 'novissimi' are the younger troops on duty as sentries, &c. (for the veterans would probably be exempt from these services), who were drawn on by the older troops, and at first had no share in the disturbances.

mereare] This form in 're' seems more usually employed than the alternative form in 'ris.'

29. *exciperet*] Perhaps Tacitus may have had a reason for the imperfect tense. It may be used because the result is to be represented as quite uncertain, and is put forward without any expression of probability as to the result. The present subjunctive would have expressed too much of a probability that the demands of the troops might be complied with.

orantibus] See note on i. 5.

e cohorte] Cf. vi. 9, "quem Druso fratri percarum in cohortem suam transtulerat." Also Suet. Jul. 42, Juv. iii. 48, Catul. x. 10. The 'cohors' was the staff and personal following of the magistrates and generals.

primi ordinis] That is, the first centurion of the first maniple of the 'triarii,' to whose care the eagle of the legion was entrusted, Juv. xiv. 197. He is also called 'primipilus' and 'primus pilus.' After honourable discharge he was termed 'primipilaris.'

alii fortioribus remediis agendum: nihil in vulgo modicum; terrere, ni paveant; ubi pertimuerint, inpune contemni: dum superstitio urgeat, adiciendos ex duce metus sublatis seditionis auctoribus. promptum ad asperiora ingenium Druso erat: vocatos Vibulenum et Percennium interfici iubet. tradunt plerique intra tabernaculum ducis obrutos, alii corpora extra vallum abiecta ostentui.

30. Tum ut quisque praecipuus turbator conquisiti, et pars, extra castra palantes, a centurionibus aut praetoriarum cohortium militibus caesi; quosdam ipsi manipuli documentum fidei tradidere. auxerat militum curas praematura hiemps imbribus continuis adeoque saevis, ut non egredi tentoria, congregari inter se, vix tutari signa possent, quae turbine atque unda raptabantur. durabat et formido caelestis irae, nec frustra adversus impios hebescere sidera, ruere tempestates: non aliut malorum levamentum quam si linquerent castra infausta temerataque et soluti piaculo suis quisque hibernis redderentur. primum octava, dein quinta decuma legio rediere: nonanus opperiendas Tiberii epistulas clamitaverat, mox desolatus aliorum discessione inminentem necessitatem sponte praevenit. et Drusus non expectato legatorum regressu, quia praesentia satis considerant, in urbem rediit.

31. Isdem ferme diebus isdem causis Germanicae legiones turbatae, quanto plures, tanto violentius, et magna spe fore ut Germanicus Caesar imperium alterius pati nequiret daretque se legionibus vi sua cuncta tracturis. duo aput ripam Rheni exercitus erant: cui nomen superiori, sub C. Silio legato, inferiorem A. Caecina curabat. regimen summae rei penes Germanicum, agendo Galliarum censui tum intentum. sed quibus Silius moderabatur, mente ambigua fortunam seditionis alienae speculabantur: inferioris exercitūs miles in rabiem prolapsus est, orto ab unetvicesimanis quintanisque initio, et tractis prima quoque ac vicessima legionibus: nam isdem aestivis in finibus Ubiorum habebantur per otium aut levia munia. igitur audito fine Augusti vernacula multitudo nuper

ad asperiora] Cf. i. 76, "Drusus quamquam vili sanguine nimis gaudens." Dio calls him ὠμότατος (lvii. 13).

30. *egredi tentoria*] Cf. iii. 30, "praeturam egressa;" xvi. 10, H. iv. 51. So 'evadere' with an accusative, xii. 35, on the same principle, as the words are equivalent to 'transire' or 'relinquere.' So 'exire,' vi. 49; 'eniti,' ii. 20.

31. *superiori*] For the attraction cf. Virg. Georg. iv. 271, "cui nomen amello fecere agricolae." Liv. i. 34, "nato ab inopia Egerio inditum nomen."

censui] Eutropius (vi. 17) says that Caesar "Galliae tributi nomine annuum imperavit sestertium quadringenties." As this money payment would be an assessment on property, a census would from time to time have to be taken.

vernacula multitudo] After the defeat of Varus, Augustus enrolled recruits from the rabble of the city (ἐκ τοῦ ἀστικοῦ ὄχλου, Dio lvii. 5). Suetonius, August. 25, tells us "libertino milite bis

acto in urbe dilectu, lasciviae sueta, laborum intolerans, impellere ceterorum rudes animos: venisse tempus quo veterani maturam missionem, iuvenes largiora stipendia, cuncti modum miseriarum exposcerent saevitiamque centurionum ulciscerentur. non unus haec, ut Pannonicas inter legiones Percennius, nec aput trepidas militum aures alios validiores exercitus respicientium, sed multa seditionis ora vocesque: sua in manu sitam rem Romanam, suis victoriis augeri rem publicam, in suum cognomentum adscisci imperatores.

32. Nec legatus obviam ibat: quippe plurium vaecordia constantiam exemerat. repente lymphati destrictis gladiis in centuriones invadunt: ea vetustissima militaribus odiis materies et saeviendi principium. prostratos verberibus mulcant, sexageni singulos, ut numerum centurionum adaequarent: tum convulsos laniatosque et partim exanimos ante vallum aut in amnem Rhenum proiciunt. Septimius cum perfugisset ad tribunal pedibusque Caecinae advolveretur, eo usque flagitatus est, donec ad exitium dederetur. Cassius Chaerea, mox caede Gai Caesaris memoriam aput posteros adeptus, tum adulescens et animi ferox, inter obstantes et armatos ferro viam patefecit. non tribunus ultra, non castrorum praefectus ius obtinuit: vigilias, stationes, et si qua alia praesens usus indixerat, ipsi partiebantur. id militares animos altius coniectantibus praecipuum indicium magni atque inplacabilis motus, quod neque disiecti nec paucorum instinctu, set pariter ardescerent, pariter silerent, tanta aequalitate et constantia, ut regi crederes.

33. Interea Germanico per Gallias, ut diximus, census accipienti excessisse Augustum adfertur. neptem eius Agrippinam in matrimonio pluresque ex ea liberos habebat, ipse Druso fratre Tiberii genitus, Augustae nepos, sed anxius occultis in se patrui aviaeque odiis, quorum causae acriores, quia iniquae. quippe Drusi magna apud populum Romanum memoria, credebaturque, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus; unde in Germanicum favor et spes

usus est . . . iterum ad tutelam Rheni fluminis." This 'vernacula multitudo' would therefore be partly, at all events, although not perhaps entirely of freedman's rank.

in suum cognomentum] That is, Germanicus was the name adopted by the commanders of these legions, namely by Drusus the brother of Tiberius, and Germanicus Caesar. Tiberius himself was occasionally called Germanicus. Cf. Dio lvii. 8, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ Γερμανικὸς ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ ὠνομάζετο.

32. *sexageni singulos*] There were sixty centurions in a legion, and therefore from every 'centuria' sixty men were told off to inflict chastisement, with an odd desire for numerical proprieties.

ius obtinuit] 'Maintained his authority.'

33. *rerum*] Tacitus joins 'potiri' with a genitive, as here and elsewhere (iv. 3, xiii. 21, &c.), and with the accusative, xi. 10, as well as with the ablative.

eadem. nam iuveni civile ingenium, mira comitas et diversa ab Tiberii sermone vultu, adrogantibus et obscuris. accedebant muliebres offensiones novercalibus Liviae in Agrippinam stimulis, atque ipsa Agrippina paulo commotior, nisi quod castitate et mariti amore quamvis indomitum animum in bonum vertebat.

34. Sed Germanicus quanto summae spei propior, tanto impensius pro Tiberio niti, seque *et* proximos et Belgarum civitates in verba eius adigit. dehinc audito legionum tumultu raptim profectus obvias extra castra habuit, deiectis in terram oculis velut paenitentia. postquam vallum iniit, dissoni questus audiri coepere. et quidam prensa manu eius per speciem exosculandi inseruerunt digitos, ut vacua dentibus ora contingeret; alii curvata senio membra ostendebant. adsistentem contionem, quia permixta videbatur, discedere in manipulos iubet: sic melius audituros responsum; vexilla praeferri, ut id saltem discerneret cohortes: tarde obtemperavere. tunc a veneratione Augusti orsus flexit ad victorias triumphosque Tiberii, praecipuis laudibus celebrans quae aput Germanias illis cum legionibus pulcherrima fecisset. Italiae inde consensum, Galliarum fidem extollit; nil usquam turbidum aut discors. silentio haec vel murmure modico audita sunt.

35. Ut seditionem attigit, ubi modestia militaris, ubi veteris dis-

novercalibus] Livia was the step-mother of Julia, the mother of Agrippina, and Tiberius had adopted Germanicus. In either point of view Livia might be the great step-mother of Agrippina.

nisi quod] The words qualify a clause understood rather than the remark actually made, and refer to a thought passing through the writer's mind. Agrippina was of an excitable temperament: this might have led her into dangerous excesses, if it had not been turned into a good channel, rather than a bad one. Cf. xiv. 14, "subegit donis ingentibus, nisi quod merces ab eo qui iubere potest vim necessitatis adfert:" he induced them by large presents, except that 'presents' is hardly the word to use when the giver may use force. Cf. also Agric. 6, "vixeruntque mira concordia per mutuam caritatem et invicem se anteponendo, nisi quod in bona uxore tanto maior laus quanto in mala plus culpae est," where the idea to which 'nisi quod' refers seems to be that there was an equality of merit between Agricola and his wife, an idea then qualified by 'nisi quod' &c.

34. *sic melius*] 'They replied that they should hear more conveniently as they were,' not separated into maniples. Hereupon Germanicus ordered the 'vexilla' to be advanced, the standards, that is, of the three maniples contained in every cohort: if the maniples were not to be kept distinct, at least in this way the cohorts would be separated. See the note on i. 18, under 'signa cohortium.'

a veneratione] Is the genitive after this a subjective one, 'the venerable character of Augustus,' or an objective one, 'the regard shown to him'? In xv. 74 'veneratio' has the latter sense. In xii. 42 the meaning is just as ambiguous as here. In H. i. 10, "Titum filium ad venerationem cultumque eius miserat," the word is clearly used for reverence shown. In H. iv. 65, "arcebantur aspectu quo venerationis plus inesset," the word seems rather to mean venerable character. It is an open question therefore, so far, what Tacitus means here. Probably, I think, 'respect shown to' is the sense: Germanicus spoke respectfully of Augustus.

ciplinae decus, quonam tribunos, quo centuriones exegissent, rogitans, nudant universi corpora, cicatrices ex vulneribus, verberum notas exprobrant; mox indiscretis vocibus pretia vacationum, angustias stipendii, duritiam operum ac propriis nominibus incusant vallum, fossas, pabuli materiae lignorum adgestus, et si qua alia ex necessitate aut adversus otium castrorum quaeruntur. atrocissimus veteranorum clamor oriebatur, qui tricena aut supra stipendia numerantes, mederetur fessis, neu mortem in isdem laboribus, sed finem tam exercitae militiae neque inopem requiem orabant. fuere etiam qui legatam a divo Augusto pecuniam reposcerent, faustis in Germanicum ominibus; et si vellet imperium, promptos ostentavere. tum vero, quasi scelere contaminaretur, praeceps tribunali desiluit. opposuerunt abeunti arma, minitantes ni regrederetur; at ille moriturum potius quam fidem exsueret clamitans, ferrum a latere diripuit elatumque deferebat in pectus, ni proximi prensam dextram vi adtinuissent. extrema et conglobata inter se pars contionis ac, vix credibile dictu, quidam singuli propius incedentes, feriret hortabantur; et miles nomine Calusidius strictum obtulit gladium, addito acutiorem esse. saevum id malique moris etiam furentibus visum, ac spatium fuit quo Caesar ab amicis in tabernaculum raperetur.

35. *materiae lignorum*] Cf. Plin. xvi. 40, "cornus non potest videri materies propter exilitatem, sed lignum." 'Materies' (or 'materia') is building timber. Cf. Liv. ii. 7, "delata confestim materia omnis . . . et domus aedificata." 'Ligna' are logs for fire-wood or making smaller things: for the passage of Pliny quoted above goes on, "(sed lignum) non alio paene quam ad radios rotarum utile."

quaeruntur] The word seems to be taken in a rather different sense in the two clauses. In the first part of the sentence the meaning is 'are collected;' in the second, 'are invented;' including all duties which are imposed on the soldiery in order to prevent the effects of continued idleness. The word might be used in exactly the same force throughout, 'whatever the soldiers are set to collect, either because they are wanted really, or to give employment.'

neu mortem] The construction is altered from 'orabant ut mederetur' to a simple accusative, 'mortem.' Something not unlike this occurs in i. 52, "quod . . . quaesivisset, bellica quoque Germanici gloria angebatur." Cf. also iv. 24.

promptos] The pronoun 'se' is to be supplied: "omissio plane intolerabilis," says Walther; but perhaps not more so than the omission of the pronoun before the infinitive mood. Cf. iv. 59, "exstimulatur ut erectum et fidentem animi ostenderet." And possibly, after all, it is hardly necessary to understand 'se.' Some of the most forward demanded the payment of the legacy, and pointed out to Germanicus all around men ready to support him, beyond and above themselves. Below, with reference to a reading 'im pectus' in the MS. for 'in pectus' see the Introduction, on the orthography of Tacitus.

incedentes] 'Accedere' would be more usual in this sense; but Tacitus elsewhere employs the word with the same meaning. Cf. iv. 47, "propius incedentes," and xv. 13. Sometimes it is used to express a haughtiness of gait. Cf. xiv. 53, "talis hortos exstruit, et per haec suburbana incedit." For other instances Forcellini may be consulted.

addito] Cf. i. 46, "cognito qui fuisset exitus." Also i. 49, 66, 75, ii. 28, iii. 2.

36. Consultatum ibi de remedio; etenim nuntiabatur parari legatos qui superiorem exercitum ad causam eandem traherent: destinatum excidio Ubiorum oppidum, imbutasque praeda manus in direptionem Galliarum erupturas. augebat metum gnarus Romanae seditionis et, si omitteretur ripa, invasurus hostis; at si auxilia et socii adversum abscedentis legiones armarentur, civile bellum suscipi. periculosa severitas, flagitiosa largitio; seu nihil militi sive omnia concederentur, in ancipiti res publica. igitur volutatis inter se rationibus placitum ut epistulae nomine principis scriberentur: missionem dari vicena stipendia meritis, exauctorari qui sena dena fecissent ac retineri sub vexillo ceterorum inmunes nisi propulsandi hostis, legata quae petiverant exsolvi duplicarique.

37. Sensit miles in tempus conficta statimque flagitavit. missio per tribunos maturatur, largitio differebatur in hiberna cuiusque. non abscessere quintani unetvicessimanique, donec isdem in aestivis contracta ex viatico amicorum ipsiusque Caesaris pecunia persolveretur. primam ac vicessimam legiones Caecina legatus in civitatem Ubiorum reduxit, turpi agmine, cum fisci de imperatore rapti inter signa interque aquilas veherentur. Germanicus superiorem ad exercitum profectus secundam et tertiam decumam et sextam decumam legiones nihil cunctatas sacramento adigit. quartadecimani paulum dubitaverant: pecunia et missio quamvis non flagitantibus oblata est.

36. *Ubiorum oppidum*] This was the 'Colonia Agrippinensis' of a later date.

auxilia et socii] Tacitus seems to mean the allied troops already serving in the army, and the allies now at home, who might be employed if necessary.

suscipi] This might have been 'fore ut susciperetur,' but Tacitus seems to use the present to express the imminency of the war under the supposed circumstances: 'war was at once begun,' 'was as good as begun directly.'

exauctorari] 'To be released from the military oath,' but, as the next words show, this was not equivalent to an entire discharge ('missio').

37. *differebatur*] A common use of the imperfect to express unrealized intention. It was proposed to defer the payment of the largess until the troops reached their respective winter quarters. But the 5th and 21st legions would not be put off, and refused to leave until the amount was fully paid ('persolveretur'). It is clear that all the legions were paid equally, but the 5th and 21st were those which absolutely made the demand, and then all were treated alike.

inter signa] Soldiers were allowed to deposit money for safe custody amongst the standards. Domitian (Suet. Domit. 7, "nec plusquam mille nummos a quoquam ad signa deponi") limited the amount to be so deposited to a thousand sestertii for each soldier. The money for the payment of the soldiers and other purposes was also kept 'inter signa' in bags ('fiscus'): of any donative bestowed on the soldiers, half was retained and similarly kept. One object of this was to retain a hold on the soldier—his money was a kind of hostage for his remaining at his post. Cf. Veget. ii. 20, "divinitus institutum est cum milites publica sustinerentur annona ex donativo quod consequebantur pars dimidia ipsis servaretur ne inutiliter se absumerent et depositi memores signa non desererent."

38. At in Chaucis coeptavere seditionem praesidium agitantes vexillarii discordium legionum et praesenti duorum militum supplicio paulum repressi sunt. iusserat id M'. Ennius castrorum praefectus, bono magis exemplo quam concesso iure. deinde intumescente motu profugus repertusque, postquam intutae latebrae, praesidium ab audacia mutuatur: non praefectum ab iis, sed Germanicum ducem, sed Tiberium imperatorem violari. simul exterritis qui obstiterant, raptum vexillum ad ripam vertit, et si quis agmine decessisset, pro desertore fore clamitans, reduxit in hiberna turbidos et nihil ausos.

39. Interea legati ab senatu regressum iam aput aram Ubiorum Germanicum adeunt. duae ibi legiones, prima atque vicensima, veteranique nuper missi sub vexillo hiemabant. pavidos et conscientia vaecordes intrat metus, venisse patrum iussu qui inrita facerent quae per seditionem expresserant. utque mos vulgo quamvis falsis reum subdere, Munatium Plancum consulatu functum, principem legationis, auctorem senatus consulti incusant; et nocte concubia vexillum in domo Germanici situm flagitare occipiunt, concursuque ad ianuam facto moliuntur fores, extractum cubili Caesarem tradere vexillum intento mortis metu subigunt.

38. *vexillarii*] The veteran soldiers were clearly in the summer camp on the Rhine (i. 35). The troops here mentioned seem to have been detachments from the legions, on separate duty, and therefore serving 'sub vexillo,' but not in the same position as those described in c. 17 as "sub vexillo tendentes." See the note on c. 17.

bono magis exemplo] Ennius supplied a good precedent for others to follow under similar circumstances, but his act was scarcely legitimate. It was no part of the duty of the 'praefectus castrorum' to punish the soldiery: it was his especial business to see to the construction and internal organization of the camp.

et nihil ausos] Cf. Juv. i. 74, "probitas laudatur, et (and yet) alget." Cf. i. 13, "Gallum Asinium avidum et minorem."

39. *missi*] The simplest construction is 'hiemabant sub vexillo.' At all events, 'hiemabant' alone, without any explanatory adjunct, strikes one as rather bare. Others take it as equivalent to 'missi ea lege ut sub vexillo essent;' but the former construction seems to me the best.

expresserant] For the mood see the note on 'abstulerat' in c. 10.

quamvis falsis] That is, every offence, no matter how imaginary it may be, must be fathered on some definite author. Vague accusation of some indefinite person will not satisfy a crowd. They must localize their suspicions.

vexillum] Is this the 'vexillum' mentioned previously? Lipsius says it is not, but the ensign put forth by the Imperator as the signal for engagement. Cf. Caesar, B. G. ii. 20, "Caesari omnia uno tempore erant agenda: vexillum proponendum quod erat insigne cum ad arma concurri oporteret." But I do not understand what the soldiers required the 'vexillum' for in this sense. They would hardly want it to give a legitimate air to their proceedings. I think the 'vexillum' is that of the veterans lately discharged. Perhaps they had not actually received it, although it was promised. At all events, they might feel more secure of the arrangement being really carried out, if they could keep the 'vexillum' amongst them. It was a kind of guarantee that they would not be cheated. This is in substance the explanation of Walther. If the great cause of alarm, as he suggests, refers to the recall of their discharge, and not the withdrawal of the largess, it would ex-

mox vagi per vias obvios habuere legatos, audita consternatione ad Germanicum tendentes. ingerunt contumelias, caedem parant, Planco maxime, quem dignitas fuga impediverat; neque aliud periclitanti subsidium quam castra primae legionis. illic signa et aquilam amplexus religione sese tutabatur, ac ni aquilifer Calpurnius vim extremam arcuisset, rarum etiam inter hostes, legatus populi Romani Romanis in castris sanguine suo altaria deum commaculavisset. luce demum, postquam dux et miles et facta noscebantur, ingressus castra Germanicus perduci ad se Plancum imperat recepitque in tribunal. tum fatalem increpans rabiem, neque militum sed deum ira resurgere, cur venerint legati aperit; ius legationis atque ipsius Planci gravem et immeritum casum, simul quantum dedecoris adierit legio, facunde miseratur, attonitaque magis quam quieta contione legatos praesidio auxiliarium equitum dimittit.

40. Eo in metu arguere Germanicum omnes, quod non ad superiorem exercitum pergeret, ubi obsequia et contra rebellis auxilium: satis superque missione et pecunia et mollibus consultis peccatum. vel si vilis ipsi salus, cur filium parvulum, cur gravidam coniugem inter furentes et omnis humani iuris violatores haberet? illos saltem avo et rei publicae redderet. diu cunctatus aspernantem uxorem, cum se divo Augusto ortam neque degenerem ad pericula testaretur, postremo uterum eius et communem filium multo cum fletu complexus, ut abiret perpulit. incedebat muliebre et miserabile agmen, profuga ducis uxor, parvulum sinu filium gerens, lamentantes circum amicorum coniuges, quae simul trahebantur, nec minus tristes qui manebant.

41. Non florentis Caesaris neque suis in castris, set velut in

plain why the veterans chiefly were concerned in it.

altaria deum] In the 'principia' of the camp, the standards, altars of the gods, and images of the Emperors were placed. Cf. H. iii. 10, "conversus ad signa et bellorum deos . . . orabat;" and iv. 2, "colique per theatra et fora effigies eius interque principia legionum sineret."

resurgere] This depends on 'dicens,' or similar word, supplied from 'increpans.'

40. *vel si*] In the oratio recta the form of the sentence would be 'si . . . est,' the point being assumed as true, and not a mere hypothetical contingency. Consequently, in the oratio obliqua, the verb of existence can be omitted. See the note on the subject on c. 2, under 'postquam.'

aspernantem] In ii. 66 Tacitus uses 'cunctatus' in the usual way as a neuter verb. Valerius Flaccus (ii. 93) has "alternos aegro cunctantem poplite gressus," but this is a very rare if not solitary instance. No doubt therefore the word is employed in a neuter sense here, and the accusative is governed by 'perpulit,' and the construction is 'perpulit uxorem aspernantem . . . postremo complexus' &c., the change of case being of course due to the change of subject, one participle referring to the object, and the other to the subject of the verb. The son here mentioned is Caligula.

41. *suis in castris*] The pronoun from

urbe victa facies gemitusque ac planctus etiam militum aures oraque advertere: progrediuntur contuberniis. quis ille flebilis sonus? quod tam triste? feminas inlustres; non centurionem ad tutelam, non militem, nihil imperatoriae uxoris aut comitatus soliti: pergere ad Treveros et externae fidei. pudor inde et miseratio et patris Agrippae, Augusti avi memoria, socer Drusus, ipsa insigni fecunditate, praeclara pudicitia; iam infans in castris

its position is emphatic: 'a camp that seemed to belong to him.' Cf. Agric. 10, "iugis etiam et montibus inseri velut in suo."

quod] 'Qui' is used sometimes for 'quis' or 'qualis.' Phaedr. i. 13. 6, "O qui tuarum, Corve, pennarum est nitor!" In this sense it seems, as far as I know, to be joined with a substantive, and not with an adjective. If so, 'triste' must be regarded as a noun, although the use of 'tam' makes this somewhat doubtful. Cf. i. 42, "quod nomen huic coetui dabo?"

feminas] This depends on some verb like 'disserebant,' easily supplied from the general turn of the sentence: 'they kept repeating that the ladies (in this plight) were high born: there was no centurion' &c.

externae fidei] A genitive of quality, depending on the notion of 'race,' 'men,' inferred from the word 'Treveri' just preceding. This is the more easily done, because 'Treveros' here implies something of quality: 'men who were only Treveri.'

in castris genitus] Suetonius (Calig. 8) tells us that Caligula was born at Antium. Plinius Secundus and Athenaeus agree with Tacitus. Both accounts cannot be correct, and I believe Tacitus to be wrong; although I do not of course as a rule set the authority of Suetonius above that of our historian. Suetonius professes to have carefully investigated the point, knowing it to be one about which a great variety of tradition existed. That Caligula was born at Tibur he dismisses at once, as a barefaced assertion of Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus, made for the mere sake of flattering the Emperor. That Caligula was born in Germany was the common belief, as is evident from the lines quoted by Suetonius, "In castris natus, patriis nutritus in armis, Iam designati Principis omen erat." Now Caligula was born A.D. 12, on the last day of August, in the consulship of his father Germanicus, who spent that year entirely at Rome, whither he returned for that office from Germany. One would hardly suppose that his wife would stay behind, as there would be no reason to prevent her accompanying Germanicus to Rome at the close of the year A.D. 11, as of course there might have been if her child had been born early in the year A.D. 12, instead of so late as August. Lipsius speaks of her as 'tumida et vicina partus' at the close of A.D. 11, which I do not see that he has any right to assume, unless at least he can prove the August date of the birth of Caligula to be incorrect or doubtful. Moreover, if Caligula were born in Germany, he must have been subsequently brought to Rome, and carried back to Germany within a few months, for Suetonius quotes a letter of Augustus to Agrippina, in which he writes, "puerum Caium XV. Kal. Iunii si Dii volent ut ducerent Talarius et Asellius heri cum his constitui. . . . Valebis mea Agrippina et dabis operam ut valens pervenias ad Germanicum tuum." This seems to be extremely improbable, as Suetonius himself remarks: "non potuisse ibi nasci Caium quo prope bimulus demum perductus ab Urbe sit." Suetonius declares (Calig. 8) that he found in the 'Acta publica' a record of the birth of Caligula at Antium, which he is not likely to have confounded with another son of Germanicus, also a Caius, born a year before at Tibur, as he says. I believe this to be correct, and if Caligula were carried, as he undoubtedly was, to Germany while quite an infant, a belief may easily have sprung up that he was born there. I cannot conceive that after the careful investigation Suetonius represents himself to have made, he was entirely mistaken. It seems to me more likely that Tacitus took up the prevalent belief of the birth of Caligula in Germany, and that as it did not occur to him that it was incorrect, he did not investigate the truth of the generally received account. Of course if an objection be raised that there is no

genitus, in contubernio legionum eductus, quem militari vocabulo Caligulam appellabant, quia plerumque ad concilianda vulgi studia eo tegmine pedum induebatur. sed nihil aeque flexit quam invidia in Treveros: orant obsistunt, rediret maneret, pars Agrippinae occursantes, plurimi ad Germanicum regressi. isque ut erat recens dolore et ira, aput circumfusos ita coepit.

42. 'Non mihi uxor aut filius patre et re publica cariores sunt, sed illum quidem sua maiestas, imperium Romanum ceteri exercitus defendent. coniugem et liberos meos, quos pro gloria vestra libens ad exitium offerrem, nunc procul a furentibus summoveo, ut quidquid istut sceleris imminet, meo tantum sanguine pietur, neve occisus Augusti pronepos, interfecta Tiberii nurus nocentiores vos faciat. quid enim per hos dies inausum intemeratumve vobis? quod nomen huic coetui dabo? militesne appellem, qui filium imperatoris vestri vallo et armis circumsedistis? an cives, quibus tam proiecta senatus auctoritas? hostium quoque ius et sacra legationis et fas gentium rupistis. divus Iulius seditionem exercitus verbo uno compescuit, Quirites vocando qui sacramentum eius detractabant: divus Augustus vultu et aspectu Actiacas legiones exterruit: nos ut nondum eosdem, ita ex illis ortos si Hispaniae Syriaeve miles aspernaretur, tamen mirum et indignum erat. primane et

proof that Caligula was born in his father's consulship, the whole reasoning falls to the ground, and nothing can be said either one way or the other.

eo tegmine] Cf. Juv. xvi. 24, "offendere tot caligas, tot milia clavorum."

recens ira] A different construction occurs in iii. 1, "recentes in dolore," although it may be doubtful whether the words should be joined so. Tacitus often uses the construction with an ablative. Cf. xv. 59, "stipendiis recentes." H. iii. 77, "recens victoria."

42. *quidquid istut*] Cf. ii. 38, "non enim preces sunt istuc." Also Plaut. Curcul. i. 1. 32, "quid istuc verbi est." For a similar turn cf. xiv. 43, "quicquid hoc in nobis auctoritatis est."

hostium quoque ius] The right which even enemies may claim of having their ambassadors respected and secure from harm. This Plancus had not obtained (i. 39). 'Ius gentium' is opposed to 'ius civile,' the former being the principles of law which must be common to all nations which have law, the latter peculiar to some particular community.

Quirites vocando] This occurred twice, at Placentia 49 A.C., and a second time before Rome 47 A.C., between the battles of Pharsalia and Thapsus. Cf. Suet. C. Julius Caesar 70.

exterruit] Cf. Suet. August. 17, "ab Actio cum Samum insulam in hiberna se recepisset, turbatus nuntiis de seditione militum praemia et missionem poscentium quos ex omni numero Brundisium praemiserat, repetit Italiam."

erat] Cf. xv. 6, "Paetus cui satis ad gloriam erat si proximus haberetur despiciebat gesta." Also H. i. 16, "si immensum imperii corpus stare ac librari sine rectore posset, dignus eram a quo res publica inciperet." I suppose the statement of the second clause is sometimes regarded as substantially true in itself, and not merely as true under the hypothesis of the first clause. This is the explanation, I think, of H. i. 16. In other cases, perhaps, although the affirmation ('mirum, indignum &c. erat') is only made under the hypothesis in the first clause ('si' &c.), yet the hypothesis when once put forward is viewed rather as a realized fact than a mere supposition in the writer's mind. This accounts

vicessima legiones, illa signis a Tiberio acceptis, tu tot proeliorum socia, tot praemiis aucta, egregiam duci vestro gratiam refertis? hunc ego nuntium patri, laeta omnia aliis e provinciis audienti, feram? ipsius tirones, ipsius veteranos non missione, non pecunia satiatos; hic tantum interfici centuriones, eici tribunos, includi legatos, infecta sanguine castra flumina, meque precariam animam inter infensos trahere.

43. 'Cur enim primo contionis die ferrum illud, quod pectori meo infigere parabam, detraxistis, o inprovidi amici? melius et amantius ille qui gladium offerebat. cecidissem certe nondum tot flagitiorum exercitui meo conscius; legissetis ducem, qui meam quidem mortem inpunitam sineret, Vari tamen et trium legionum ulcisceretur. neque enim di sinant ut Belgarum quamquam offerentium decus istut et claritudo sit, subvenisse Romano nomini, compressisse Germaniae populos. tua, dive Auguste, caelo recepta mens, tua, pater Druse, imago, tui memoria isdem istis cum militibus quos iam pudor et gloria intrat, eluant hanc maculam irasque civiles in exitium hostibus vertant. vos quoque, quorum alia nunc ora, alia pectora contueor, si legatos senatui, obsequium imperatori, si mihi coniugem et filium redditis, discedite a contactu ac dividite turbidos: id stabile ad paenitentiam, id fidei vinculum erit.'

44. Supplices ad haec et vera exprobrari fatentes orabant puniret noxios, ignosceret lapsis et duceret in hostem: revocaretur coniux, rediret legionum alumnus neve opses Gallis traderetur. reditum Agrippinae excusavit ob imminentem partum et hiemem; venturum filium: cetera ipsi exsequerentur. discurrunt mutati et

for xv. 6, and the passage in the text. If Paetus was ranked second, that—which was his real position—was quite enough. So in the text, 'if the soldiers of Spain and Syria rejected us with contempt, such conduct realized, (although in thought only), as actually displayed was strange indeed.'

43. *Cur enim*] The force of 'enim' is not very clear here. It seems to refer to a thought not expressed, but underlying the previous sentence. Germanicus feels that he has been brought to his present pitiable condition by the ill-timed interference of his friends. '*You* have brought me,' he says, 'to this; for why else did you drag the sword from me?'

melius et amantius] For the ellipse of 'agere' cf. Agric. 19, "nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei;" iv. 38 "melius Augustum qui speraverit." Also H. i. 84.

imago] Not apparently the visible image of Drusus, placed, like the busts of the Emperors, 'inter signa.' Joined with 'mens' and 'memoria' it is taken metaphorically—Drusus was present to their imaginations.

hanc maculam] The mutiny of the soldiers, as the next words, 'irasque civiles,' seem to show.

alia] Other than they were, different. Cf. Cic. ad Fam. xi. 2, "nec quidquam aliud libertate communi quaesisse."

44. *excusavit*] 'Made excuses for her return,' i. e. 'quod non rediret.' For a different sense of the word see note on i. 59.

seditiosissimum quemque vinctos trahunt ad legatum legionis primae C. Caetronium, qui iudicium et poenas de singulis in hunc modum exercuit. stabant pro contione legiones destrictis gladiis; reus in suggestu per tribunum ostendebatur: si nocentem adclamaverant, praeceps datus trucidabatur. et gaudebat caedibus miles, tamquam semet absolveret; nec Caesar arcebat, quando nullo ipsius iussu penes eosdem saevitia facti et invidia erat. secuti exemplum veterani haud multo post in Raetiam mittuntur, specie defendendae provinciae ob imminentis Suebos, ceterum ut avellerentur castris trucibus adhuc non minus asperitate remedii quam sceleris memoria. centurionatum inde egit. citatus ab imperatore nomen, ordinem, patriam, numerum stipendiorum, quae strenue in proeliis fecisset, et cui erant dona militaria, edebat. si tribuni, si legio industriam innocentiamque adprobaverant, retinebat ordinem: ubi avaritiam aut crudelitatem consensu obiectavissent, solvebatur militia.

45. Sic compositis praesentibus haut minor moles supererat ob ferociam quintae et unetvicesimae legionum, sexagesimum aput lapidem (loco Vetera nomen est) hibernantium. nam primi seditionem coeptaverant: atrocissimum quodque facinus horum manibus patratum; nec poena commilitonum exterriti nec paenitentia con-

vinctos] For the plural cf. H. iv. 25, "optimus quisque iussis paruere." Also H. iv. 27, iv. 25, H. ii. 44. In Cicero 'quisque' usually takes the singular.

pro contione] 'Contio' is used in various senses. (1) For an assembly: iv. 40, "vel in senatu vel in contione non reticebo;" xi. 35, "parata contione militum, apud quos . . . pauca verba fecit." This seems the meaning of the phrase 'pro contione' in Sall. Jug. 8, "laudatum magnifice pro contione Iugurtham in praetorium abduxit." (2) For the harangue made before an assembly: cf. iv. 34, "Bruti contiones falsa quidem in Augustum probra, sed multa cum acerbitate habent." H. iii. 3, "hanc sui famam ea statim contione commoverat." (3) The place from which the address was delivered, rostra, tribunal, &c.: cf. Cic. de Fin. ii. § 74, "iam cum magistratum inieris et in contionem ascenderis." This is the sense of 'pro contione' in the text. In the camp there was a tribunal erected, of turf, or sometimes of stone if the camp were a permanent one, at the 'principia,' whence addresses were made by the general to his troops: the words therefore mean 'in front of the tribunal.' The same phrase occurs in the same meaning in ii. 22, "laudatis pro contione victoribus."

centurionatum] The word here can only mean an election of centurions, or a review of the list of centurions. The phrase is like 'agere delectum' or 'censum.' It occurs elsewhere in the sense of the office of a centurion.

fecisset] There seems a change of tense from the subjunctive ('fecisset') to the indicative ('erant'), because the first is an indefinite expression, 'whatever he might have done;' the second a definite one, the honours each was distinctly known to possess. The 'gifts' are collars, chaplets, trappings, &c. Cf. Juv. xvi. 60, "ut laeti phaleris omnes et torquibus omnes."

obiectavissent] The change of mood appears to point out that the objections were far less numerous than the approvals: the indicative denoting the usual course, the subjunctive the exceptional and rarer. There is the same union of 'si' and 'ubi' in iv. 17, with an indicative mood.

45. *Vetera*] Sc. 'castra.' This is said to be Birten, near Xanten, on the left bank of the Rhine.

versi iras retinebant. igitur Caesar arma classem socios demittere Rheno parat, si imperium detrectetur, bello certaturus.

46. At Romae nondum cognito, qui fuisset exitus in Illyrico, et legionum Germanicarum motu audito, trepida civitas incusare Tiberium quod, dum patres et plebem, invalida et inermia, cunctatione ficta ludificetur, dissideat interim miles neque duorum adulescentium nondum adulta auctoritate comprimi queat. ire ipsum et opponere maiestatem imperatoriam debuisse cessuris, ubi principem longa experientia eundemque severitatis et munificentiae summum vidissent. an Augustum fessa aetate totiens in Germanias commeare potuisse: Tiberium vigentem annis sedere in senatu, verba patrum cavillantem? satis prospectum urbanae servituti: militaribus animis adhibenda fomenta, ut ferre pacem velint.

47. Inmotum adversus eos sermones fixumque Tiberio fuit non omittere caput rerum neque se remque publicam in cassum dare. multa quippe et diversa angebant: validior per Germaniam exercitus, propior aput Pannoniam; ille Galliarum opibus subnixus, hic Italiae imminens: quos igitur anteferret? ac ne postpositi contumelia incenderentur. at per filios pariter adiri maiestate salva, cui maior e longinquo reverentia. simul adulescentibus excusatum

46. *cognito*] See i. 35, under 'addito.'

invalida] For the neuter cf. Virg. Aen. iv. 569, "varium et mutabile semper femina;" and Ecl. iii. 80, "triste lupus stabulis." For the apposition cf. xvi. 8, "praeficeretque rationibus et libellis et epistulis libertos, inania simul et falsa." Also Agric. 18, "sparsi per provinciam numeri praesumpta illius anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum inchoaturo."

summum] 'Supreme in the matter of severity and liberality.' As before observed, Tacitus uses the genitive case after adjectives, to denote the sphere of the quality displayed.

totiens] Cf. Suet. Aug. 20, "reliqua bella per legatos administravit, ut tamen quibusdam Pannonicis atque Germanicis aut interveniret aut non longe abesset." Dio (liv. 20) speaks of Augustus visiting Germany after the defeat of Lollius, and at a subsequent period (lv. 6).

47. *Inmotum*] The adjectives here seem to be used substantively, comparing xv. 5, "Vologesi vetus et penitus infixum erat arma Romana vitandi," where the genitive 'vitandi' depends on the adjective and participle, used so entirely like substantives as to be constructed like them.

in cassum] So the MS. for 'casum.' Quintilian (i. 7. 20) says that in Cicero's time and rather later, if 's' occurred between two long vowels, or after a long vowel, it was doubled, as 'caussae,' 'cassus,' 'divissiones.' In ii. 23, 25, the MS. has 'cassuum' and 'cassibus.' So 'vicessimus' is found for 'vicesimus.' As these forms occur more than once, I retain them. In i. 71 there is 'inlussisse,' and in ii. 85 'omississet.' The pronunciation was the same, whether there was one 's' or two. See a note on ii. 5, under 'oportunum.'

quos igitur] Nipperdey quotes some passages where 'quis' is put for 'uter:' Cic. ad Attic. xvi. 14; Caesar, B. G. v. 44; Pers. ii. 19; Juv. viii. 195. The explanation probably is that the idea of a choice between two and no more is not prominently brought forward: if it be, 'uter' must be used.

ac ne postpositi] The word 'metuebat' or the like is easily supplied from the general turn of the passage. Cf. H. iii. 46, "ni Mucianus sextam legionem opposuisset, Cremonensis victoriae gnarus, et ne externa moles utrimque ingrueret."

quaedam ad patrem reicere, resistentisque Germanico aut Druso posse a se mitigari vel infringi: quod aliut subsidium, si imperatorem sprevissent? ceterum ut iam iamque iturus legit comites, conquisivit impedimenta, adornavit naves: mox hiemem aut negotia varie causatus primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutissime provincias fefellit.

48. At Germanicus, quamquam contracto exercitu et parata in defectores ultione, dandum adhuc spatium ratus, si recenti exemplo sibi ipsi consulerent, praemittit litteras ad Caecinam, venire se valida manu ac, ni supplicium in malos praesumant, usurum promisca caede. eas Caecina aquiliferis signiferisque et quod maxime castrorum sincerum erat occulte recitat, utque cunctos infamiae, se ipsos morti eximant hortatur: nam in pace causas et merita spectari: ubi bellum ingruat, innocentes ac noxios iuxta cadere. illi temptatis quos idoneos rebantur, postquam maiorem legionum partem in officio vident, de sententia legati statuunt tempus, quo foedissimum quemque et seditioni promptum ferro invadant. tunc signo inter se dato inrumpunt contubernia, trucidant ignaros, nullo nisi consciis noscente quod caedis initium, quis finis.

49. Diversa omnium, quae umquam accidere, civilium armorum facies. non proelio, non adversis e castris, sed isdem e cubilibus, quos simul vescentis dies, simul quietos nox habuerat, discedunt in partes, ingerunt tela. clamor vulnera sanguis palam, causa in occulto; cetera fors regit. et quidam bonorum caesi, postquam intellecto in quos saeviretur pessimi quoque arma rapuerant. neque legatus aut tribunus moderator adfuit: permissa vulgo licentia atque ultio et satietas. mox ingressus castra Germanicus, non medicinam illut plurimis cum lacrimis sed cladem appellans, cremari corpora iubet.

Truces etiam tum animos cupido involat eundi in hostem, piaculum furoris; nec aliter posse placari commilitonum manes,

48. *si . . . consulerent*] Cf. Plaut. Cist. i. 3. 37, "operam servus dat, si possiet meretricem illam invenire." Liv. xxxi. 9, "ad collegium pontificum referre consul iussus, si posset recte votum suscipi."

quis finis] Ernesti proposes 'qui finis,' but the different clauses are not quite the same in meaning. It is 'quod initium' because there really had been a beginning, only no one knew quite of what kind it was; but 'quis finis' because no one, except those who were in the secret, knew whether there would be any end at all to the slaughter.

49. *intellecto*] See the note on i. 35, under 'addito.'

illut] For the neuter of the pronoun instead of the gender required by the substantive cf. ii. 38, "non enim preces sunt istut, sed efflagitatio." Also iv. 19, "quasi aut Varro consul, aut illut res publica esset." Also Agric. 43, "sive cura illud sive inquisitio erat."

piaculum furoris] See note on 'causam discordiae,' i. 27.

quam si pectoribus impiis honesta vulnera accepissent. sequitur ardorem militum Caesar iunctoque ponte tramittit duodecim milia e legionibus, sex et viginti socias cohortis, octo equitum alas, quarum ea seditione intemerata modestia fuit.

50. Laeti neque procul Germani agitabant, dum iustitio ob amissum Augustum, post discordiis attinemur. at Romanus agmine propero silvam Caesiam limitemque a Tiberio coeptum scindit, castra in limite locat, frontem ac tergum vallo, latera concaedibus munitus. inde saltus obscuros permeat consultatque ex duobus itineribus breve et solitum sequatur an inpeditius et intemptatum eoque hostibus incautum. delecta longiore via cetera adcelerantur: etenim attulerant exploratores festam eam Germanis noctem ac sollemnibus epulis ludicram. Caecina cum expeditis cohortibus praeire et obstantia silvarum amoliri iubetur: legiones modico intervallo sequuntur. iuvit nox sideribus inlustris, ventumque ad vicos Marsorum et circumdatae stationes stratis etiam tum per cubilia propterque mensas, nullo metu, non antepositis vigiliis: adeo cuncta incuria disiecta erant, neque belli timor, ac ne pax quidem nisi languida et soluta inter temulentos.

iunctoque ponte] He threw a bridge across the Rhine near Vetera, and entered the district across the river with half his forces. For 'pontem iungere' cf. xiii. 7, "pontes per amnem Euphratem iungi."

50. *limitemque*] This barrier is said to have been near Dorsten, and the 'saltus obscuri' mentioned afterwards are the Haardt range between the Lippe and the Ruhr. As to the exact meaning of the passage, I am not very clear: for it is not obvious what is the sense of 'scindit.' In H. iv. 28 Tacitus says "Transrhenanos proelium poscentis ad scindendum vallum ire detrusosque redintegrare certamen iubet," where the meaning apparently is 'to force their way through, i. e. over the rampart,' not literally 'to cut a hole *through* it.' Probably this is the sense here. Germanicus did not actually cut a hole through the 'limes:' nor indeed from the words 'propero agmine' do I suppose he really had literally to cut down trees in order to effect a passage, although he cut them down to fortify his flanks with. 'Scindere limitem' is then very much equivalent to the phrase of Velleius Paterculus (ii. 120), "penetrat interius, *aperit limites*, vastat agros." Germanicus pitched his camp on the 'limes,' with a ditch and rampart in his front and rear, and protected his flanks by felled trees, as C. Julius Caesar did (B. G. iii. 29): "silvas caedere instituit, et ne quis inermibus imprudentibusque militibus ab latere impetus fieri posset, omnem eam materiam quae erat caesa ad hostem collocabat et pro vallo ad utrumque latus exstruebat." I do not know whether Tacitus means to imply that the 'camp' was entirely contained within the limits of the barrier or embankment; but I am inclined to think, with Gronovius, that he does not: for one would suppose the barrier unlikely to be wide enough.

incautum] 'Undefended.' Nipperdey quotes Liv. xxv. 38, "quod neglexeris incautum atque apertum habeas."

obstantia silvarum] Cf. i. 53, "in prominenti litoris;" xii. 56, "colles montiumque edita." Also H. iii. 42.

Marsorum] These people seem to have once been settled in Westphalia, between Münster and Paderborn, but they withdrew farther into the interior, and occupied the country between the Lippe and the Ruhr.

ne pax quidem] There was not only an absence of all precautions usual in war, but not even the tranquillity of a substantial peace: or if there was

51. Caesar avidas legiones, quo latior populatio foret, quattuor in cuneos dispertit; quinquaginta milium spatium ferro flammisque pervastat. non sexus, non aetas miserationem attulit: profana simul et sacra et celeberrimum illis gentibus templum quod Tamfanae vocabant solo aequantur. sine vulnere milites, qui semisomnos, inermos aut palantis ceciderant. excivit ea caedes Bructeros, Tubantes, Usipetes; saltusque per quos exercitui regressus insedere. quod gnarum duci incessitque itineri et proelio. pars equitum et auxiliariae cohortes ducebant, mox prima legio, et mediis impedimentis sinistrum latus unetvicesimani, dextrum quintani clausere, vicesima legio terga firmavit, post ceteri sociorum. sed hostes, donec agmen per saltus porrigeretur, immoti, dein latera et frontem modice adsultantes, tota vi novissimos incurrere. turbabanturque densis Germanorum catervis levis cohortes, cum Caesar advectus ad vicesimanos voce magna hoc illut tempus oblitterandae seditionis clamitabat: pergerent, properarent culpam in decus vertere. exarsere animis unoque impetu perruptum hostem redigunt in aperta caeduntque: simul primi agminis copiae evasere silvas castraque communivere. quietum inde iter, fidensque recentibus ac priorum oblitus miles in hibernis locatur.

52. Nuntiata ea Tiberium laetitia curaque adfecere: gaudebat oppressam seditionem, sed quod largiendis pecuniis et missione festinata favorem militum quaesivisset, bellica quoque Germanici

peace, it was at best only an indolent, slovenly peace, the sort of peace you might find amongst sluggards and sots: a torpor rather than a peace.

51. *templum*] Tacitus says in the Germania (c. 9) that the deities of the Germans are not confined within walls, nor fashioned into any mortal shapes: that the people hallow groves and woods, and call by the name of gods that secrecy which is seen by reverence only. In ii. 12 a wood is spoken of as sacred to Hercules. Here 'templum' probably means only a consecrated spot. One account of the name is, that it is equivalent to the Lord of the Wood (fane, tan).

itineri] Germanicus advanced, equally fit for marching and fighting: the arrangement of his troops was equally adapted for either emergency. Cf. xiii. 40, "qui viae pariter et pugnae composuerat exercitum."

auxiliariae cohortes] 'Some auxiliary cohorts,' not all, for the rest are mentioned below, "post ceteri sociorum."

mediis] An ablative absolute. Cf. xii. 13, "praecipua religione Herculi;" xiv. 37, "difficili effugio;" xv. 32. Also Ovid's Fast. vi. 247, "Aspicit instantes mediis sex lucibus idus Illa dies."

adsultantes] Used with a dative in Agric. 26, "velocissimos equitum peditumque adsultare tergis pugnantium iubet." It is constructed with an accusative like similar verbs, 'accedere,' 'advolvi,' &c.

novissimos incurrere] Cf. ii. 17, "validissimos equitum incurrere latus" (but ii. 16, "ut proeliantibus Romanis desuper incurrerent," as in Liv. xxviii. 15, "peditum signa cornubus incucurrerunt"). This accusative without a preposition is unusual, but Tacitus constructs many compound verbs in a similar way, as 'incedere,' 'adventare,' 'accurrere,' 'insultare,' &c.

52. *quaesivisset*] What is the subject of this verb, Tiberius or Germanicus? If I understand Nipperdey's note, he

gloria augebatur. rettulit tamen ad senatum de rebus gestis multaque de virtute eius memoravit, magis in speciem verbis adornata quam ut penitus sentire crederetur. paucioribus Drusum et finem Illyrici motus laudavit, sed intentior et fida oratione. cunctaque quae Germanicus indulserat, servavit etiam apud Pannonicos exercitus.

53. Eodem anno Iulia supremum diem obiit, ob impudicitiam olim a patre Augusto Pandateria insula, mox oppido Reginorum, qui Siculum fretum accolunt, clausa. fuerat in matrimonio Tiberii florentibus Gaio et Lucio Caesaribus spreveratque ut imparem; nec alia tam intima Tiberio causa cur Rhodum abscederet. imperium adeptus extorrem, infamem et post interfectum Postumum Agrippam omnis spei egenam inopia ac tabe longa peremit, obscuram fore necem longinquitate exilii ratus. par causa saevitiae in Sempronium Gracchum, qui familia nobili, sollers ingenio et prave facundus, eandem Iuliam in matrimonio Marci Agrippae temeraverat. nec is libidini finis: traditam Tiberio pervicax adulter contumacia et odiis in maritum accendebat; litteraeque quas Iulia patri Augusto cum insectatione Tiberii scripsit a Graccho compositae credebantur. igitur amotus Cercinam, Africi maris insulam, quattuordecim annis exilium toleravit. tunc milites ad caedem

makes Tiberius the subject, but gives a very forced explanation, to the effect that the Emperor was forced to ratify the concessions made by Germanicus in his name. I think Germanicus is the subject, for this change of subjects is not rare.—It is not easy to say why Tacitus changed from the gerundive to the passive participle. Does 'largiendis pecuniis' imply that Germanicus gave money to the soldiery with the distinct object of courting popularity, for he paid them twice the amount of the legacy; while 'missione festinata' only implies that the discharge—to which the soldiers had a right—less directly tended to increase his favour in the eyes of the troops? Perhaps Tacitus, after all, only altered the form for variety's sake.

intentior] 'With more of sincerity,' 'with more warmth.'

quae Germanicus indulserat] Cf. ii. 38, "sive indulserint largitionem, sive abnuerint;" xi. 20, "insignia tamen triumphi indulsit Caesar." The word is equivalent to 'concedere,' and constructed therefore similarly. Cf. Suet. Oct. 41, Claud. 24.

53. *imparem*] 'No match for her.' Cf. H. ii. 50, "maternum genus impar." Liv. vi. 34, "quod iuncta impari esset." The 'Claudia gens' was a noble one, but the 'Iulia gens' traced its descent from Iulus, and now that the Caesars were emperors naturally occupied a position above all others.

longinquitate] Some refer this to the length of time during which Julia had been exiled, for she was banished 2 A.C. But Tacitus seems to employ both substantive and adjective only of distance in point of locality. Cf. iii. 5, 34, vi. 14, Agric. 19. Tacitus uses 'longinquos saltus' (iv. 27) of the defiles near Brundisium and the adjacent towns. Here therefore I think it is the distance of Julia's place of banishment (Rhegium) from Rome which is intended, not the length of time her exile had continued. Below, in 'quattuordecim annis' one would rather have expected 'annos,' but Draeger quotes Cic. de Div. i. 19, "multis saeculis verum fuisse id oraculum," and de Offic. iii. 2, "triginta annis vixisse Panaetium."

missi invenere in prominenti litoris, nihil laetum opperientem. quorum adventu breve tempus petivit, ut suprema mandata uxori Alliariae per litteras daret, cervicemque percussoribus obtulit, constantia mortis haud indignus Sempronio nomine: vita degeneraverat. quidam non Roma eos milites, sed ab L. Asprenate pro consule Africae missos tradidere auctore Tiberio, qui famam caedis posse in Asprenatem verti frustra speraverat.

54. Idem annus novas caerimonias accepit addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam T. Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat. sorte ducti e primoribus civitatis unus et viginti: Tiberius Drususque et Claudius et Germanicus adiciuntur. ludos Augustales tunc primum coeptos turbavit discordia ex certamine histrionum. indulserat ei ludicro Augustus, dum Maecenati obtemperat effuso in amorem Bathylli; neque ipse abhorrebat talibus studiis, et civile rebatur misceri voluptatibus vulgi. alia Tiberio morum via: sed populum per tot annos molliter habitum nondum audebat ad duriora vertere.

55. Druso Caesare C. Norbano consulibus decernitur Germanico triumphus manente bello; quod quamquam in aestatem summa ope parabat, initio veris et repentino in Chattos excursu praecepit. nam spes incesserat dissidere hostem in Arminium ac Segestem, insignem utrumque perfidia in nos aut fide. Arminius turbator

in prominenti litoris] See note on i. 50, under 'obstantia silvarum.'

vita degeneraverat] 'Vita' is the nominative case, comparing De Oratoribus 27, "a qua vel magis degeneravimus quam ab eloquentia;" and xiv. 21, "quemquam ad theatrales artes degeneravisse." The preposition seems elsewhere always added. The later poets have a dative; and the accusative is found in Ovid and Propertius, if the readings are correct.

speraverat] This indicative represents the view of Tacitus, supposing the account just mentioned to be correct: 'who in that case had in vain hoped' &c.

54. *Titios*] In H. ii. 95 Tacitus gives a somewhat different account: that Romulus established this 'sacerdotium' in honour of Titus Tatius. There is not any great discrepancy necessarily between the two accounts, as Titus Titius may have first established them, and Romulus subsequently have connected them with his late colleague; just as the games in honour of Augustus existed before they were formally established in his memory by the Senate.

ei ludicro] I. e. the representations given by the Pantomimi, for 'histriones,' as often, is equivalent to 'pantomimi;' indeed the word itself means originally dancers, and was long used in that sense. Augustus took away from the magistrate the 'ius virgarum' as regards actors (Suet. August. 45).

55. *praecepit*] Although Germanicus was making great preparations for a summer campaign, he took time by the forelock, and made a foray upon the Chatti. The 'et' after 'veris' might of course be omitted, but 'initio veris' is opposed to 'in aestatem,' and 'repentino excursu' to 'bellum.' Nipperdey quotes Caesar, B. G. vi. 37, "hoc ipso tempore et casu Germani equites interveniunt." There seems no reason at all why the temporal and modal object should not at any time be co-ordinately stated by means of a connecting particle.

perfidia] Arminius with Segimerus,

Germaniae, Segestes parari rebellionem saepe alias et supremo convivio, post quod in arma itum, aperuit suasitque Varo ut se et Arminium et ceteros proceres vinciret: nihil ausuram plebem principibus amotis, atque ipsi tempus fore, quo crimina et innoxios discerneret. sed Varus fato et vi Armini cecidit: Segestes quamquam consensu gentis in bellum tractus discors manebat, auctis privatim odiis, quod Arminius filiam eius alii pactam rapuerat, gener invisus inimici soceri; quaeque aput concordes vincula caritatis, incitamenta irarum aput infensos erant.

56. Igitur Germanicus quattuor legiones, quinque auxiliarium milia et tumultuarias catervas Germanorum cis Rhenum colentium Caecinae tradit; totidem legiones, duplicem sociorum numerum ipse ducit, positoque castello super vestigia paterni praesidii in monte Tauno expeditum exercitum in Chattos rapit, L. Apronio ad munitiones viarum et fluminum relicto. nam (rarum illi caelo) siccitate et amnibus modicis inoffensum iter properaverat, imbresque et fluminum auctus regredienti metuebatur. sed Chattis adeo inprovisus advenit, ut quod imbecillum aetate ac sexu statim captum aut trucidatum sit. iuventus flumen Adranam nando tramiserat, Romanosque pontem coeptantis arcebant. dein tormen-

amusing Varus with a pretence of friendship, arranged for the revolt of the distant members of their confederacy. On the departure of Varus to repress the revolt, they remained behind, and putting to death the soldiers quartered amongst them, proceeded to attack Varus when entangled in the Teutoburg wood.

filiam eius] The pedigrees will be understood from the following table:—

Segimerus (i. 60)
- Flavius (ii. 9) m. dau. of Catumerus (xi. 16)
  - Flavius Italicus (xi. 16).
- Arminius (i. 57) m. Thusnelda.

Segestes (i. 57, 70).
- Thusnelda
- Segimundus (i. 57).

soceri] This must be the genitive case, I think: 'the hated son-in-law of a father (independently of that) an enemy.' Arminius and Segestes had long been on bad terms with each other: the ill-feeling was intensified now that they were connected with each other by family ties. This seems a better explanation than others proposed: that 'soceri' means the fathers of Arminius and Thusnelda, or that it means Segestes and his wife, just as 'fratres' is put for a brother and sister.

56. *cis Rhenum*] Cf. Suet. Aug. 21, "Ubios et Sygambros dedentes se traduxit in Galliam." Tacitus (Germ. 2) observes that the Tungri were the first German tribe who crossed the Rhine. The (left) bank was also, he adds, occupied by Vangiones, Triboci, and Nemetes, of undoubted German origin (Germ. 28), although the Triboci would seem to have been more probably of Keltic than Teutonic origin, 'tre' being a Keltic word for 'place,' and one of their towns given by Ptolemy, *Βρευκόμαγος*, being Keltic in name.

paterni praesidii] Cf. Dio liv. 33, *ὥστε τὸν Δροῦσον ἐκεῖ τε ᾗ ὅ τε Λουπίας καὶ ὁ Ἐλίσων συμμίγνυνται φρούριόν τι σφίσιν ἐπιτειχίσαι καὶ ἕτερον ἐν Χάττοις παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Ῥήνῳ.*

tis sagittisque pulsi, temptatis frustra condicionibus pacis, cum quidam ad Germanicum perfugissent, reliqui omissis pagis vicisque in silvas disperguntur. Caesar incenso Mattio (id genti caput) aperta populatus vertit ad Rhenum, non auso hoste terga abeuntium lacessere, quod illi moris, quotiens astu magis quam per formidinem cessit. fuerat animus Cheruscis iuvare Chattos, sed exterruit Caecina huc illuc ferens arma; et Marsos congredi ausos prospero proelio cohibuit.

57. Neque multo post legati a Segeste venerunt auxilium orantes adversus vim popularium, a quis circumsedebatur, validiore aput eos Arminio, quoniam bellum suadebat: nam barbaris, quanto quis audacia promptus, tanto magis fidus rebusque motis potior habetur. addiderat Segestes legatis filium, nomine Segimundum: sed iuvenis conscientia cunctabatur. quippe anno quo Germaniae descivere sacerdos aput aram Ubiorum creatus ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles. adductus tamen in spem clementiae Romanae pertulit patris mandata benigneque exceptus cum praesidio Gallicam in ripam missus est. Germanico pretium fuit convertere agmen, pugnatumque in obsidentis, et ereptus Segestes magna cum propinquorum et clientium manu. inerant feminae nobiles, inter quas uxor Arminii eademque filia Segestis, mariti magis quam parentis animo, neque victa in lacrimas neque voce supplex, compressis intra sinum manibus gravidum uterum intuens. fere-

pagis vicisque] 'Pagus' is a large area of country. The Suebi had a hundred, the Helvetii four only, so that the term is probably used loosely. 'Vicus' is a village, or single collection of dwellings grouped together.

moris] Cf. Germ. 13, Agric. 39 and 42, H. i. 15. 'Ut mos est,' 'in more est,' are used by the Augustan writers.

57. *promptus*] Cf. i. 68, "quanto inopina, tanto maiora offunduntur." Also iii. 46, "quanto pecunia dites et voluptatibus opulentos, tanto magis imbelles Aeduos esse evincite." Also H. ii. 99. For a positive in both clauses cf. iv. 67, and for a comparative and positive combined in one clause cf. ii. 5. 'In whatever proportion any one was ready in daring, in that proportion more than he would have been otherwise he was trusted.' Liv. i. 25 has the same form: "eo maiore cum gaudio, quo prope metum res fuerat."

Germaniae] Not the two provinces of Upper and Lower Germany on the left bank of the Rhine, but Germany across the Rhine. The plural is used apparently as equivalent to 'the various peoples of Germania.' Cf. ii. 73. So Agric. 15, "sic Germanias excussisse iugum, et flumine non Oceano defendi," where 'Germanias' seems used in the same way as in the present passage. The revolt spoken of took place A.D. 9.

ruperat vittas] He had torn off his sacred fillets, to show that he abandoned his priestly office. Apparently it was a Roman priesthood he held.

pretium fuit] 'It was well worth Germanicus' while to' &c. The act was a reward in itself; it paid, to use a familiar expression. Cf. ii. 35, "res non referrem nisi pretium foret noscere," and H. iii. 8.

neque victa in lacrimas] So Cod. Med. Elsewhere 'evicta' occurs. Cf. xi. 37, "ad miserationem evicta," and H. ii. 64, "in gaudium evicta."

bantur et spolia Varianae cladis, plerisque eorum qui tum in deditionem veniebant praedae data: simul Segestes ipse, ingens visu et memoria bonae societatis inpavidus.

58. Verba eius in hunc modum fuere: 'non hic mihi primus erga populum Romanum fidei et constantiae dies. ex quo a divo Augusto civitate donatus sum, amicos inimicosque ex vestris utilitatibus delegi, neque odio patriae (quippe proditores etiam iis quos anteponunt invisi sunt), verum quia Romanis Germanisque idem conducere et pacem quam bellum probabam. ergo raptorem filiae meae, violatorem foederis vestri, Arminium aput Varum, qui tum exercitui praesidebat, reum feci. dilatus segnitia ducis, quia parum praesidii in legibus erat, ut me et Arminium et conscios vinciret flagitavi: testis illa nox mihi utinam potius novissima! quae secuta sunt, defleri magis quam defendi possunt: ceterum et inieci catenas Arminio et a factione eius iniectas perpessus sum. atque ubi primum tui copia, vetera novis et quieta turbidis antehabeo, neque ob praemium, sed ut me perfidia exsolvam, simul genti Germanorum idoneus conciliator, si paenitentiam quam perniciem maluerit. pro iuventa et errore filii veniam precor: filiam necessitate huc adductam fateor. tuum erit consultare, utrum praevaleat, quod ex Arminio concepit an quod ex me genita est.' Caesar clementi responso liberis propinquisque eius incolomitatem, ipsi sedem vetere in provincia pollicetur. exercitum reduxit nomenque imperatoris auctore Tiberio accepit. Arminii uxor virilis sexus stirpem edidit: educatus Ravennae puer quo mox ludibrio conflictatus sit, in tempore memorabo.

59. Fama dediti benigneque excepti Segestis vulgata, ut qui-

58. *conducere*] The infinitive depends on 'probabam,' or rather on some word supplied from it, like 'credebam,' 'rebar,' or the like. 'Probare' is used for 'to come to a satisfactory conclusion' in Germ. 13, "antequam civitas suffecturum probaverit;" but the usual sense is 'to *give* satisfactory proof.'

quam bellum] For the omission of 'potius' cf. iii. 17, 32, iv. 61, xiii. 6, Germ. 6.

tui copia] 'As soon as I had an opportunity of making overtures to you.' Cf. Liv. iv. 18, "ni copia pugnae fiat," and Cic. de Orat. iii. 33, "facere civibus omnibus consilii sui copiam."

utrum praevaleat] 'Which fact has most influence, her marriage to Arminius'—this would entail on her the punishment he deserved—'or her birth from me:' that would secure for her the indulgence my faithfulness merits.

vetere in provincia] What is the 'vetus provincia?' 'Provincia Cisrhenana,' Lipsius says: but where is 'provincia nova?' asks Walther. But perhaps there was not necessarily a 'provincia nova' because 'vetus' is used: it might convey rather the idea of 'long pacified, settled.' Or the Germany across the Rhine may be the contrast, for although it was not really a province, the Romans had some footing in it, and had built forts here and there.

in tempore] In the lost books, if at all.

59. *ut quibusque*] Cf. Agric. 18, "qui-

busque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat, spe vel dolore accipitur. Arminium super insitam violentiam rapta uxor, subiectus servitio uxoris uterus vaecordem agebant, volitabatque per Cheruscos, arma in Segestem, arma in Caesarem poscens. neque probris temperabat: egregium patrem, magnum imperatorem, fortem exercitum, quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint. sibi tres legiones, totidem legatos procubuisse; non enim se proditione neque adversus feminas gravidas, sed palam adversus armatos bellum tractare. cerni adhuc Germanorum in lucis signa Romana, quae dis patriis suspenderit. coleret Segestes victam ripam, redderet filio sacerdotium hominum: Germanos numquam satis excusaturos, quod inter Albim et Rhenum virgas et secures et togam viderint. aliis gentibus ignorantia imperi Romani inexperta esse supplicia, nescia tributa; quae quoniam exsuerint inritusque discesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus, ille delectus Tiberius, ne inperitum adulescentulum, ne seditiosum exercitum pavescerent. si patriam parentes antiqua mallent quam dominos et colonias novas, Arminium potius gloriae ac libertatis quam Segestem flagitiosae servitutis ducem sequerentur.

60. Conciti per haec non modo Cherusci sed conterminae gentes, tractusque in partis Inguiomerus Arminii patruus, veteri aput Romanos auctoritate; unde maior Caesari metus. et ne bellum mole una ingrueret, Caecinam cum quadraginta cohortibus Romanis distrahendo hosti per Bructeros ad flumen Amisiam mittit, equitem Pedo praefectus finibus Frisiorum ducit. ipse inpositas navibus quattuor legiones per lacus vexit; simulque pedes eques classis aput praedictum amnem convenere. Chauci cum auxilia pollicerentur in commilitium adsciti sunt. Bructeros sua urentis

bus bellum volentibus erat." Cf. Thucyd. vi. 46, *καὶ τῷ μὲν Νικίᾳ προσδεχομένῳ ἦν τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἐγεσταίων*: H. iii. 43, Sall. Jug. 84, 100, and Liv. xxi. 50.

hominum] 'Hominum' is here used contemptuously of Augustus or Tiberius: 'priests of mere men, not really gods.'

nescia] For the passive meaning cf. xvi. 14. So 'ignarus' is used passively ii. 13, iii. 69, &c. Cf. Plaut. Capt. ii. 2. 15, "si quid nescivi, id nescium tradam tibi."

discesserit] 'Had retreated (baffled from the contest).' 'Delectus' in the next clause is apparently 'chosen to be his successor.'

colonias novas] The new colonies are not opposed to old colonies, which of course did not exist there, but to the old state of things generally, when there were no colonies at all.

60. *finibus*] 'By the territories,' through them. Cf. i. 8, "ut porta triumphali duceretur funus;" i. 63, "litore Oceani petere Rhenum." 'Terra,' 'mari,' 'flumine,' are continually used in this locative sense.

per lacus] These lakes are now absorbed in the Zuyder Zee. Drusus, the father of Germanicus, dug a canal from the Rhine, below the separation of the Rhine and Waal near Arnheim, to the Yssel near Doesburg. These were the 'fossae Drusianae' or 'Drusinae' (Suet. Claud. 1).

expedita cum manu L. Stertinius missu Germanici fudit; interque caedem et praedam repperit undevicesimae legionis aquilam cum Varo amissam. ductum inde agmen ad ultimos Bructerorum, quantumque Amisiam et Lupiam amnes inter vastatum, haud procul Teutoburgiensi saltu, in quo reliquiae Vari legionumque insepultae dicebantur.

61. Igitur cupido Caesarem invadit solvendi suprema militibus ducique, permoto ad miserationem omni qui aderat exercitu ob propinquos, amicos, denique ob casus bellorum et sortem hominum. praemisso Caecina, ut occulta saltuum scrutaretur pontesque et aggeres umido paludum et fallacibus campis imponeret, incedunt maestos locos visuque ac memoria deformis. prima Vari castra lato ambitu et dimensis principiis trium legionum manus ostentabant; dein semiruto vallo, humili fossa accisae iam reliquiae consedisse intellegebantur: medio campi albentia ossa, ut fugerant, ut restiterant, disiecta vel aggerata. adiacebant fragmina telorum equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora. lucis propinquis barbarae arae, aput quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactaverant. et cladis eius superstites, pugnam aut vincula elabsi, referebant hic cecidisse legatos, illic raptas aquilas; ubi primum vulnus Varo adactum, ubi infelici dextera et suo ictu mortem invenerit; quo tribunali contionatus Arminius, quot patibula captivis, quae scrobes, utque signis et aquilis per superbiam inluserit.

62. Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus sextum post cladis annum trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut coniunctos, ut consanguineos,

amnes inter] For the position of the preposition after two substantives cf. iv. 8, "dis et patria coram;" xv. 61, "Poppaea et Tigellino coram." See a note on iii. 1.

61. *visuque ac memoria*] See note on i. 4 for the combination of particles.

semiruto] Certainly not in the sense of 'raised to half the proper height,' as Walther translates. The only peculiarity is, that the trench is described as originally shallow, and the rampart as having been reduced to a crumbling state. Perhaps Tacitus means only to imply that the rampart, so soon crumbling away after its erection, must have been feebly made, and the work of shattered troops. Or possibly the adjective may be only descriptive, and no part of the proof afforded by the state of the rampart: 'then from the rampart already half crumbling, and the shallow trench' &c. But the first explanation is the best. The shallow trench and half-crumbling rampart were those of the second intrenchment. The first, made before the defeat, was a regular camp; the second was an imperfect camp, in which the Romans tried to defend themselves after the losses they had sustained: this is clear from the words 'prima castra' and 'dein.'

invenerit] This would naturally after 'referebant' have been 'invenisset;' but the perfect is used because Tacitus reproduces as near as possible the exact words of the narrator: 'he tells them where he found.' Below, 'scrobes' seems to mean pits for burying alive some of the soldiers of Varus. Cf. Germ. 12, "corpore infames coeno ac palude iniecta insuper crate mergunt."

aucta in hostem ira, maesti simul et infensi condebant. primum extruendo tumulo caespitem Caesar posuit, gratissimo munere in defunctos et praesentibus doloris socius. quod Tiberio haut probatum, seu cuncta Germanici in deterius trahenti, sive exercitum imagine caesorum insepultorumque tardatum ad proelia et formidolosiorem hostium credebat; neque imperatorem auguratu et vetustissimis caerimoniis praeditum adtrectare feralia debuisse.

63. Sed Germanicus cedentem in avia Arminium secutus, ubi primum copia fuit, evehi equites campumque, quem hostis insederat, eripi iubet. Arminius colligi suos et propinquare silvis monitos vertit repente: mox signum prorumpendi dedit iis quos per saltus occultaverat. tunc nova acie turbatus eques, missaeque subsidiariae cohortes et fugientium agmine impulsae auxerant consternationem; trudebanturque in paludem gnaram vincentibus, iniquam nesciis, ni Caesar productas legiones instruxisset: inde hostibus terror, fiducia militi; et manibus aequis abscessum. mox reducto ad Amisiam exercitu legiones classe, ut advexerat, reportat; pars equitum litore Oceani petere Rhenum iussa; Caecina, qui suum militem ducebat, monitus, quamquam notis itineribus regrederetur, pontes longos quam maturrime superare. angustus is trames vastas inter paludes et quondam a L. Domitio aggeratus; cetera limosa, tenacia gravi caeno aut rivis incerta erant; circum silvae

62. *formidolosiorem hostium*] 'More inclined to be afraid of the enemy:' a sense found in Terence (Eunuch. iv. 6. 18, "num formidolosus, obsecro, es?" followed by "peregrinus est, minu' potens quam tu" &c.) and Columella (vi. 2. 14, "boves nec auditu nec visu pavidi nec ad ingredienda flumina aut pontes formidolosi"). The usual meaning is 'terrifying:' i. 76, xi. 19, Agric. 7, and elsewhere. The sense here can hardly be 'and the army of the enemy more terrible,' because 'exercitum Romanum,' or something of the kind, would have been required in the first clause.

63. *eripi*] Gronovius makes this a technical word adopted from the Circus, quoting Silius xvi. 423, "Tene, Astur, certante feret quisquam aequore palmam Erepto?" and an old inscription on a charioteer Diocles (Gruter, p. 337), "ERIPVIT ET VICIT." But this does not seem to me at all necessary. The enemy was to be driven pellmell from the plain they had occupied.

colligi] In Tacitus, words of advising, warning, and the like, are often constructed with an infinitive, instead of with 'ut' followed by the subjunctive mood. 'Hortari,' 'praecipere,' 'postulare,' 'imperare,' are all so used: especially 'monere' is so; cf. xii. 46, xiii. 37, &c. Of course these instances are to be distinguished from those where the sense of 'monere' and similar words is to warn a person of a fact, as in Virg. Georg. i. 464, "sol caecos instare tumultus saepe monet," where 'monere' takes the usual construction of verbs of assertion.

legiones] The four legions Germanicus brought by sea: Caecina's four returned by land; and of the other four, two returned partly by land.

L. Domitio] This was the grandfather of the Emperor Nero. Suetonius speaks of him (Nero 4), "non minus aurigandi arte in adolescentia clarus, quam deinde ornamentis triumphalibus ex Germanico bello." Cf. iv. 44, "post exercitu flumen Albim transcendit, longius penetrata Germania quam quisquam priorum." See the note on this last passage.

paulatim adclives, quas tum Arminius implevit, compendiis viarum et cito agmine onustum sarcinis armisque militem cum antevenisset. Caecinae dubitanti, quonam modo ruptos vetustate pontes reponeret simulque propulsaret hostem, castra metari in loco placuit, ut opus et alii proelium inciperent.

64. Barbari perfringere stationes seque inferre munitoribus nisi lacessunt, circumgrediuntur, occursant: miscetur operantium bellantiumque clamor. et cuncta pariter Romanis adversa, locus uligine profunda, idem ad gradum instabilis, procedentibus lubricus, corpora gravia loricis; neque librare pila inter undas poterant. contra Cheruscis sueta aput paludes proelia, procera membra, hastae ingentes ad vulnera facienda quamvis procul. nox demum inclinantis iam legiones adversae pugnae exemit. Germani ob prospera indefessi, ne tum quidem sumpta quiete, quantum aquarum circum surgentibus iugis oritur vertere in subiecta, mersaque humo et obruto quod effectum operis duplicatus militi labor. quadragesimum id stipendium Caecina parendi aut imperitandi habebat, secundarum ambiguarumque rerum sciens eoque interritus. igitur futura volvens non aliut repperit quam ut hostem silvis coerceret, donec saucii quantumque gravioris agminis anteirent; nam medio montium et paludum porrigebatur planities, quae tenuem aciem pateretur. deliguntur legiones quinta dextro lateri, unetvicesima in laevum, primani ducendum ad agmen, vicensimanus adversum secuturos.

65. Nox per diversa inquies, cum barbari festis epulis, laeto cantu aut truci sonore subiecta vallium ac resultantis saltus complerent, aput Romanos invalidi ignes, interruptae voces, atque ipsi passim adiacerent vallo, oberrarent tentoriis, insomnes magis quam pervigiles. ducemque terruit dira quies: nam Quintilium Varum sanguine oblitum et paludibus emersum cernere et audire visus est velut vocantem, non tamen obsecutus et manum intendentis reppulisse. coepta luce missae in latera legiones, metu an contumacia, locum deseruere, capto propere campo umentia ultra. neque tamen Arminius quamquam libero incursu statim prorupit:

in loco] On the spot where he was. Cf. iv. 47, xiii. 41.

opus et alii] Cf. Liv. iii. 37, "virgis caedi, alii securi subici," and H. iii. 27.

64. *volvens*] Cf. iii. 38, "bellum adversus nos volverat." H. i. 54, "mox eadem acrius volvens." The full phrase occurs H. i. 30, "comissationes et feminarum coetus volvit animo."

65. *invalidi ignes*] For the ellipse of the verb see a note on c. 2. The watch-fires burnt low and feebly, the men having no heart to keep them burning briskly.

reppulisse] The construction, I think, is, 'non tamen visus est obsecutus fuisse, et reppulisse' &c. 'Intendentis' refers to Varus, who seemed to put forward his hand to draw Caecina towards himself.

sed ut haesere caeno fossisque impedimenta, turbati circum milites, incertus signorum ordo, utque tali in tempore sibi quisque properus et lentae adversum imperia aures, inrumpere Germanos iubet, clamitans 'en Varus eodemque iterum fato vinctae legiones!' simul haec et cum delectis scindit agmen equisque maxime vulnera ingerit. illi sanguine suo et lubrico paludum lapsantes excussis rectoribus disicere obvios, proterere iacentes. plurimus circa aquilas labor, quae neque ferri adversum ingruentia tela neque figi limosa humo poterant. Caecina dum sustentat aciem, suffosso equo delapsus circumveniebatur, ni prima legio sese opposuisset. iuvit hostium aviditas omissa caede praedam sectantium; enisaeque legiones vesperascente die in aperta et solida. neque is miseriarum finis. struendum vallum, petendus agger, amissa magna ex parte per quae egeritur humus aut exciditur caespes; non tentoria manipulis, non fomenta sauciis; infectos caeno aut cruore cibos dividentes funestas tenebras et tot hominum milibus unum iam reliquum diem lamentabantur.

66. Forte equus abruptis vinculis vagus et clamore territus quosdam occurrentium obturbavit. tanta inde consternatio inrupisse Germanos credentium, ut cuncti ruerent ad portas, quarum decumana maxime petebatur, aversa hosti et fugientibus tutior. Caecina comperto vanam esse formidinem, cum tamen neque auctoritate neque precibus, ne manu quidem obsistere aut retinere militem quiret, proiectus in limine portae miseratione demum, quia per corpus legati eundum erat, clausit viam: simul tribuni et centuriones falsum pavorem esse docuerunt.

67. Tunc contractos in principia iussosque dicta cum silentio accipere temporis ac necessitatis monet. unam in armis salutem, sed ea consilio temperanda manendumque intra vallum, donec expugnandi hostes spe propius succederent; mox undique erumpendum: illa eruptione ad Rhenum perveniri. quod si fugerent, pluris silvas, profundas magis paludes, saevitiam hostium superesse; at victoribus decus gloriam. quae domi cara, quae in castris honesta, memorat; reticuit de adversis. equos dehinc, orsus a

utque tali in tempore] The 'ut' is not a repetition of the 'ut' with 'haesere,' but qualifies 'tali in tempore.' Cf. H. iii. 71, "ut in multa pace." Agric. 11, "ut inter barbaros."

petendus agger] 'Agger' is here used for any material employed in raising a rampart. Cf. ii. 81, "peti aggerem, erigi scalas iussit." Also Caesar, B. G. ii. 20, "qui paulo longius aggeris petendi causa processerant."

67. *perveniri*] This is not of course to be translated like a future, but strictly as a present, to give vivacity to the remark: 'by that sally they at once force their way to the Rhine.'

suis, legatorum tribunorumque nulla ambitione fortissimo cuique bellatori tradit, ut hi, mox pedes in hostem invaderent.

68. Haut minus inquies Germanus spe, cupidine et diversis ducum sententiis agebat, Arminio sinerent egredi egressosque rursum per umida et impedita circumvenirent suadente, atrociora Inguiomero et laeta barbaris, ut vallum armis ambirent: promptam expugnationem, plures captivos, incorruptam praedam fore. igitur orta die proruunt fossas, iniciunt crates, summa valli prensant, raro super milite et quasi ob metum defixo. postquam haesere munimentis, datur cohortibus signum cornuaque ac tubae concinuere. exin clamore et impetu tergis Germanorum circumfunduntur, exprobrantes non hic silvas nec paludes, sed aequis locis aequos deos. hosti facile excidium et paucos ac semermos cogitanti sonus tubarum, fulgor armorum, quanto inopina, tanto maiora offunduntur, cadebantque, ut rebus secundis avidi, ita adversis incauti. Arminius integer, Inguiomerus post grave vulnus pugnam deseruere: vulgus trucidatum est, donec ira et dies permansit. nocte demum reversae legiones, quamvis plus vulnerum, eadem ciborum egestas fatigaret, vim sanitatem copias, cuncta in victoria habuere.

69. Pervaserat interim circumventi exercitus fama et infesto Germanorum agmine Gallias peti, ac ni Agrippina inpositum Rheno pontem solvi prohibuisset, erant qui id flagitium formidine auderent. sed femina ingens animi munia ducis per eos dies induit, militibusque, ut quis inops aut saucius, vestem et fomenta dilargita est. tradit C. Plinius, Germanicorum bellorum scriptor, stetisse

nulla ambitione] 'Ambitio' means a hunting after popularity, a desire to gain undue influence; and then, by an easy transition, it stands for partiality. Cf. H. i. 1, "sed ambitionem scriptoris facile adverseris." For the first meaning given above cf. Agric. 40, "magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare," to appraise great men by their own efforts to gain popularity.

68. *proruunt fossas*] They fill up the trenches by breaking down the sides of the ditch, equivalent to what is elsewhere termed 'aggere explere,' or more usually 'complere.'

quanto inopina] See note on i. 57, under 'promptus.'

69. *auderent*] As 'erant qui' invariably, as far as I know, takes the subjunctive, 'erant qui auderent' is equivalent to a simple indicative imperfect; and the construction is like i. 35, "deferebat . . . ni dextram attinuissent." Where the bridge here mentioned was is not clear. Lipsius says 'apud Treveri,' because Agrippina on leaving her husband took refuge amongst that people, and therefore the bridge must be there, which is not a convincing argument. In i. 49 Tacitus says "sequitur ardorem militum Caesar iunctoque ponte tramittit" &c. This was at 'Vetera,' and I suppose it, in the absence of any certain information, to be the bridge spoken of here.

C. Plinius] Pliny the elder wrote a history of the various wars carried on by the Romans against the Germans. It was in twenty books: "bellorum Germaniae viginti (libros scripsit) quibus

aput principium pontis, laudis et gratis reversis legionibus habentem. id Tiberii animum altius penetravit: non enim simplices eas curas, nec adversus externos *studia* militum quaeri. nihil relictum imperatoribus, ubi femina manipulos intervisat, signa adeat, largitionem temptet, tamquam parum ambitiose filium ducis gregali habitu circumferat Caesaremque Caligulam appellari velit. potiorem iam aput exercitus Agrippinam quam legatos, quam duces; conpressam a muliere seditionem, cui nomen principis obsistere non quiverit. accendebat haec onerabatque Seianus, peritia morum Tiberii odia in longum iaciens, quae reconderet auctaque promeret.

70. At Germanicus legionum, quas navibus vexerat, secundam et quartam decumam itinere terrestri P. Vitellio ducendas tradit, quo levior classis vadoso mari innaret vel reciproco sideret. Vitellius primum iter sicca humo aut modice adlabente aestu quietum habuit: mox inpulsu aquilonis, simul sidere aequinoctii, quo maxime tumescit Oceanus, rapi agique agmen. et opplebantur terrae: eadem freto litori campis facies, neque discerni poterant incerta ab solidis, brevia a profundis. sternuntur fluctibus, hauriuntur gurgitibus; iumenta, sarcinae, corpora exanima interfluunt, occursant. permiscentur inter se manipuli, modo pectore modo ore tenus extantes, aliquando subtracto solo disiecti aut obruti. non vox et mutui hortatus iuvabant adversante unda; nihil strenuus ab ignavo, sapiens ab inprudenti, consilia a casu differre: cuncta pari violentia involvebantur. tandem Vitellius in editiora enisus eodem agmen subduxit. pernoctavere sine utensilibus, sine igni, magna pars nudo aut mulcato corpore, haud minus miserabiles

omnia quae cum Germanis gessimus bella collegit. Inchoavit cum in Germania militaret" (Pliny, Epp. iii. 5).

simplices] 'Meaningless,' 'objectless.' Tiberius thought this care for the soldiery meant something; it was not done merely out of kindness, but to further some end. Cf. Germ. 22, "in conviviis consultant tamquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus, aut ad magnas incalescat." Below, 'studia' is supplied from ii. 5, iii. 12, H. i. 23, 64.

odia in longum iaciens] 'Throwing in the seed of hatred for a distant harvest.' Or perhaps laying a foundation of hatred for a distant moment to complete. Compare the phrase 'iacere fundamenta.' Tiberius is the subject of the following verbs, 'reconderet' and 'promeret.'

70. *reciproco*] Orelli quotes Plin. v. 4, "sinus duarum Syrtium vadoso ac reciproco mari diros," but here the sense may be 'a sea with a swell sometimes one way, sometimes another,' for there are not tides in all parts of the Mediterranean. However this may be, cf. Plin. ii. 99, "(maris) paribus intervallis reciproci." On the shallow water the vessels would float more easily, or at the ebb tide take the ground less heavily.

extantes] Cf. Catull. lxiv. 15, "nutricum tenus extantes e gurgite cano."

subduxit] The usual compound for leading up hill. Cf. Sall. Jug. 103, "cunctos in collem subducit." So xv. 43, "naves quae frumentum Tiberi subvectassent," a river of course sloping upwards, from its mouth to its source.

quam quos hostis circumsidet: quippe illic etiam honestae mortis usus, his inglorium exitium. lux reddidit terram, penetratumque ad amnem [Visurgin,] quo Caesar classe contenderat. impositae dein legiones, vagante fama submersas; nec fides salutis, antequam Caesarem exercitumque reducem videre.

71. Iam Stertinius, ad accipiendum in deditionem Segimerum fratrem Segestis praemissus, ipsum et filium eius in civitatem Ubiorum perduxerat. data utrique venia, facile Segimero, cunctantius filio, quia Quinctilii Vari corpus inlussisse dicebatur. ceterum ad supplenda exercitus damna certavere Galliae Hispaniae Italia, quod cuique promptum, arma equos aurum offerentes. quorum laudato studio Germanicus, armis modo et equis ad bellum sumptis, propria pecunia militem iuvit. utque cladis memoriam etiam comitate leniret, circumire saucios, facta singulorum extollere; vulnera intuens alium spe, alium gloria, cunctos adloquio et cura sibique et proelio firmabat.

72. Decreta eo anno triumphalia insignia A. Caecinae, L. Apronio, C. Silio ob res cum Germanico gestas. nomen patris patriae Tiberius, a populo saepius ingestum, repudiavit; neque in acta sua iurari quamquam censente senatu permisit, cuncta mortalium incerta, quantoque plus adeptus foret, tanto se magis in lubrico dictitans. non tamen ideo faciebat fidem civilis animi; nam legem

etiam honestae] What does 'etiam' mean here? I think Tacitus says that in *that* case ('illic') there is a chance of death, not simply free from any disgrace, but actually ('etiam') honourable. It might be the former (i. e. not absolutely disgraceful), and yet not the latter (i. e. perfectly honourable), but it was both.

Visurgin] This is clearly a mistake, as Germanicus and Vitellius could not reach the Weser in their march from the Ems to the Rhine. The river is supposed to be the Hunse in Groningen. 'Visurgin' was no doubt a gloss, and crept into the text.

71. *adloquio*] The word is especially used of any consolatory address. Cf. Hor. Epod. xiii. 18, "deformis aegrimoniae dulcibus adloquiis," on which passage Orelli quotes Varro, L. L. vi. 57, "adlocutum mulieres ire aiunt, cum eunt ad aliquem locutum consolandi causa." Cf. H. iii. 36, "non adloquio exercitioque militem firmare." So Catullus (xxxviii.) uses 'adlocutio:' "qua solatus es adlocutione."

72. *insignia*] As under the Emperors the actual triumph was *their* privilege, the legati in command were allowed only the empty insignia. They appeared in public—whether once or more I do not know — in a gold-embroidered dress ('toga picta') and flowered tunic ('tunica palmeata'), and a crown of laurel.

in acta sua iurari] This practice was first begun by the triumvirs ('rei publicae constituendae'). So Dio Cassius says (xlvii. 18), *αὐτοί τε ὤμοσαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὥρκωσαν βέβαια νομιεῖν πάντα τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου* (C. Julius Caesar) *γενόμενα, καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἀεὶ ἴσχουσιν* &c. Subsequently the oath was annually renewed to the Emperor for the time being. Cf. Dio Cass. lvii. 8, *οὐδ' ὅπερ ἐπί τε τῷ Αὐγούστῳ δεῦρο ἀεὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἄρξασιν, ἐπί τε τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἀεὶ ἔχουσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνεται, τά τε πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πραχθησόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ ζώντων ὅρκοις τισὶ βεβαιοῦσθαι. οὐδὲ τοῦτο τά γε πρῶτα ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ περιεῖδε γενόμενον. καίτοι ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Αὐγούστου πράξεσι τούς τε ἄλλους πάντας ὥρκου καὶ αὐτὸς ὤμνυε.*

maiestatis reduxerat, cui nomen aput veteres idem, sed alia in iudicium veniebant, si quis proditione exercitum aut plebem seditionibus, denique male gesta re publica maiestatem populi Romani minuisset: facta arguebantur, dicta inpune erant. primus Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis specie legis eius tractavit, commotus Cassii Severi libidine, qua viros feminasque inlustres procacibus scriptis diffamaverat; mox Tiberius, consultante Pompeio Macro praetore, an iudicia maiestatis redderentur, exercendas leges esse respondit. hunc quoque asperavere carmina incertis auctoribus vulgata in saevitiam superbiamque eius et discordem cum matre animum.

73. Haud pigebit referre in Falanio et Rubrio, modicis equitibus Romanis, praetemptata crimina, ut quibus initiis, quanta Tiberii

maiestatis] See Dr. Smith's Dict. of Antiquities, and Dr. Merivale's History of the Romans under the Emperors, c. 44.

primus Augustus] In a passage of Cicero (Ad Fam. iii. 11) Sulla is said, according to one reading of the text, to have applied his 'lex maiestatis' to prevent libellous words; but the passage (see Schütz's note) is clearly corrupt, and cannot therefore be quoted in contradiction to Tacitus. These words do not however imply that no provision had been made before the time of Augustus for the punishment of libellous words or writings. It is clear that there had been such provision made. By a law of the Twelve Tables, severe punishment was inflicted on all who composed 'famosi libelli' against any one. So Cicero informs us (De Repub. iv. 10), "nostrae contra duodecim Tabulae cum perpaucas res capite sanxissent, in his hanc quoque sanciendam putaverunt, si quis actitavisset sive carmen condidisset, quod infamiam faceret flagitiumve alteri precaretur." And Aulus Gellius tells us a story of a fine inflicted on a daughter of the blind Appius Claudius for 'voces petulantiores.' The author of the article on 'libellus' in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, supposes the law spoken of above to have been in abeyance during the latter part of the republic; but I think he misapprehends the meaning of the passage above in Tacitus. I imagine it to imply that until the time of Augustus the 'lex maiestatis' did not apply to libellous words or writings: these were taken cognizance of in other ways. They would fall, probably, under the designation of 'iniuriae,' and so redress be obtained under that head. For the fact mentioned by Tacitus cf. Hor. Epist. ii. 1. 148, "saevus apertam In rabiem coepit verti iocus, et per honestas Ire domos impune minax. Doluere cruento Dente lacessiti: fuit intactis quoque cura Conditione super communi: quin etiam lex Poenaque lata, malo quae nollet carmine quemquam Describi." Also Sueton. August. 55, "censuit cognoscendum posthac de iis qui libellos aut carmina ad infamiam cuiuspiam sub alieno nomine edant." So Dio Cass. lvi. 27, μαθὼν ὅτι βιβλία ἅττα ἐφ' ὕβρει τινῶν συγγράφοιτο . . . ἐκεῖνα κατέφλεξε καὶ τῶν συνθέντων αὐτὰ ἐκόλασε τινάς.

Cassii Severi] Cf. iv. 21, and Dialog. de Orat. 26.

redderentur] Suetonius, detailing this incident (Tib. 58), says, "consulente Praetore an iudicia maiestatis cogi iuberet," where 'cogi' refers to the process of impanelling a jury. The sense here appears therefore to be, "whether trials for 'maiestas' should be held."

carmina] A specimen of these verses is given by Suetonius (Tib. 59):

"Asper et immitis, breviter vis omnia dicam?
Dispeream si te mater amare potest.
Aurea mutasti Saturni saecula, Caesar:
Incolumi nam te ferrea semper erunt.
Fastidit vinum, quia iam sitit iste cruorem:
Tam bibit hunc avide quam bibit ante merum."

arte gravissimum exitium inrepserit, dein repressum sit, postremo arserit cunctaque corripuerit, noscatur. Falanio obiciebat accusator, quod inter cultores Augusti, qui per omnes domos in modum collegiorum habebantur, Cassium quendam mimum corpore infamem adscivisset, quodque venditis hortis statuam Augusti simul mancipasset. Rubrio crimini dabatur violatum periurio numen Augusti. quae ubi Tiberio notuere, scripsit consulibus non ideo decretum patri suo caelum, ut in perniciem civium is honor verteretur. Cassium histrionem solitum inter alios eiusdem artis interesse ludis, quos mater sua in memoriam Augusti sacrasset; nec contra religiones fieri, quod effigies eius, ut alia numinum simulacra, venditionibus hortorum et domuum accedant. ius iurandum perinde aestimandum quam si Iovem fefellisset: deorum iniurias dis curae.

74. Nec multo post Granium Marcellum praetorem Bithyniae quaestor ipsius Caepio Crispinus maiestatis postulavit, subscribente Romano Hispone: qui formam vitae iniit, quam postea celebrem

73. *dein repressum sit*] This seems to me to refer only to the reign of Tiberius. Lipsius makes 'dein' point to the times of Vespasian and Titus, and 'postremo' to those of Domitian. But as the Annals end with Nero, as Walther remarks, 'noscatur' would be without meaning. No doubt Titus did repress the evil, but it does not follow that Tacitus refers to this. Cf. iii. 56, "Tiberius fama moderationis parta, quod ingruentis accusatores represserat mittit litteras" &c.

cultores Augusti] These had probably nothing to do with the Sodales Augustales mentioned in c. 54. Each richer house apparently had a 'collegium,' consisting of the members of the house and others, as this passage shows, to keep on foot the worship of Augustus. Lipsius thinks the members forming the association ('collegium') met at different houses in turn. It is impossible to say which view is correct.

sacrasset] Cf. Dio lvi. 46; ἡ Λιουΐα ἰδίαν δή τινα πανήγυριν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ἐποίησεν.

74. *praetorem*] There is some difficulty here. In xvi. 18 there is a proconsul of Bithynia mentioned. In the division of the provinces under Augustus, Bithynia was assigned to the Senate. Of these senatorial provinces two were proconsular, Africa and Asia (within the Halys and Taurus); but Bithynia and the rest were praetorian. Into the imperial provinces 'consulares' or 'praetorii' were sent at discretion; into the senatorial, 'consulares' into Africa and Asia, and 'praetorii' into the others. But it does not follow that these last were ever called praetors of the provinces: they were not, as far as we know, but all indiscriminately termed proconsuls, and the imperial governors were called propraetors. Pliny the younger always calls his predecessors proconsuls, not propraetors, or praetors (Epist. x. 109). For instances of the above distinction of title cf. i. 53, ii. 52, iii. 21, ii. 66, iv. 73. Ernesti endeavours to prove (not, I think, successfully) that 'praetor' is used by Tacitus generally for a provincial governor. Either there is a slip on the part of the historian—I do not suppose Tacitus was infallible—or the copyist; or possibly there were changes in the arrangement of the provinces beyond what we are aware of, and Bithynia may at this period have been an imperial province, and Granius Marcellus have governed Bithynia with an exceptional title, and have been 'praetor' by especial arrangement, instead of 'pro praetore.'

subscribente] It was usual for some friend or friends of the 'accusator' who set on foot a prosecution, to sign the indictment after the 'accusator,' by way of countenance.

qui formam] The relative refers to

miseriae temporum et audaciae hominum fecerunt. nam egens, ignotus, inquies, dum occultis libellis saevitiae principis adrepit, mox clarissimo cuique periculum facessit, potentiam aput unum, odium apud omnis adeptus dedit exemplum, quod secuti ex pauperibus divites, ex contemptis metuendi permitiem aliis ac postremum sibi invenere. sed Marcellum insimulabat sinistros de Tiberio sermones habuisse, inevitabile crimen, cum ex moribus principis foedissima quaeque deligeret accussator obiectaretque reo. nam quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur. addidit Hispo statuam Marcelli altius quam Caesarum sitam, et alia in statua amputato capite Augusti effigiem Tiberii inditam. ad quod exarsit adeo, ut rupta taciturnitate proclamaret se quoque in ea causa laturum sententiam palam et iuratum, quo ceteris eadem necessitas fieret. manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis. igitur Cn. Piso 'quo' inquit 'loco censebis, Caesar? si primus, habebo quod sequar: si post omnis, vereor ne imprudens dissentiam.' permotus his, quantoque incautius efferverat, paenitentia patiens tulit absolvi reum criminibus maiestatis: de pecuniis repetundis ad reciperatores itum est.

75. Nec patrum cognitionibus satiatus iudiciis adsidebat in cornu tribunalis, ne praetorem curuli depelleret; multaque eo coram adversus ambitum et potentium preces constituta. set dum veritati consulitur, libertas corrumpebatur. inter quae Pius Aurelius

Crispinus, not Hispo. Walther quotes Cic. pro Archia 10, "Sulla cum Hispanos et Gallos donaret, credo hunc petentem repudiasset, quem (Sullam) nos" &c.

adrepit] 'Wound himself into.' Cf. iii. 50, "non virorum animis sed muliercularum adrepit."

sed] The particle here is resumptive: 'but to return.' Cf. xiii. 57, "sed bellum Hermunduris prosperum;" iii. 62. Cic. de Orat. iii. 12, "equidem quum audio socrum meam Laeliam;" then, after a parenthesis, "sed eam sic audio" &c.

reciperatores] Granius Marcellus was tried for two offences: for 'maiestas' and 'repetundae.' On the first charge he was acquitted by the senators before whom he was prosecuted: "acta res in senatu" (Suet. Tiber. 58). On the other charge, that of 'repetundae,' he was tried in the usual way, by 'iudices' or 'reciperatores.' Cf. Pliny, Epist. ii. 11, "Marius Priscus accusantibus Afris quibus Proconsul praefuit omissa defensione iudices petiit" (he wished to be tried in the usual way for 'repetundae'). Afterwards, "excessisse Priscum immanitate et saevitia crimina quibus dari iudices possent, cum ob innocentes condemnandos interficiendos etiam pecunias accepissent." His offences were too heinous for 'iudices' to be appointed to try, and Priscus was to be reserved for trial by the Senate. Suetonius says Marcellus was condemned, but he probably confounds the two prosecutions.

75. *curuli*] For the absolute use of 'curulis' for 'sella curulis,' cf. H. ii. 59, "Valentem et Caecinam pro contione laudatos curuli suae circumposuit."

veritati] While the presence of Tiberius was some aid towards eliciting truth in judicial processes, the freedom of the judges was gradually curtailed; for they did not venture always to follow their own views in the presence of the 'Princeps.'

senator questus mole publicae viae ductuque aquarum labefactas aedis suas, auxilium patrum invocabat. resistentibus aerarii praetoribus subvenit Caesar pretiumque aedium Aurelio tribuit, erogandae per honesta pecuniae cupiens, quam virtutem diu retinuit, cum ceteras exsueret. Propertio Celeri praetorio, veniam ordinis ob paupertatem petenti, decies sestertium largitus est, satis comperto paternas ei angustias esse. temptantis eadem alios probare causam senatui iussit, cupidine severitatis in iis etiam quae rite faceret acerbus. unde ceteri silentium et paupertatem confessioni et beneficio praeposuere.

76. Eodem anno continuis imbribus auctus Tiberis plana urbis stagnaverat; relabentem secuta est aedificiorum et hominum strages. igitur censuit Asinius Gallus ut libri Sibyllini adirentur. renuit Tiberius, perinde divina humanaque obtegens; sed remedium coercendi fluminis Ateio Capitoni et L. Arruntio mandatum. Achaiam ac Macedoniam onera deprecantis levari in praesens proconsulari imperio tradique Caesari placuit. edendis gla-

mole publicae viae] 'By the massive character of the public road.' The massively constructed road, and the weight of the aqueduct, made a downward pressure heavy enough to affect the foundations of the house.

aerarii praetoribus] Cf. H. iv. 9. The management of the 'aerarium' had been transferred by Augustus from the quaestors to praetors (Suet. August. 36). Claudius restored it to the quaestors, but Nero again re-transferred it.

veniam ordinis] 'Ordo' is especially used for the senatorial body either in provincial towns (cf. xiii. 48, H. ii. 52) or at Rome (xiii. 11 and 32. Cf. Liv. viii. 18). Celer was excused his senatorial duties: he was allowed to relinquish his position as senator on the ground of want of means.

76. *obtegens*] 'Enveloping in obscurity,' throwing a veil over them, and refusing to let them come out into broad daylight.

Achaiam ac Macedoniam] The Roman province of Achaia was far more extensive than Achaia proper. It embraced the whole of the Peloponnesus, and a great part of Northern Greece, with the islands. Originally it had no provincial governor of its own apparently, for Plutarch (Cim. 2) says that in the time of Lucullus the Romans had not begun to send praetors into Greece, and that disputes were referred to the governor of Macedonia. It would seem to have been made into a province by C. Julius Caesar (cf. Cic. ad Famil. vi. 6), and with Macedonia made up the whole of Greece. Achaia was given by Tiberius to Poppaeus Sabinus, the legatus of Moesia (v. 10). It was restored by Claudius to the Senate (Suet. Claud. 25, "provincias Achaiam et Macedoniam quas Tiberius ad curam suam transtulerat senatui reddidit"). Nero abolished the province of Achaia, but Vespasian re-established it (Suet. Nero 24, Vesp. 8). Corinth was the residence of the governor of Achaia, and it may be noticed that when (Acts of the Apostles xviii. 12) Gallio is spoken of as *ἀνθύπατος* or proconsul of Achaia, the term is precisely correct, because the date A.D. 53 is under Claudius, who restored the province to the Senate. Achaia was so called because *οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐχειρώσαντο Ἕλληνας δι᾽ Ἀχαιῶν τότε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ προεστηκότων* (Pausan. vii. 16).

proconsulari imperio] There may have been several reasons why the proconsular or senatorial provinces were more burdensome to the people governed than the imperial. The legati of the Caesar often held their governments for several years, whereas the proconsuls were changed yearly; and so, having less time to make their fortunes in, would make them the more rapidly by extortion and rapine. Caesar, too, naturally chose men of some

diatoribus, quos Germanici fratris ac suo nomine obtulerat, Drusus praesedit, quamquam vili sanguine nimis gaudens; quod *in* vulgus formidolosum et pater arguisse dicebatur. cur abstinuerit spectaculo ipse, varie trahebant; alii taedio coetus, quidam tristitia ingenii et metu conparationis, quia Augustus comiter interfuisset. non crediderim ad ostentandam saevitiam movendasque populi offensiones concessam filio materiem, quamquam id quoque dictum est.

77. At theatri licentia, proximo priore anno coepta, gravius tum erupit, occisis non modo e plebe set militibus et centurione, vulnerato tribuno praetoriae cohortis, dum probra in magistratus et dissensionem vulgi prohibent. actum de ea seditione apud patres dicebanturque sententiae, ut praetoribus ius virgarum in histriones esset. intercessit Haterius Agrippa tribunus plebei increpitusque est Asinii Galli oratione, silente Tiberio, qui ea simulacra libertatis senatui praebebat. valuit tamen intercessio, quia divus Augustus immunes verberum histriones quondam responderat, neque fas Tiberio infringere dicta eius. de modo lucaris et adversus lasciviam fautorum multa decernuntur; ex quis maxime insignia, ne domos pantomimorum senator introiret, ne egredientes in publicum equites Romani cingerent aut alibi quam in theatro spectarentur, et spectantium immodestiam exilio multandi potestas praetoribus fieret.

character, as he would suffer in reputation more or less from their misconduct. He would also be more likely to call rapacious governors to account than the Senate, who would have some sympathy with the culprits. Probably the proconsul would have a larger staff around him, and this would extend the area of extortion.

fratris] The Drusus here mentioned is the son of Tiberius; and as the Emperor had adopted Germanicus, the son of Germanicus Drusus, the Drusus and Germanicus here mentioned were brothers. This Drusus is described by Dio as so bloodthirsty, that daggers of an especial sharpness were called by his name (τὰ ὀξύτατα τῶν ξιφῶν Δρουσίανα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κληθῆναι, Dio lvii. 13).

trahebant] Cf. iii. 37, "utrumque in laudem Drusi trahebatur." Also iv. 64, xiii. 47.

77. *proximo priore*] As 'proximus' means 'next,' and leaves it uncertain whether next before or after, a second adjective is sometimes added. Cf. Cic. de Nat. Deorum ii. 20, "huic autem proximum inferiorem orbem tenet." There could certainly have been little doubt here without 'priore,' but there was no harm in making doubly sure.

praetoriae cohortis] Cf. xiii. 24, "fine anni statio cohortis adsidere ludis solita demovetur, quo maior species libertati esset."

ius virgarum] 'Histriones,' as one may gather from Livy (vii. 2), were not contained in the tribes, nor allowed to serve in the army. If so, they were not, I suppose, Roman citizens, but strangers, or slaves, or freedmen (either 'Latini Iuniani' or 'dediticii,' for some freedmen were 'cives Romani'). If so, the 'ius virgarum' was no infringement of a citizen's right. Suetonius (Aug. 45) says "coercitionem in histriones magistratibus in omni tempore et loco lege vetere permissam ademit, praeterquam ludis et scaena." If a 'civis' became a 'histrio,' I suppose he forfeited his privileges, and the 'civem Romanum verberare nefas' no longer protected him.

et spectantium] For 'et' after 'ne' cf. iii. 51, "ne decreta patrum ante diem decimum ad aerarium deferrentur idque vitae spatium damnatis prorogaretur."

78. Templum ut in colonia Tarraconensi strueretur Augusto petentibus Hispanis permissum, datumque in omnes provincias exemplum. centessimam rerum venalium post bella civilia institutam deprecante populo edixit Tiberius militare aerarium eo subsidio niti; simul imparem oneri rem publicam, nisi vicesimo militiae anno veterani dimitterentur. ita proximae seditionis male consulta, quibus sedecim stipendiorum finem expresserant, abolita in posterum.

79. Actum deinde in senatu ab Arruntio et Ateio, an ob moderandas Tiberis exundationes verterentur flumina et lacus, per quos augescit; auditaeque municipiorum et coloniarum legationes, orantibus Florentinis, ne Clanis solito alveo demotus in amnem Arnum transferretur idque ipsis permitiem adferret. congruentia his Interamnates disseruere: pessumituros fecundissimos Italiae campos, si amnis Nar (id enim parabatur) in rivos diductus superstagnavisset. nec Reatini silebant, Velinum lacum, qua in Narem effunditur, obstrui recusantes, quippe in adiacentia erupturum; optume rebus mortalium consuluisse naturam, quae sua ora fluminibus, suos cursus utque originem, ita fines dederit; spectandas etiam religiones sociorum, qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis amni-

As 'ne' is equivalent to 'ut non,' the combination is very simple.

78. *centessimam*] Cf. ii. 42, "regnum in provinciam redactum est, fructibusque eius levari posse centesimae vectigal professus Caesar ducentesimam in posterum statuit." From this it seems that Tiberius did eventually lessen the impost. Dio Cassius (lviii. 16) makes Tiberius renew the 'centesima,' and speaks of Caligula abolishing it again; but Suetonius says Caligula (c. 16) remitted the 'ducentesima.' If both are correct, the latter Emperor first altered the tax to one-half the former amount, and then abolished it altogether.

vicesimo] Emphatic, the twentieth, and not the sixteenth year, as the troops had wanted. Of course the dismissal of veterans, and the enlistment of recruits to fill their places, involved some expense in the way of pensions, &c.

finem] 'A sixteen years' service discharge:' an end (of service) arising from, connected with sixteen years of campaigning.

79. *Clanis*] This is one of the principal tributaries of the Tiber, into which river it falls a few miles below Tuder. It drains the Val di Chiana, which extends for some thirty miles from north to south, and is so level that the waters would flow almost indifferently into the Tiber or the Arnus. It formed a great lake near Clusium, now the Lago di Chiusi. Its waters are now carried off by artificial channels partly into the Lake of Chiusi, partly towards the Arno, which they join near Arezzo. It is thought, I believe, by some writers, that originally part of the waters of the Arno, diverging from the main stream, flowed through the Val di Chiana into the Clanis. The difference of level therefore must have been very small, and so the operation contemplated here would not be a very difficult one. The Arnus has always been subject to violent inundations, flooding the low country through which it flows, and if the volume of the river had been increased by the accession of the Clanis, the danger would of course have been aggravated. Pliny (N. H. v. 9) speaks of the Tiber as receiving forty-two tributaries below its junction with the Clanis.

Reatini] Cf. Cic. ad Attic. iv. 15, "Reatini me ad sua τέμπη duxerunt, ut agerem causam contra Interamnates apud consulem et decem legatos quod lacus Velinus a Manio Curio emissus interciso monte in Narem defluit."

bus dicaverint: quin ipsum Tiberim nolle prorsus accolis fluviis orbatum minore gloria fluere. seu preces coloniarum seu difficultas operum sive superstitio valuit, ut in sententiam Pisonis concederetur, qui nil mutandum censuerat.

80. Prorogatur Poppaeo Sabino provincia Moesia, additis Achaia ac Macedonia. id quoque morum Tiberii fuit, continuare imperia ac plerosque ad finem vitae in isdem exercitibus aut iurisdictionibus habere. causae varie traduntur: alii taedio novae curae semel placita pro aeternis servavisse, quidam invidia, ne plures fruerentur; sunt qui existiment, ut callidum eius ingenium, ita anxium iudicium; neque enim eminentis virtutes sectabatur, et rursum vitia oderat: ex optimis periculum sibi, a pessimis dedecus publicum metuebat. qua haesitatione postremo eo provectus est, ut mandaverit quibusdam provincias, quos egredi urbe non erat passurus.

81. De comitiis consularibus, quae tum primum illo principe ac deinceps fuere, vix quicquam firmare ausim: adeo diversa non modo aput auctores sed in ipsius orationibus reperiuntur. modo subtractis candidatorum nominibus originem cuiusque et vitam et stipendia descripsit, ut qui forent intellegeretur: aliquando ea quoque significatione subtracta candidatos hortatus, ne ambitu comitia turbarent, suam ad id curam pollicitus est. plerumque eos tantum aput se professos disseruit, quorum nomina consulibus edidisset; posse et alios profiteri, si gratiae aut meritis confiderent: speciosa verbis, re inania aut subdola, quantoque maiore libertatis imagine tegebantur, tanto eruptura ad infensius servitium.

80. *causae varie*] Suetonius (Tib. 41) puts it down to carelessness and disregard for the public weal; Dio to the difficulty of finding proper successors. Tiberius himself assigned this as the reason: "incusabat egregium quemque et regendis exercitibus idoneum abnuere id munus, seque ea necessitudine ad preces agi" (vi. 27); but Tacitus adds, the Emperor forgets that Arruntius had been detained from his province of Spain for nine years past. Tiberius seems to have been naturally a dawdler, unable to make up his mind. Cf. also Dio lviii. 19, *Λαμίαν πρόπαλαι τῇ στρατιᾷ προστάξας κατεῖχεν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρων πολλῶν ἐποίει.*

81. *tum primum*] See the note on c. 15, on the change made by Tiberius in the elections.

in ipsius orationibus] These were sometimes delivered orally by the Emperor in the Senate: more usually however they were written communications, and read to the senators by a Quaestor. Instances of these occur in iii. 53, 54, and xvi. 7. In the latter case a 'senatus consultum' was passed in accordance with the suggestion contained in the 'oratio:' in fact, no doubt, the suggestions of the 'oratio,' even when most general, would virtually amount to a command.

professos] 'Given in their names as candidates.' Cf. Sall. Cat. 18, "consulatum petere, quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit."

ad infensius servitium] The slavery was worse, because the appearance of liberty blinded men's eyes, until they failed to see the power of their chains. They were less likely to make an effort for their liberation than if the reality of their enslavement were brought home to them in its naked truth.

CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER II.

CONTENTS.

amongst the Germans fomented by Drusus. 63. Surrender of Maroboduus to the Romans, and of Catualda. 64, 65. Proceedings of Rhescuporis in Thrace. 66. On being summoned to Rome, he puts Cotys to death. 67. He is condemned and slain. 68. Attempted escape and death of Vonones. 69. Failing health of Germanicus. 70. Anger of Germanicus against Piso. 71, 72. Last moments of Germanicus. 73. His funeral. His fancied resemblance to Alexander the Great. 74. Appointment of Sentius to Syria. 75. Departure of Agrippina for Rome. 76, 77. Different plans suggested to Piso in consequence. 78. Measures adopted by Piso. 79. Meets the ships of Agrippina. 80. Piso is driven into Celenderis by Sentius. 81. Piso is offered a safe voyage to Rome. 82. Grief at Rome for the death of Germanicus. 83. Honours granted in his memory. 84. Livia, the wife of Drusus, bears twins. 85. Measures to repress female profligacy. 86. Appointment of a Vestal Virgin. 87. Price of corn fixed. Refusal by Tiberius of new honours. 88. Death of Arminius.

1. Sisenna Statilio Tauro L. Libone consulibus mota orientis regna provinciaeque Romanae, initio apud Parthos orto, qui petitum Roma acceptumque regem, quamvis gentis Arsacidarum, ut externum aspernabantur. is fuit Vonones, obses Augusto datus a Phraate. nam Phraates quamquam depulisset exercitus ducesque Romanos, cuncta venerantium officia ad Augustum verterat partemque prolis firmandae amicitiae miserat, haud perinde nostri metu quam fidei popularium diffisus.

2. Post finem Phraatis et sequentium regum ob internas caedes venere in urbem legati a primoribus Parthis, qui Vononem vetustissimum liberorum eius accirent. magnificum id sibi credidit Caesar auxitque opibus. et accepere barbari laetantes, ut ferme ad nova imperia. mox subiit pudor degeneravisse Parthos: pe-

1. *Tauro*] Tacitus usually gives two names only to any one he mentions (unless he chances to be extremely well known, or very little), and consequently some of the editors erase 'Tauro.' But as in xi. 33 three names occur, and I cannot admit Ritter's solution (see his note), I have followed the MS.

depulisset] Phraates (IV.), 36 A.C., had defeated Oppius Statianus, the lieutenant of M. Antonius, and compelled Antonius himself to withdraw. Dio xlix. 25; Plutarch, Anton. 38.

officia] Dio Cassius (liv. 8) mentions that Phraates returned to Augustus the standards previously taken from the Roman armies, and the captives. This is also mentioned in the Mon. Ancyr. v. 40, "Parthos trium exercituum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi coegi." For 'partemque prolis' &c., cf. Mon. Ancyr. vi. "(Ad me rex) Parthorum Phratis Orodis filius filios suos nepo(tesque omnis misit) in Italiam non bello superatus, sed amicitiam nostram per (liberorum) suorum pignora petens." For the expression 'officia venerantium' cf. Agric. 4, "ab inlecebris peccantium." Also Dialog. de Orat. 6, "vulgata dicentium gaudia." There are other instances in c. 13, 20, 28, 41 of the same dialogue.

firmandae amicitiae] For the genitive cf. ii. 59, iii. 9, iii. 41. It is of common occurrence in Tacitus, and seems to be an extension of the genitive of quality, or an instance of the employment of the genitive to express generally 'connexion with.' The Parthian king had sent a portion of his family to Rome, in connexion with his policy of consolidating friendship between himself and the 'Princeps.'

2. *sequentium regum*] These were Phraataces and Orodes II. (Joseph. Antiq. xviii. 2. 4). Below, the Caesar is of course Augustus.

titum alio ex orbe regem, hostium artibus infectum; iam inter provincias Romanas solium Arsacidarum haberi darique. ubi illam gloriam trucidantium Crassum, exturbantium Antonium, si mancipium Caesaris, tot per annos servitutem perpessum, Parthis imperitet? accendebat dedignantes et ipse diversus a maiorum institutis, raro venatu, segni equorum cura; quotiens per urbes incederet, lecticae gestamine fastuque erga patrias epulas. inridebantur et Graeci comites ac vilissima utensilium anulo clausa. sed prompti aditus, obvia comitas, ignotae Parthis virtutes, nova vitia; et quia ipsorum moribus aliena, perinde odium pravis et honestis.

3. Igitur Artabanus Arsacidarum e sanguine aput Dahas adultus excitur, primoque congressu fusus reparat vires regnoque potitur. victo Vononi perfugium Armenia fuit, vacua tunc interque Parthorum et Romanas opes infida ob scelus Antonii, qui Artavasden regem Armeniorum specie amicitiae inlectum, dein catenis oneratum, postremo interfecerat. eius filius Artaxias, memoria patris nobis infensus, Arsacidarum vi seque regnumque tutatus est. occiso Artaxia per dolum propinquorum, datus a Caesare Armeniis Tigranes deductusque in regnum a Tiberio Nerone. nec Tigrani diuturnum imperium fuit neque liberis eius, quamquam sociatis more externo in matrimonium regnumque.

ubi illam gloriam] See note on c. 17 for the accusative case after a relative.

anulo clausa] The Parthian followed the usual Roman custom of sealing every thing to prevent the slaves purloining it. Cic. ad Fam. xvi. 26, "sicut olim matrem nostram facere memini, quae lagenas etiam inanes opsignabat ne dicerentur inanes aliquae fuisse quae furtim essent exsiccatae." Persius vi. 17, "et signum in vapida naso tetigisse lagena." Cf. also Hor. Epist. ii. 2. 134, Juv. xiv. 132. All this seemed to magnificent orientals a paltry economy.

moribus] The MS. has 'maioribus,' suggested probably by 'a maiorum institutis' a few lines back. There would be no force in 'ipsorum' if 'maioribus' were the reading, for there would be no meaning in any distinction between the ancestors of Vonones and those of the other Parthians, but great meaning in a contrast between *his* personal habits and *theirs*.

3. *ob scelus Antonii*] When M. Antonius was carrying on war against the Parthians, Artavasdes induced him to invade Media, and then deserted him and returned to Armenia. In revenge, Antonius invaded Armenia 34 A.C., and inveigling Artavasdes into his camp, seized him. He remained in captivity until 30 A.C., when he was put to death by Cleopatra. Cf. Vell. ii. 82, "Antonius reversus in Armeniam eius Artavasden fraude deceptum catenis, sed ne quid honori deesset aureis vinxit;" and Dio li. 5, τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἀποκτείνασα τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τῷ Μήδῳ ὡς καὶ ἐπικουρήσοντι σφίσι διὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμψεν.

seque regnumque] This is a somewhat unusual instance of 'que . . . que' in prose. Cf. Sall. Jug. 21, "ita seque illisque dignum fore," and Catil. 9, "seque rempublicamque curabant." The commonest use of it is in enumerations with the pronoun 'qui.' Cf. Liv. xxiv. 19, "captivi quique Campanorum, quique Hannibalis militum erant Romam missi." For 'nobis infensus' cf. Dio li. 16, τῷ Ἀρτάξῃ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καίπερ αἰτήσαντι οὐκ ἔπεμψεν ὅτι τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας Ῥωμαίους ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἀπεκτόνει.

sociatis] This is in accordance with

4. Dein iussu Augusti inpositus Artavasdes et non sine clade nostra deiectus. tum Gaius Caesar componendae Armeniae deligitur. is Ariobarzanen, origine Medum, ob insignem corporis formam et praeclarum animum volentibus Armeniis praefecit. Ariobarzane morte fortuita absumpto stirpem eius haud toleravere; temptatoque feminae imperio, cui nomen Erato, eaque brevi pulsa, incerti solutique et magis sine domino quam in libertate profugum Vononen in regnum accipiunt. sed ubi minitari Artabanus et parum subsidii in Armeniis, vel, si nostra vi defenderetur, bellum adversus Parthos sumendum erat, rector Syriae Creticus Silanus excitum custodia circumdat, manente luxu et regio nomine. quod ludibrium ut effugere agitaverit Vonones, in loco reddemus.

5. Ceterum Tiberio haud ingratum accidit turbari res orientis, ut ea specie Germanicum suetis legionibus abstraheret novisque provinciis impositum dolo simul et casibus obiectaret. at ille, quanto acriora in eum studia militum et aversa patrui voluntas, celerandae victoriae intentior, tractare proeliorum vias et quae sibi

oriental fashion. The children, daughters and sons, married each other, probably to restrict the claims upon the crown: Cleopatra, for instance, married her brother Ptolemy.

4. *Gaius Caesar*] For the whole passage here, cf. Mar. Ancyr. v. "(Arme)niam (ma)iorem interfecto rege eius Artax(ia cu)m posse(m provinciam facere) ma(lui maiorum) nostrorum exemplo reg(nu)m id (ad Tigranem Artavasdis filium nepo)tem Tigranis regis per (Ti. Ne)ro (nem qui tu)m e(rat privignus meus transferre. Ea)n(de)m gentem postea i(nsur)gentem et rebellantem d(omitam) per Gaium filium meum regi Ari(obarz)a(ni regis Medorum Artavasdis filio regen)dam tradidi et post e(ius) m(ort)em filio eius Artavasdi quo (interfecto Tigra)ne(m), qui erat ex regio genere Armeniorum oriundus, in id reg(num misi)." Cf. i. 3, "Gaium remeantem Armenia et vulnere invalidum mors fato propera . . . . abstulit." This Gaius Caesar was the son of Agrippa and Julia.

Erato] After the death of Tigranes, the younger son of the Tigranes previously mentioned, his sister and widow Erato abdicated the crown, and Gaius Caesar appointed Ariobarzanes: his son and successor Artavasdes was unable to retain his throne, and Erato regained her power, but only for a short time. There is a bronze medal extant with portraits of Tigranes and Erato, and the inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΝΕΟΣ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΗΣ, and ΕΡΑΤΩ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΗ, which explains why Tacitus says 'liberis eius' in ch. 3. Cf. Visconti, Iconographie Grecque iii. p. 305, a reference I take from Orelli.

ubi minitari] For the historic infinitive after 'ubi,' 'postquam,' 'ut,' followed by a finite verb, cf. iii. 26, "at postquam exui aequalitas, et pro modestia ac pudore ambitio et vis incedebat;" xii. 51, H. iii. 10 and 31. Sometimes the finite verb occurs in the first clause, and the historical infinitive in the second, introduced by 'cum,' 'donec,' &c.: iv. 50, "et ingruebat nox nimbo atrox, cum Sabinus circumire;" vi. 44, xiii. 57, H. iii. 31.

Creticus Silanus] He belonged to the Iunii Silani, but passed by adoption into the family of the Caecilii Metelli. He is therefore spoken of as Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus M. f. Silanus (Inscrip. Lat. n. 6021). He was consul A.D. 7, and legatus pro praetore of Syria A.D. 11. He sent for Vonones ('excitum'), and kept him from causing the Romans trouble with the Parthians.

5. *tractare*] 'To review the various methods of fighting battles,' 'the different circumstances under which battles could be fought.' Germanicus, from the past events of the war, endeavoured to ascertain what line of warfare was likely to prove most advantageous to the Romans.

tertium iam annum belligeranti saeva vel prospera evenissent. fundi Germanos acie et iustis locis, iuvari silvis, paludibus, brevi aestate et praematura hieme; suum militem haud perinde vulneribus quam spatiis itinerum, damno armorum adfici; fessas Gallias ministrandis equis; longum impedimentorum agmen oportunum ad insidias, defensantibus iniquum. at si mare intretur, promptam ipsis possessionem et hostibus ignotam, simul bellum maturius incipi legionesque et commeatus pariter vehi; integrum equitem equosque per ora et alveos fluminum media in Germania fore.

6. Igitur huc intendit, missis ad census Galliarum P. Vitellio et C. Antio. Silius et Anteius et Caecina fabricandae classi praeponuntur. mille naves sufficere visae properataeque, aliae brevis, angusta puppi proraque et lato utero, quo facilius fluctus tolerarent; quaedam planae carinis, ut sine noxa siderent; plures adpositis utrimque gubernaculis, converso ut repente remigio hinc vel illinc adpellerent; multae pontibus stratae, super quas tormenta veherentur, simul aptae ferendis equis aut commeatui; velis habiles, citae remis augebantur alacritate militum in speciem ac terrorem. insula Batavorum in quam convenirent praedicta, ob faciles adpulsus accipiendisque copiis et transmittendum ad bellum oportuna. nam Rhenus uno alveo continuus aut modicas insulas circumveniens aput principium agri Batavi velut in duos amnes dividitur, servatque nomen et violentiam cursus, qua Germaniam praevehitur, donec Oceano misceatur: ad Gal-

tertium iam annum] Germanicus was appointed to the command on the Rhine A.D. 13, the year after his consulship: the war broke out the following year, A.D. 14; and from this to the year A.D. 16 are three years, on the Roman inclusive system of calculation.

iustis locis] 'Iustus amnis' is a river neither unnaturally swollen nor dried up: 'iustus exercitus,' a duly equipped army, opposed to a force hastily raised and ill-armed. Here 'iustus locus' means a place fitted for a regular engagement, a fair stand-up fight,—an orthodox battle-field.

oportunum] So the MS. for 'opportunum.' Servius observes on Virg. Aen. i. 616, that 'applicat' is sounded as though there were one 'p' only. In Lucretius the MSS. have 'oportunus' as a reading wherever the word occurs. See Munro's Lucret. iii. 545.

intretur] For the tense see note i. 19, on 'vim meditentur.'

6. *adpellerent*] Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 5, "huc appelle." Suet. Titus 5, "Puteolos oneraria nave appulisset." The word means 'to bring a ship to land.'

augebantur] 'Were made still more showy and alarming.' Cf. Agric. 35, "Britannorum acies in speciem simul ac terrorem editioribus locis constiterat." Germ. 38, "in altitudinem quandam et terrorem adituri belli compti."

insula Batavorum] This island lies between the main branch of the Rhine where it divides at Burginatium, the Vahalis (Waal), and the Mosa (Maas), after the Vahalis flows into it. It is bounded on the left by the sea (H. iv. 12). It was about 100 miles long (Pliny, N. H. iv. 29), and the greatest breadth about 25. Traces of the name still remain in Betuwe, the district between the Rhine, Waal, and Lek.

praevehitur] See note on xiv. 23.

misceatur] The mood has been ex-

licam ripam latior et placidior adfluens — verso cognomento Vahalem accolae dicunt,—mox id quoque vocabulum mutat Mosa flumine eiusque inmenso ore eundem in Oceanum effunditur.

7. Sed Caesar, dum adiguntur naves, Silium legatum cum expedita manu inruptionem in Chattos facere iubet: ipse audito castellum Lupiae flumini adpositum obsideri, sex legiones eo duxit. neque Silio ob subitos imbres aliut actum quam ut modicam praedam et Arpi principis Chattorum coniugem filiamque raperet, neque Caesari copiam pugnae opsessores fecere, ad famam adventus eius dilapsi: tumulum tamen nuper Varianis legionibus structum et veterem aram Druso sitam disiecerant. restituit aram honorique patris princeps ipse cum legionibus decucurrit; tumulum iterare haud visum. et cuncta inter castellum Alisonem ac Rhenum novis limitibus aggeribusque permunita.

8. Iamque classis advenerat, cum praemisso commeatu et distributis in legiones ac socios navibus fossam, cui Drusianae nomen, ingressus precatusque Drusum patrem ut se eadem ausum libens placatusque exemplo ac memoria consiliorum atque operum iuvaret, lacus inde et Oceanum usque ad Amisiam flumen secunda navigatione pervehitur. classis Amisiae relicta laevo amne, erratum-

plained in a previous note (see i. 13, under 'oraret').

adfluens] For the adjectival forms 'latior' and 'placidior,' cf. Virg. Georg. iv. 373, "in mare purpureum violentior effluit amnis."

7. *Lupiae*] Cf. Dio liv. 33, *ὥστε τὸν Δροῦσον ἀντικαταφρονήσαντα αὐτῶν, ἐκεῖ τε ᾗ ὅ τε Λουπίας καὶ ὁ Ἐλίσων συμμίγνυνται φρούριόν τι σφίσιν ἐπιτειχίσαι καὶ ἕτερον ἐν Χάττοις παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Ῥήνῳ*. See the note at the end of the chapter on 'Aliso.'

tumulum] Cf. i. 62.

Druso] 'In honour of Drusus.' Cf. iv. 55, "aede Augusto ibi sita." Of course the phrase could just as well mean 'founded by Drusus' as far as the words are concerned, for in vi. 41 there is "Macedonibus sitae," where the dative is clearly put for the ablative with a preposition. Cf. also ii. 50, 57, vi. 41, xiv. 44.

decucurrit] Cf. Suet. Claud. 1, "ceterum exercitus honorarium ei tumulum excitavit: circa quem deinceps stato die quotannis miles decurreret." Virg. Aen. xi. 188, "Ter circum accensos cincti fulgentibus armis Decurrere rogos." Aliso was built by Drusus, B.C. 11, at the confluence of the Eliso and Luppia (Dio liv. 33, although he calls it Ἐλίσων). It was retaken by the Germans after the disaster of Varus (Vell. ii. 120). It is supposed to be Elsen near Paderborn, at the confluence of the Alme and Lippe.

limitibus aggeribusque] What is the exact difference between the two? Tacitus speaks (Germ. 29) of a 'limes' extending from the Rhine near Cologne to the Mons Taunus, traces of which, I believe, still exist. In H. ii. 24, 42, 'agger viae' is a high causeway, like a railway embankment. In H. iv. 21 'limes' is used for a road at right angles to the highway, leading across the fields. In H. iii. 25 'limitem viae' occurs in the same meaning as 'agger viae' in the preceding chapter. The words therefore mean very much the same thing. Perhaps 'limes' conveys the notion of a rampart stretching for a great distance as a boundary-line: 'agger' is merely a mound thrown up over and above the regular 'limes' at points requiring extra works.

8. *Drusianae*] Cf. i. 60.

Amisiae] Either the passage is unintelligible, or Amisia must be the name, not of the river, but of a place on the left bank of the river. Ptolemaeus, ii. 11. 28, speaks of a village Ἀμάσεια. The meaning of the passage seems tolerably clear.

que in eo quod non subvexit. transposuit militem dextras in terras iturum; ita plures dies efficiendis pontibus absumpti. et eques quidem ac legiones prima aestuaria, nondum adcrescente unda, intrepidi transiere: postremum auxiliorum agmen Batavique in parte ea, dum insultant aquis artemque nandi ostentant, turbati et quidam hausti sunt. metanti castra Caesari Angrivariorum defectio a tergo nuntiatur: missus ilico Stertinius cum equite et armatura levi igne et caedibus perfidiam ultus est.

9. Flumen Visurgis Romanos Cheruscosque interfluebat. eius in ripa cum ceteris primoribus Arminius adstitit, quaesitoque an Caesar venisset, postquam adesse responsum est, ut liceret cum fratre conloqui oravit. erat is in exercitu cognomento Flavus, insignis fide et amisso per vulnus oculo paucis ante annis duce Tiberio. tum permissu * * progressusque salutatur ab Arminio; qui amotis stipatoribus, ut sagittarii nostra pro ripa dispositi abscederent postulat, et postquam digressi, unde ea deformitas oris interrogat fratrem. illo locum et proelium referente, quodnam praemium recepisset exquirit. Flavus aucta stipendia, torquem et coronam aliaque militaria dona memorat, inridente Arminio vilia servitii pretia.

10. Exin diversi ordiuntur, hic magnitudinem Romanam, opes Caesaris et victis graves poenas, in deditionem venienti paratam clementiam; neque coniugem et filium eius hostiliter haberi: ille fas patriae, libertatem avitam, penetralis Germaniae deos, matrem

'Laevo amne' must be taken, in the usual way, for the left bank of the river, i. e. the western. Germanicus landed his soldiers on the left bank of the river. This was a strategical error: he ought to have carried his troops some distance up the river ('subvexit'), and landed them on the right bank. In order to convey across the river, as he did ('transposuit'), the troops destined to operate on the right bank, he required bridges: if he had taken his ships to the right bank, he might have spared himself the trouble and risk.

pontibus] The plural does not seem to imply *necessarily* the existence of more bridges than one, for Cic. ad Fam. x. 23 uses 'pontes,' and in x. 18 'pontem' of the same bridge. But here there may really have been several bridges, either parallel or extending over the whole space in discontinuous portions.

in parte ea] Sc. 'in postremo auxiliorum agmine.'

Angrivariorum] There is some difficulty about this. The Angrivarii were settled mainly between the Weser and the Elbe, between the greater Chauci and the Suebi. But it is clear from c. 9 that Germanicus had not yet crossed the Weser. Possibly some of the Angrivarii lay farther west than the main body of the tribe, and so they might be in the rear of the Romans, who were now close to the Weser.

10. *diversi*] The two men began in different strains. Cf. ii. 73, "diversi interpretabantur." The word is properly used of place. Cf. xvi. 30, "steteruntque diversi."

filium eius] The son of Arminius, with his mother, was detained at Ravenna (i. 58). Just below, translate 'fas patriae' 'the sacred claims of fatherland.'

penetralis Germaniae deos] Cf. Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 27, "Dii Penates, etiam penetrales a poetis vocantur." These

precum sociam; ne propinquorum et adfinium, denique gentis suae desertor et proditor quam imperator esse mallet. paulatim inde ad iurgia prolapsi quo minus pugnam consererent ne flumine quidem interiecto cohibebantur, ni Stertinius adcurrens plenum irae armaque et equum poscentem Flavum adtinuisset. cernebatur contra minitabundus Arminius proeliumque denuntians; nam pleraque Latino sermone interiaciebat, ut qui Romanis in castris ductor popularium meruisset.

11. Postero die Germanorum acies trans Visurgim stetit. Caesar nisi pontibus praesidiisque inpositis dare in discrimen legiones haud imperatorium ratus, equitem vado tramittit. praefuere Stertinius et e numero primipilarium Aemilius, distantibus locis invecti, ut hostem diducerent. qua celerrimus amnis, Chariovalda dux Batavorum erupit. eum Cherusci fugam simulantes in planitiem saltibus circumiectam traxere: dein coorti et undique effusi trudunt adversos, instant cedentibus collectosque in orbem pars congressi, quidam eminus proturbant. Chariovalda diu sustentata hostium saevitia, hortatus suos ut ingruentes catervas globo perfringerent, atque ipse densissimos inrumpens, congestis telis et suffosso equo labitur, ac multi nobilium circa: ceteros vis sua aut equites cum Stertinio Aemilioque subvenientes periculo exemere.

12. Caesar transgressus Visurgim indicio perfugae cognoscit delectum ab Arminio locum pugnae; convenisse et alias nationes in silvam Herculi sacram ausurosque nocturnam castrorum oppugnationem. habita indici fides et cernebantur ignes, suggressi-

gods, worshipped in the secret groves, were to the whole nation what the 'Di Penates' were to each separate family.

meruisset] 'Merere' is used absolutely for 'to serve in war.' Cic. pro Muren. 5, "qui si adulescens patre suo imperatore non meruisset." Also Liv. xxi. 4.

11. *primipilarium*] 'Primipilaris' stands to 'primipilus' in the same relation as 'consularis' to 'consul.' So iv. 72. In xiii. 36 this word is replaced by 'primipilo honore perfunctus.' Those who had been 'primipili' ranked as 'equites' (Mart. vi. 58. 10, "et referes pili praemia clarus eques").

perfringerent] So Bezzenberger for 'fringerent,' the reading of the MS. Cf. i. 64, "perfringere stationes." Cf. also H. ii. 21, "perfringendis obruendisque hostibus."

12. *Herculi sacram*] Tacitus might have identified the Teutonic deities with the gods of Rome on either of two principles—similarity of name, or similarity of offices and attributes. If Tacitus had given us the Teutonic or Keltic equivalents to the Roman names, he would have saved us considerable trouble. The Scandinavian deity always represented with a club, distinguished for strength, the enemy of the giants, and the destroyer of every thing noxious, was Thor: he may perhaps have been the equivalent of Hercules. On the other hand, the equivalence may be one of name, and Hercules a Latinized rendering of a name compounded of 'Heer,' war, and 'Keule,' a club. In Germ. 9 Tacitus gives the names of the gods mainly worshipped by the Germans, and in some of the cases the equivalence seems clearly one of attributes. Perhaps therefore it is more likely to be so in this case.

que propius speculatores audiri fremitum equorum inmensique et inconditi agminis murmur attulere. igitur propinquo summae rei discrimine explorandos militum animos ratus, quonam id modo incorruptum foret, secum agitabat. tribunos et centuriones laeta saepius quam comperta nuntiare, libertorum servilia ingenia, amicis inesse adulationem; si contio vocetur, illic quoque quae pauci incipiant reliquos adstrepere. penitus noscendas mentes, cum secreti et incustoditi inter militaris cibos spem aut metum proferrent.

13. Nocte coepta egressus augurali per occulta et vigilibus ignara, comite uno, contectus umeros ferina pelle, adit castrorum vias, adsistit tabernaculis fruiturque fama sui, cum hic nobilitatem ducis, decorem alius, plurimi patientiam, comitatem, per seria per iocos eundem animum laudibus ferrent reddendamque gratiam in acie faterentur, simul perfidos et ruptores pacis ultioni et gloriae mactandos. inter quae unus hostium, Latinae linguae sciens, acto ad vallum equo voce magna coniuges et agros et stipendii in dies, donec bellaretur, sestertios centenos, si quis transfugisset, Arminii nomine pollicetur. incendit ea contumelia legionum iras: veniret dies, daretur pugna; sumpturum militem Germanorum agros, tracturum coniuges; accipere omen et matrimonia ac pecunias hostium praedae destinare. tertia ferme vigilia adsultatum est castris sine coniectu teli, postquam crebras pro munimentis cohortes et nihil remissum sensere.

14. Nox eadem laetam Germanico quietem tulit, viditque se operatum et sanguine sacri respersa praetexta pulchriorem aliam manibus aviae Augustae accepisse. auctus omine, addicentibus auspiciis, vocat contionem et quae sapientia praevisa aptaque inminenti pugnae disserit. non campos modo militi Romano ad

13. *augurali*] This was a space on the right hand of the 'praetorium' or general's tent, set apart for taking the auspices. It extended to the 'via principalis.' Cf. xv. 30.

ferina pelle] Germanicus, to avoid recognition, no doubt, assumed the dress commonly worn by the auxiliary German troops serving in the Roman army.

matrimonia] Cf. Suet. C. Julius Caesar 51, "Caesarem ne provincialibus quidem matrimoniis abstinuisse."

14. *quietem*] Cf. i. 65, "ducemque terruit dira quies." 'Quies' is also used for 'sleep' in xi. 4, xii. 13, xvi. 1. This use of the word is poetical.

operatum] This is the technical word for 'sacrificing.' Cf. Hor. Carm. iii. 14. 6, "prodeat iustis operata sacris." Virg. Georg. i. 339, "sacra refer Cereri laetis operatus in herbis." Also Propert. ii. 33. 2, Tibull. ii. 5. 95. This participle seems always used without reference to time, or at all events to be employed where a present would be more natural. 'Operari' is used in a different sense in iii. 43 and H. v. 20.

praevisa] I have retained the reading of the MS., although in iv. 25 and H. v. 17 the word used is 'provisa;' but a writer sometimes varies his expressions: 'had been foreseen by his sagacity.'

proelium bonos, sed si ratio adsit, silvas et saltus; nec enim inmensa barbarorum scuta, enormis hastas inter truncos arborum et enata humo virgulta perinde haberi quam pila et gladios et haerentia corpori tegmina. denserent ictus, ora mucronibus quaererent: non loricam Germano, non galeam, ne scuta quidem ferro nervove firmata, sed viminum textus vel tenuis et fucatas colore tabulas; primam utcumque aciem hastatam, ceteris praeusta aut brevia tela. iam corpus ut visu torvum et ad brevem impetum validum, sic nulla vulnerum patientia: sine pudore flagitii, sine cura ducum abire, fugere, pavidos adversis, inter secunda non divini, non humani iuris memoris. si taedio viarum ac maris finem cupiant, hac acie parari: propiorem iam Albim quam Rhenum neque bellum ultra, modo se, patris patruique vestigia prementem, isdem in terris victorem sisterent.

15. Orationem ducis secutus militum ardor, signumque pugnae datum. nec Arminius aut ceteri Germanorum proceres omittebant suos quisque testari, hos esse Romanos Variani exercitus fugacissimos, qui ne bellum tolerarent, seditionem induerint; quorum pars onusta vulneribus terga, pars fluctibus et procellis fractos artus infensis rursum hostibus, adversis dis obiciant, nulla boni

enormis hastas] There is some doubt as to what kind of weapons Tacitus is speaking of. In H. v. 18 he says "immensis corporibus et praelongis hastis fluitantem labantemque militem eminus fodiebant." In Germ. 6, "rari gladiis aut maioribus lanceis utuntur: hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum habili ut eodem telo prout ratio poscit vel cominus vel eminus pugnent." Apparently what are termed 'hastae' in the text are called 'lanceae' in this last passage, from the adjective 'enormis' being added to express their great size. The 'brevia tela' in the present description are the 'hastae' or 'frameae' of the Germania, as 'telum' occurs in both passages alike. The word 'framea' is no doubt the Teutonic 'pfrieme,' an awl or bodkin. Heads of these supposed 'frameae' have been found, and also of the 'lanceae,' and are given in Estorff's "Heidnischer Alterthümer." One is 7 inches long by half an inch wide; another 6 inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and of the weight of 6 oz.; a third is 7 inches long, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches broad, and 13 oz. in weight. The ends are not pointed, but rounded, and wider than the rest of the iron. A lance-head, broad at the lower extremity, and tapering to a point, is 4 inches long, and 2 inches wide, and of the weight of 3 oz. In the text the 'tela' were many of them only of wood, without any iron, as they are spoken of as 'praeusta.'

utcumque] The first line carried spears, however that was managed; spears at all events it had, of one sort or another. Cf. i. 5 and note on the word.

ad brevem impetum] Cf. Germ. 4, "magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida."

patris patruique] Drusus and Tiberius, although in i. 42 the latter is called 'pater,' but that was by adoption.

15. *fugacissimos*] They were the most runaway portion of the army of Varus, because those who were not so expert in flight had been put to the sword. (Cf. Agric. 34, "hi ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi ideoque tam diu superstites.") This was the reason why their backs, not bodies, were covered with scars. They were hit as they were running away, and therefore 'obiciant terga' is used, although they could not properly be said 'obicere terga rursum hostibus.'

spe. classem quippe et avia Oceani quaesita, ne quis venientibus occurreret, ne pulsos premeret: sed ubi miscuerint manus, inane victis ventorum remorumve subsidium. meminissent modo avaritiae, crudelitatis, superbiae: aliut sibi reliquum quam tenere libertatem aut mori ante servitium?

16. Sic accensos et proelium poscentes in campum, cui Idistaviso nomen, deducunt. is medius inter Visurgim et colles, ut ripae fluminis cedunt aut prominentia montium resistunt, inaequaliter sinuatur. pone tergum insurgebat silva, editis in altum ramis et pura humo inter arborum truncos. campum et prima silvarum barbara acies tenuit: soli Cherusci iuga insedere, ut proeliantibus Romanis desuper incurrerent. noster exercitus sic incessit: auxiliares Galli Germanique in fronte, post quos pedites sagittarii; dein quattuor legiones et cum duabus praetoriis cohortibus ac delecto equite Caesar; exim totidem aliae legiones et levis armatura cum equite sagittario ceteraeque sociorum cohortes. intentus paratusque miles, ut ordo agminis in aciem adsisteret.

17. Visis Cheruscorum catervis, quae per ferociam proruperant, validissimos equitum incurrere latus, Stertinium cum ceteris turmis circumgredi tergaque invadere iubet, ipse in tempore ad-

meminissent] Cf. ii. 45, "meminissent modo tot proeliorum." The imperative of the oratio recta becomes in the oratio obliqua the imperfect subjunctive: for instance, i. 19, "decernerent legatos, seque coram mandata darent." As 'memini' is a present perfect, the proper tense in the oratio obliqua is the pluperfect subjunctive.

16. *Idistaviso*] Nipperdey remarks that this is probably the nominative case, for the attracted dative is chiefly used by Tacitus with adjectives, as in ii. 8, "fossam cui Drusianae nomen," and in other cases the nominative is generally found (i. 45, ii. 4, 80). Grimm supposes the word to mean 'the bright meadow,' from 'idista,' the superlative of 'id,' shining, and 'wiese,' a meadow.

ripae] This must, I think, be the nominative case plural, as 'ripae fluminis' and 'prominentia montium' correspond. The plain on the eastern side of the Visurgis varies in width: in some places the banks of the river fall back as it were, and trend westward, and consequently allow the space between the river and the hills to widen out: in other places the hills prevent the extension of the plain eastward by jutting out and forming a barrier. 'Colles' and 'montes' are the same range.

praetoriis cohortibus] So below, ii. 20. Ritter makes these out to be the cohorts in attendance on the general. Cf. Cic. ad Fam. x. 30, "Antonius eduxit . . . cohortes praetorias duas, unam suam, alteram Silani." He explains the mention of two cohorts by the fact that Silius and Caecina had now joined their forces, and therefore two cohorts were on guard. This seems objectionable, because at this period of the Roman history the praetorian cohorts would, in the absence of any explanation, naturally be supposed to refer to the praetorian guard. No doubt two cohorts of these had been sent from Rome. Elsewhere a 'cohors urbana' is spoken of as quartered at Lugdunum (iii. 41, H. i. 64).

ordo agminis] The Romans marched with their forces so arranged, that on halting the line of battle would at once be formed, without any further movements.

futurus. interea pulcherrimum augurium, octo aquilae petere silvas et intrare visae imperatorem advertere. exclamat irent, sequerentur Romanas aves, propria legionum numina. simul pedestris acies infertur et praemissus eques postremos ac latera impulit. mirumque dictu, duo hostium agmina diversa fuga, qui silvam tenuerant, in aperta, qui campis adstiterant, in silvam ruebant. medii inter hos Cherusci collibus detrudebantur, inter quos insignis Arminius manu voce vulnere sustentabat pugnam. incubueratque sagittariis, illa rupturus, ni Raetorum Vindelicorumque et Gallicae cohortes signa obiecissent. nisu tamen corporis et impetu equi pervasit, oblitus faciem suo cruore, ne nosceretur. quidam adgnitum a Chaucis inter auxilia Romana agentibus emissumque tradiderunt. virtus seu fraus eadem Inguiomero effugium dedit: ceteri passim trucidati. et plerosque tranare Visurgim conantes iniecta tela aut vis fluminis, postremo moles ruentium et incidentes ripae operuere. quidam turpi fuga in summa arborum nisi ramisque se occultantes admotis sagittariis per ludibrium figebantur, alios prorutae arbores adflixere.

18. Magna ea victoria neque cruenta nobis fuit. quinta ab hora diei ad noctem caesi hostes decem milia passuum cadaveribus atque armis opplevere, repertis inter spolia eorum catenis, quas in Romanos ut non dubio eventu portaverant. miles in loco proelii Tiberium imperatorem salutavit struxitque aggerem et in modum tropaeorum arma subscriptis victarum gentium nominibus imposuit.

19. Haud perinde Germanos vulnera, luctus, excidia quam ea species dolore et ira adfecit. qui modo abire sedibus, trans Albim concedere parabant, pugnam volunt, arma rapiunt; plebes primores, iuventus senes agmen Romanum repente incursant, turbant. postremo deligunt locum flumine et silvis clausum, arta intus

17. *advertere*] Cf. i. 41, "gemitus ac planctus etiam militum aures oraque advertere." Just the opposite construction is found xii. 51, "Zenobiam . . . advertere pastores." Below, for 'campis' without a preposition, see note on iii. 61, under 'Delo.'

insignis] Cf. H. iii. 17, "consilio manu voce insignis hosti."

illa rupturus] For the construction cf. H. iii. 19, "rupturi imperium ni ducantur;" and with 'si' following, i. 36, "si omitteretur ripa invasurus hostis." For the ablative 'illa' (sc. 'via') cf. Germ. 34, "ipsum quin etiam Oceanum illa temptavimus," and H. v. 18, "solidum illa, et Gugernos parum intentos."

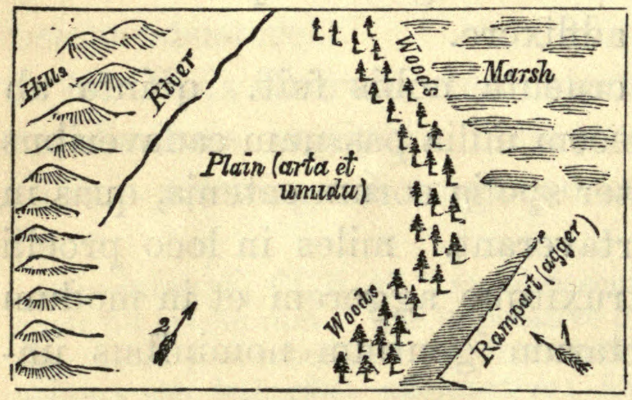
18. *imperatorem*] In the old sense of the word, Tiberius was saluted Imperator, not Germanicus, because the Emperor was by virtue of his position generalissimo of the forces, and the generals in command were only his lieutenants.

19. *locum flumine*] The river could hardly have been the Weser, but some tributary apparently of the Elbe. The description of the locality is not easy to follow. As far as I can understand the

planitie et umida: silvas quoque profunda palus ambibat, nisi quod latus unum Angrivarii lato aggere extulerant, quo a Cheruscis dirimerentur. hic pedes adstitit: equitem propinquis lucis texere, ut ingressis silvam legionibus a tergo foret.

20. Nihil ex his Caesari incognitum: consilia locos, prompta occulta noverat astusque hostium in permitiem ipsis vertebat. Seio Tuberoni legato tradit equitem campumque; peditum aciem ita instruxit, ut pars aequo in silvam aditu incederet, pars obiectum aggerem eniteretur; quod arduum sibi, cetera legatis permisit. quibus plana evenerant, facile inrupere: quis inpugnandus agger, ut si murum succederent, gravibus superne ictibus conflictabantur. sensit dux inparem comminus pugnam remotisque paulum legionibus funditores libritoresque excutere tela et proturbare hostem iubet. missae e tormentis hastae, quantoque conspicui magis

passage, the following is not far from the truth —



The arrow-headed lines (1) and (2) mark the direction of the Roman attack. Apparently the Germans intended the Romans to approach by (2) alone, so that after their march across the plain to assault the portion of the woods nearest the river, the German cavalry ('equitem propinquis lucis texere ut ingressis silvam legionibus a tergo foret') might fall on their rear. But the Roman general did not fall into the trap laid for him. He made two approaches, one by (2) ('pars aequo in silvam aditu, quibus plana evenerant'); one by (1) to assault the rampart. After forcing this, both divisions advanced on the woods near the river, and drove the Germans before them, who had a marsh only to fall back on. In the rear of the Romans the river lay, and the hills ('montes'). The 'campus' is about the same as the 'planities' or the lower end of it. I imagine the Germans were partly stationed in the woods on the lower side of the plain, supposing themselves to be secured in their rear by the 'agger,' on which they did not contemplate any attack by the Romans from without.

20. *permitiem*] So the Cod. Med. continually. There is, I believe, abundant evidence from MSS. and inscriptions that this form of the word was in use amongst the Romans (cf. Munro's Lucret. Note I. on i. 451), and therefore I retain it.

eniteretur] For the case cf. H. i. 23, "cum Pyrenaeum et Alpes et immensa viarum spatia aegre sub armis eniterentur." It is used differently xvi. 5, "dum per angustias aditus et ingruentem multitudinem enituntur."

murum succederent] 'Succedere' is variously constructed: with a dative, Aen. ii. 478, "succedunt tecto;" with an accusative and preposition, Liv. ix. 27, "eques in pugnam succedit;" and as here, with an accusative only. Cf. also Liv. xxxviii. 9, "cum succedens murum parum proficeret." The construction with the accusative and preposition seems the most usual.

funditores libritoresque] These are mentioned together in xiii. 39, where see the note. It seems to me impossible to decide whether 'librator' or 'libritor' is the proper form: the latter is found also in xiii. 39, and in its favour is Caesar, B. G. vii. 81, "fundis librilibus sudibusque Gallos perterrent." On the other hand, Tacitus has, H. iii. 23, "libramenta tormentorum." Probably the orthography was unsettled.

propugnatores, tanto pluribus vulneribus deiecti. primus Caesar cum praetoriis cohortibus capto vallo dedit impetum in silvas; conlato illic gradu certatum. hostem a tergo palus, Romanos flumen aut montes claudebant: utrisque necessitas in loco, spes in virtute, salus ex victoria.

21. Nec minor Germanis animus, sed genere pugnae et armorum superabantur, cum ingens multitudo artis locis praelongas hastas non protenderet, non colligeret, neque adsultibus et velocitate corporum uteretur, coacta stabile ad proelium; contra miles, cui scutum pectori adpressum et insidens capulo manus, latos barbarorum artus, nuda ora foderet viamque strage hostium aperiret, inprompto iam *Arminio* ob continua pericula, sive illum recens acceptum vulnus tardaverat. quin et Inguiomerum, tota volitantem acie, fortuna magis quam virtus deserebat. et Germanicus quo magis adgnosceretur, detraxerat tegimen capiti orabatque insisterent caedibus: nil opus captivis, solam internicionem gentis finem bello fore. iamque sero diei subducit ex acie legionem faciendis castris: ceterae ad noctem cruore hostium satiatae sunt. equites ambigue certavere.

22. Laudatis pro contione victoribus Caesar congeriem armorum struxit, superbo cum titulo: debellatis inter Rhenum Albimque nationibus exercitum Tiberii Caesaris ea monimenta Marti et Iovi et Augusto sacravisse. de se nihil addidit, metu invidiae an ratus conscientiam facti satis esse. mox bellum in Angrivarios Stertinio mandat, ni deditionem properavissent. atque illi supplices nihil abnuendo veniam omnium accepere.

23. Sed aestate iam adulta legionum aliae itinere terrestri in hibernacula remissae; plures Caesar classi inpositas per flumen

dedit impetum] 'Facere impetum' is common. 'Dare impetum' occurs Liv. ii. 19, in the same meaning.

21. *colligeret*] The sense is evidently, from the use of 'protenderet,' 'draw them in,' when once extended. There is no other instance, as far as I know, of this meaning.

ambigue] Although 'ambigue agere' is used H. iii. 35 in the sense of 'wavering in allegiance,' the sense here can only be 'the cavalry fought with doubtful success.' The previous words speak of the issue of the fight, and these words, one would suppose, must have reference to the result of the contest, and not the feeling of the troops in it. Tacitus would hardly have written so obscurely, if he had intended to convey that meaning.

22. *an ratus*] For this idiom see note on i. 13.

mandat] In this construction the imperfect is usual, but the present is of course historical, and virtually a past tense.

23. *aestate iam adulta*] Servius, on Virg. Georg. i. 43, says "anni quattuor sunt tempora, divisa in ternos menses. Antiqui ipsorum temporum talem faciunt discretionem ut primo mense veris novum dicatur ver, secundo adultum, tertio praeceps, sicut etiam Sallustius dicit ubique nova aestas, adulta, praeceps." Cf. xi. 31, "adulto autumno;" H. iii. 23, "adulta nocte;" and xiii. 36, "donec ver adolesceret."

Amisiam Oceano invexit. ac primo placidum aequor mille navium remis strepere aut velis inpelli: mox atro nubium globo effusa grando, simul variis undique procellis incerti fluctus prospectum adimere, regimen inpedire; milesque pavidus et cassuum maris ignarus dum turbat nautas vel intempestive iuvat, officia prudentium corrumpebat. omne dehinc caelum et mare omne in austrum cessit, qui tumidis Germaniae terris, profundis amnibus, immenso nubium tractu validus et rigore vicini septentrionis horridior rapuit disiecitque naves in aperta Oceani aut insulas saxis abruptis vel per occulta vada infestas. quibus paulum aegreque vitatis, postquam mutabat aestus eodemque quo ventus ferebat, non adhaerere anchoris, non exhaurire inrumpentis undas poterant: equi, iumenta, sarcinae, etiam arma praecipitantur, quo levarentur alvei, manantes per latera et fluctu superurgente.

24. Quanto violentior cetero mari Oceanus et truculentia caeli praestat Germania, tantum illa clades novitate et magnitudine excessit, hostilibus circum litoribus aut ita vasto et profundo, ut credatur novissimum ac sine terris mare. pars navium haustae sunt, plures aput insulas longius sitas eiectae; milesque nullo illic hominum cultu fame absumptus, nisi quos corpora equorum eodem elisa toleraverant. sola Germanici triremis

cassuum] See the Introduction for the spelling. Below, 'officia' &c., translate 'interfered with the duties of the practised seamen.'

in austrum cessit] At first the winds blew from various quarters ('variis undique procellis'); then they all seemed to blow from one direction, and united their violence in one tremendous blast from the south: they 'fell under the sway of, were merged in that wind' ('cessere'). Cf. i. 1, "Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere."

tumidis] Not 'mountainous,' but 'swollen, puffed out with moisture.' Cf. Virg. Georg. ii. 324. This and the following ablative seem put absolutely, and 'tractu' to be governed by 'validus' as the instrument: 'which, as the lands of Germany are swollen with moisture and the rivers deep, gathering strength from a long tract of clouds,' &c.

mutabat] For the intransitive sense cf. xii. 29, "diuturnitate in superbiam mutans." 'Ferebat' is probably transitive, 'bore them,' i.e. the ships. It might also be used as it is in the common phrase 'via fert ad urbem,' but this is less likely, I think.

manantes] 'Soaking, dripping (with water forcing its way) through the sides, and the wave breaking over the decks.'

24. *excessit*] Cf. Liv. xxxiii. 35, "ne in altercationem excederet res," and Agric. 42, "obsequiumque ac modestiam eo laudis excedere." The word seems used in these instances absolutely, in the sense of passing the usual limits.

vasto et profundo] There is not any word understood, nor is 'mari' to be supplied from 'mare.' The adjectives are put absolutely, very much as i. 61, "humido paludum;" vi. 49, "lubricum iuventae."

insulas] Islands perhaps along the western coast of Holstein and Norway, and the Orkneys and Shetlands. But all this passage seems written for effect, and the incidents may be due rather to the imagination of Tacitus than to reality.

toleraverant] 'Tolerare aliquem' is put for 'vitam tolerare alicuius.' Draeger quotes Caesar, Bell. Civ. iii. 49, "cognoscebant equos eorum tolerari," and Pliny, N. H. xxxvii. 47, "octona milia equitum sua pecunia toleravisse." He also observes that 'adpellere terram' below occurs nowhere but here.

Chaucorum terram adpulit; quem per omnes illos dies noctesque aput scopulos et prominentis oras, cum se tanti exitii reum clamitaret, vix cohibuere amici quo minus eodem mari oppeteret. tandem relabente aestu et secundante vento claudae naves raro remigio aut intentis vestibus, et quaedam a validioribus tractae, revertere; quas raptim refectas misit ut scrutarentur insulas. collecti ea cura plerique: multos Angrivarii nuper in fidem accepti redemptos ab interioribus reddidere; quidam in Britanniam rapti et remissi a regulis. ut quis ex longinquo revenerat, miracula narrabant, vim turbinum et inauditas volucres, monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et beluarum formas, visa sive ex metu credita.

25. Sed fama classis amissae ut Germanos ad spem belli, ita Caesarem ad coercendum erexit. C. Silio cum triginta peditum, tribus equitum milibus ire in Chattos imperat; ipse maioribus copiis Marsos inrumpit, quorum dux Mallovendus nuper in deditionem acceptus propinquo luco defossam Varianae legionis aquilam modico praesidio servari indicat. missa extemplo manus quae hostem a fronte eliceret, alii qui terga circumgressi recluderent humum; et utrisque adfuit fortuna. eo promptior Caesar pergit introrsus, populatur, excindit non ausum congredi hostem aut, sicubi restiterat, statim pulsum nec umquam magis, ut ex captivis cognitum est, paventem. quippe invictos et nullis cassibus superabiles Romanos praedicabant, qui perdita classe, amissis armis, post constrata equorum virorumque corporibus litora eadem virtute, pari ferocia et velut aucti numero inrupissent.

26. Reductus inde in hiberna miles, laetus animi quod adversa maris expeditione prospera pensavisset. addidit munificentiam Caesar, quantum quis damni professus erat exsolvendo. nec dubium habebatur labare hostes petendaeque pacis consilia sumere, et si proxima aestas adiceretur, posse bellum patrari. sed crebris epistulis Tiberius monebat rediret ad decretum triumphum: satis

scopulos] It does not seem necessary to explain this to mean elevations in the line of coast, because there are no rocks between the Ems and the Weser: it is simpler to suppose that Tacitus was not possessed of any very accurate knowledge of the locality.

inauditas] Lipsius objects to this, that they could not have seen unheard-of birds, because they do not exist there. But as Tacitus uses the word 'miracula,' and travellers' tales have passed into a proverb, one need scarcely expect to verify each single report brought home by these distant wanderers.

25. *aquilam*] In i. 60 the eagle of the 19th legion is spoken of as having been recovered, and here a second eagle. The third was recovered in the reign of Claudius (Dio lx. 8), but the incident is not found in Tacitus, as the portion of the work where it would occur (A.D. 41) is lost.

iam eventuum, satis casuum. prospera illi et magna proelia: eorum quoque meminisset quae venti et fluctus, nulla ducis culpa, gravia tamen et saeva damna intulissent. se novies a divo Augusto in Germaniam missum plura consilio quam vi perfecisse. sic Sugambros in deditionem acceptos, sic Suebos regemque Maroboduum pace obstrictum. posse et Cheruscos ceterasque rebellium gentes, quoniam Romanae ultioni consultum esset, internis discordiis relinqui. precante Germanico annum efficiendis coeptis, acrius modestiam eius adgreditur alterum consulatum offerendo, cuius munia praesens obiret. simul adnectebat, si foret adhuc bellandum, relinqueret materiem Drusi fratris gloriae, qui nullo tum alio hoste non nisi aput Germanias adsequi nomen imperatorium et deportare lauream posset. haud cunctatus est ultra Germanicus, quamquam fingi ea seque per invidiam parto iam decori abstrahi intellegeret.

27. Sub idem tempus e familia Scriboniorum Libo Drusus defertur moliri res novas. eius negotii initium, ordinem, finem curatius disseram, quia tum primum reperta sunt quae per tot annos rem publicam exedere. Firmius Catus senator, ex intima Libonis amicitia, iuvenem inprovidum et facilem inanibus ad Chaldaeorum promissa, magorum sacra, somniorum etiam interpretes impulit,

26. *se novies a divo Augusto in Germaniam missum*] This can hardly imply that Tiberius was sent on nine distinct occasions to conduct a war in Germany. He was in Germany in 16 A.C. (Dio liv. 20), again in 9, 8, 7 A.C. (Dio lv. 2 &c.), and in A.D. 4 (Dio lv. 13), in A.D. 6 (Dio lv. 28) and 10, and 11 A.D. (Dio lvi. 23, 25). This I take from Walther, and I can only imagine the number ('novies') to be made up by Tiberius returning to Rome during his command, reckoning his return as an additional mission. I do not suppose Tiberius was talking quite at random.

Sugambros] Cf. Suet. Augustus 21, "Ubios et Sugambros dedentes se traduxit in Galliam atque in proximis Rheno agris collocavit." (Cf. also Tib. 9, xii. 39.) The 'Suebi' were not a single tribe, but an aggregate of many, including the Semnones, Langobardi, Marcomani, and others (Germ. 38—45), tribes probably as much Sclavonic as Teutonic. About A.D. 7, under Maroboduus, a portion of the Suebi, viz. the Marcomani, crossed the Erzgebirge, and, expelling the Keltic Boii from Bohemia, established a kingdom along the Danube almost to Ratisbon. Tiberius was sent across the Danube to attack the Marcomani. But the attention of the Romans was called elsewhere. Maroboduus remained neutral in the Dalmatian and Pannonian war. The Suebi of Tacitus, it is to be observed, are not the Suevi of Caesar (B. G. iv. 1—17): these last are the Chatti of Tacitus probably.

adnectebat] This verb is constructed with an infinitive in iv. 28, "adnectebatque Caecilium Cornutum praetorium ministravisse pecuniam." There is no other instance, I believe, of either of these constructions.

Drusi fratris] The son of Tiberius, who was brother to Germanicus, because the latter had been adopted by Tiberius.

deportare lauream] The triumphant general carried to the Capitol his laurel wreath, and laid it on the knee of Jupiter. Cf. Suet. Nero 13, "ob quae Imperator consalutatus, laurea in Capitolium lata" &c.

27. *facilem inanibus*] For the dative cf. v. 11, "facilis capessendis inimicitiis."

dum proavum Pompeium, amitam Scriboniam, quae quondam Augusti coniunx fuerat, consobrinos Caesares, plenam imaginibus domum ostentat, hortaturque ad luxum et aes alienum, socius libidinum et necessitatum, quo pluribus indiciis inligaret.

28. Ut satis testium et qui servi eadem noscerent repperit, aditum ad principem postulat, demonstrato crimine et reo per Flaccum Vescularium equitem Romanum, cui propior cum Tiberio usus erat. Caesar indicium haud aspernatus congressus abnuit: posse enim eodem Flacco internuntio sermones commeare. atque interim Libonem ornat praetura, convictibus adhibet, non vultu alienatus, non verbis commotior (adeo iram condiderat); cunctaque eius dicta factaque, cum prohibere posset, scire malebat, donec Iunius quidam, temptatus ut infernas umbras carminibus eliceret, ad Fulcinium Trionem indicium detulit. celebre inter accussatores Trionis ingenium erat avidumque famae malae. statim corripit reum, adit consules, cognitionem senatus poscit. et vocantur patres, addito consultandum super re magna et atroci.

29. Libo interim veste mutata cum primoribus feminis circumire

proavum] The following table, which I copy from Nipperdey's note on this passage, will render this more intelligible:—

L. Scribonius Libo (consul 34 A.C.) — (L. Libo ?) — Scribonia m. Augustus

Scribonia m. Sex. Pompeius (Cn. Magni fil.) (Dio xlviii. 16) — Julia

Gaius Caesar
Lucius Caesar.

Pompeia m. M. Livius Drusus Libo (consul 15 A.C.)

L. Scribonius Libo (ii. 1, 29) — M. Drusus Libo (ii. 27).

Hence Pompeius Magnus was great-grandfather ('proavus') to M. Drusus Libo here mentioned. Scribonia, the wife of Augustus, was aunt to Scribonia, the wife of Sextus Pompeius, great-aunt to Pompeia, and great-great-aunt to M. Drusus Libo here mentioned: or otherwise was sister of Libo the elder, and therefore aunt to M. Livius Drusus Libo (see the end of the note), and great-aunt to the M. Drusus Libo here spoken of. Also Scribonia the younger and Julia were cousins, and Gaius and Lucius Caesar and the L. Libo here were second cousins once removed. It is uncertain, as I understand it, whose son M. Livius Drusus Libo (consul in 15 A.C.) was: if the son of L. Scribonius Libo (consul in 34 A.C.), then he must have married his niece, which is improbable. Nipperdey supposes him to be the son of another L. Libo, brother of this last; so that the elder Scribonia would be his aunt.

necessitatum] 'Debts.' Cf. i. 11, "tributa aut vectigalia, et necessitates ac largitiones." He had been useful to Libo in raising money for his extravagances.

29. *veste mutata*] Persons who were accused generally laid aside their usual dress, and put on mourning. Cf. Liv. vi. 20, "ut in tanto discrimine non et proximi vestem mutarent." When Cicero was attacked by the bill of Clodius, he and

domos, orare adfines, vocem adversum pericula poscere, abnuentibus cunctis, cum diversa praetenderent, eadem formidine. die senatus metu et aegritudine fessus, sive, ut tradidere quidam, simulato morbo, lectica delatus ad fores curiae innisusque fratri et manus ac supplices voces ad Tiberium tendens immoto eius vultu excipitur. mox libellos et auctores recitat Caesar ita moderans, ne lenire neve asperare crimina videretur.

30. Accesserant praeter Trionem et Catum accusatores Fonteius Agrippa et C. Vibius, certabantque cui ius perorandi in reum daretur, donec Vibius, quia nec ipsi inter se concederent et Libo sine patrono introisset, singillatim se crimina obiecturum professus, protulit libellos vaecordes adeo, ut consultaverit Libo, an habiturus foret opes quis viam Appiam Brundisium usque pecunia operiret. inerant et alia huiusce modi stolida vana, si mollius acciperes, miseranda. uni tamen libello manu Libonis nominibus Caesarum aut senatorum additas atroces vel occultas notas accusator arguebat. negante reo adgnoscentes servos per tormenta interrogari placuit. et quia vetere senatus consulto quaestio in caput domini prohibebatur, callidus et novi iuris repertor Tiberius

his friends amongst the Senate and Equites adopted this mode of exciting commiseration (Plutarch, Cicero 13; Post Red. ad Quirit. 3).

tendens] Apparently this word only suits 'manus,' but it can hardly be so, as 'voces' is nearest to 'tendens,' and therefore the word suited to 'voces' might be applied to both, but not one suited only to 'manus.' Orelli quotes Virg. Aen. iii. 176, "tendoque supinas Ad caelum cum voce manus," but this is hardly to the point, as 'tendo' does not apply at all to 'cum voce.' But cf. H. i. 63, "quaeque alia placamenta hostilis irae non quidem in bello sed pro pace tendebantur," where 'tendere' is used generally of any suppliant display, and may easily be extended to include suppliant expressions.

libellos] The accusation. Cf. Juv. vi. 243, "si rea non est, Componunt ipsae per se, formantque libellos."

ne ... videretur] Not 'so governing his manner that he did not appear' &c., for that would be 'ut non,' as denoting a purpose; but 'governing his manner with a view to not appearing.'

30. *perorandi*] Tacitus means, that instead of having the evidence given throughout to the whole indictment, and then a speech at the close of the examination, now each charge was brought forward singly, and the 'reus' expected to answer this particular charge before the next point was opened. From Suetonius, Nero 15, there seems to have been a formal establishment of the plan here suggested: "in cognoscendo morem eum tenuit ut continuis actionibus omissis, sigillatim quaeque per vices ageret."

libellos] Not as before, 'an indictment,' but 'papers' belonging to Libo, from the words below, 'uni tamen libello' &c.

uni tamen libello] The other papers contained foolish remarks: in the one in question there were marks not foolish, but criminal. This dative, as well as 'nominibus,' seems to depend on 'additas:' 'to one paper—to the names of the Caesars—were affixed' &c.

atroces] Apparently 'threatening,' showing the existence of malignant feelings on the part of Libo—or, adds Tacitus, these marks perhaps were mysterious hieroglyphics: no one could tell what they meant.

vetere senatus consulto] Cf. Cic. pro Milone 22, "maiores nostri in dominum de servo quaeri noluerunt." Cf. also Pro Rosc. Amerin. 41, and Pro Deiot. 1.

novi iuris] Dio Cassius however says

mancipari singulos actori publico iubet, scilicet ut in Libonem ex servis salvo senatus consulto quaereretur. ob quae posterum diem reus petivit domumque digressus extremas preces P. Quirinio propinquo suo ad principem mandavit.

31. Responsum est ut senatum rogaret. cingebatur interim milite domus, strepebant etiam in vestibulo, ut audiri, ut aspici possent, cum Libo ipsis quas in novissimam voluptatem adhibuerat epulis excruciatus vocare percussorem, prensare servorum dextras, inserere gladium. atque illis, dum trepidant, dum refugiunt, evertentibus adpositum cum mensa lumen, feralibus iam sibi tenebris duos ictus in viscera derexit. ad gemitum conlabentis adcurrere liberti, et caede visa miles abstitit. accusatio tamen aput patres adseveratione eadem peracta, iuravitque Tiberius petiturum se vitam quamvis nocenti, nisi voluntariam mortem properavisset.

32. Bona inter accussatores dividuntur, et praeturae extra ordinem datae iis qui senatorii ordinis erant. tunc Cotta Messalinus,

(lv. 5, *ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἐξὸν ἦν δοῦλον κατὰ δεσπότου βασανισθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν, ὁσάκις ἂν χρεία τοιούτου τινὸς γένηται, τῷ δημοσίῳ αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ ἑαυτῷ πιπράσκεσθαι ὅπως ἀλλότριος τοῦ κρινομένου ὢν ἐξετάζηται*) that Augustus is to be credited with this. He ordered slaves under these circumstances to be sold to the state or himself, and so they ceased to belong to their original owners.

actori publico] It does not seem clear what the functions of the 'actor publicus' were. In iii. 67 Tacitus says "servos quoque . . . . actor publicus acceperat," and Pliny the younger (Epist. vii. 18) writes, "agrum ex meis . . . . actori publico mancipavi." The remark of Lipsius is "publicus est sive servus sive libertus qui res rationesque rei publicae administrabat." Suetonius in Domit. 2 speaks of 'actor summarum.' Probably the 'actor publicus' had the care of slaves and property belonging to the state, and kept all accounts—I suppose the accounts connected with them.

P. Quirinio] His name was Publius Sulpicius Quirinius. So the Inscription n. 3693 in Orelli, and the Praenestine Fasti. See Orelli's note. The combination of two gentile names is singular, and Ritter and others in consequence read 'Quirino.' Cf. iii. 48 for some account of him.

31. *vocare*] See the note in ii. 4 on 'ubi minitari.'

inserere gladium] To put a sword into the hands of the slaves to induce them to despatch him.

cum mensa] The MS. has simply 'mensa,' which can hardly be right, as I can find no instance of an ablative without a preposition after 'adpositum.' I have taken Ritter's suggestion of 'cum mensa,' on the ground that 'cum' might easily have slipped out after 'adpositum.'

petiturum] See note on ii. 73, under 'adsecuturum.'

32. *extra ordinem*] Praetorships were given to these men prematurely, without regard to their having fulfilled the usual legal requirements. They would not be necessarily all praetors in the same year, but it is not clear from the description whether they were included in the number of twelve fixed by Tiberius (i. 44), although, as he took an oath not to exceed that number, they probably were, and not mere supernumeraries.

Cotta Messalinus] He was son of the great orator Messala Corvinus, and brother of the Messala Valerius of i. 8, and is the "magni Messalae lippa propago" of Persius (ii. 72, where see the Scholiast). He was adopted by Aurelius Cotta, was apparently father of the M. Aurelius of iii. 2 (see Nipperdey's note), and perhaps grandfather of the Valerius Messala of xiii. 34, but it does not seem certain. He is mentioned in iv. 20, v. 3, vi. 5, xii. 22.

ne imago Libonis exsequias posterorum comitaretur, censuit, Cn. Lentulus, ne quis Scribonius cognomentum Drusi adsumeret. supplicationum dies Pomponii Flacci sententia constituti. dona Iovi, Marti, Concordiae, utque iduum Septembrium dies, quo se Libo interfecerat, dies festus haberetur, L. P. et Gallus Asinius et Papius Mutilus et L. Apronius decrevere; quorum auctoritates adulationesque rettuli, ut sciretur vetus id in re publica malum. facta et de mathematicis magisque Italia pellendis senatus consulta; quorum e numero L. Pituanius saxo deiectus est, in P. Marcium consules extra portam Esquilinam, cum classicum canere iussissent, more prisco advertere.

Cn. Lentulus] This was Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, who was consul 18 A.C. He was sent by Augustus against the Daci, sometimes (iv. 44) called Getae (Pliny N. H. iv. 25, and Hor. Carm. iii. 8. 18, "occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen," compared with Suetonius, Aug. 63, "Cotisoni Getarum regi"), and reduced them to subjection (Flor. iv. 12, 18, and Marm. Ancyr. v.). He is the same man whose name occurs i. 27, but not the same as Lentulus the Augur in iii. 59, where see the note. Supposing Cn. Lentulus to have been the age required by the Lex Annalis (43 years) when he gained the consulship, or near it, he must have been about 85 years old at his death ("senectutis extremae," iv. 29).

cognomentum Drusi] The father of the M. Drusus Libo of ii. 27 was adopted by M. Livius Drusus the father of Livia, wife of Augustus and mother of the Emperor Tiberius. So Nipperdey, on the authority, as I understand, of Vell. Paterc. ii. 71, 75, which accounts for the introduction of the name Drusus into the family of Libo. For a similar prohibition against using a particular name in a family, cf. Liv. vi. 20, "gentis Manliae decreto cautum est ne quis deinde M. Manlius vocaretur."

Pomponius Flaccus] He was consul A.D. 17, and legatus pro praetore of Moesia in A.D. 19 (ii. 66), and of Syria, where he died A.D. 34 (vi. 27).

L. P.] The MS. has merely L. P. A Lucius Piso is mentioned just below, and perhaps he may be intended; but as it is impossible to say, I have left the reading as it is. If there were three people mentioned, one would have expected 'L., P. et Gallus Asinii.'

auctoritates] An 'auctoritas senatus' was an immature 'senatus consultum,' proposed and not carried, a record of it being however kept. Cf. Liv. iv. 57, "si quis intercedat senatus consulto, auctoritate se fore contentum." But here the 'auctoritates' are not 'auctoritates senatus,' but the 'auctoritates' of these particular men. Cicero (ad Fam. viii. 8) writes, "senatus consultum quod tibi misi factum est, auctoritatesque praescriptae" (if this reading be correct), where 'auctoritates' must be, as Schütz and others take it, the names of those senators who 'scribendo affuerunt,' i. e. were witnesses to the drawing up of the 'senatus consultum.' In the passage in the text, 'auctoritates' does not mean the names of those who were so present, but apparently the proposals they made: and the fact that such proposals were made by these men is conveyed by 'decrevere.' In iv. 20 'censere' is so used. The proposals made were not unnaturally called 'auctoritates,' because if they were carried, the result would be 'senatus auctoritates,' and finally 'senatus consulta.'

de mathematicis] The same as the Chaldaei mentioned in c. 27. Cf. Aul. Gell. i. 9, "vulgus quos gentilicio nomine Chaldaeos dicere oportet, mathematicos dicit." Cf. H. i. 22, "urgentibus etiam mathematicis dum novos motus et clarum Othoni annum observatione siderum affirmant." Cf. Suetonius, Vitell. 3; Juv. xiv. 248.

saxo] Sc. 'Tarpeio.' So iv. 29, "robur et saxum aut parricidarum poenas minitantium."

classicum] Cf. Plutarch, C. Gracch. c. 3, πάτριόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν εἴ τις ἔχων δίκην θανατικὴν μὴ ὑπακούει, τούτου πρὸς τὰς θύρας ἕωθεν ἐλθόντα σαλπιγκτὴν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τῇ σάλπιγγι καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἐπιφέρειν ψῆφον αὐτῷ τοὺς δικαστάς. What the old

33. Proximo senatus die multa in luxum civitatis dicta a Q. Haterio consulari, Octavio Frontone praetura functo; decretumque ne vasa auro solida ministrandis cibis fierent, ne vestis serica viros foedaret. excessit Fronto ac postulavit modum argento, supellectili, familiae: erat quippe adhuc frequens senatoribus, si quit e re publica crederent, loco sententiae promere. contra Gallus Asinius disseruit: auctu imperii adolevisse etiam privatas opes, idque non novum, sed e vetustissimis moribus: aliam apud Fabricios, aliam aput Scipiones pecuniam; et cuncta ad rem publicam referri, qua tenui angustas civium domos, postquam eo magnificentiae venerit, gliscere singulos. neque in familia et argento quaeque ad usum parentur nimium aliquit aut modicum nisi ex fortuna possidentis. distinctos senatus et equitum census, non quia diversi natura, sed ut locis ordinibus dignationibus antistent, et aliis quae

fashion of punishment was is described by Suetonius, Nero 49, "nudi hominis cervicem inseri furcae, corpus virgis ad necem caedi."

33. *Q. Haterio consulari*] Q. Haterius is said to have been 'consul suffectus' in the year 9 A.C., but I do not know on what authority this is stated. He was a great orator ("suis temporibus oratoris celeberrimi," Senec. Epist. xl. 10).

vestis serica] A dress of silk, transparent enough to show the limbs through. The commentators quote Senec. de Ben. vii. 9. 5, "video sericas vestes si vestes vocandae sunt in quibus nihil est quo defendi aut corpus aut denique pudor possit: quibus sumptis mulier parum liquido nudam se non esse iurabit." The raw material seems to have been produced in Cos, and there made up into fabrics. At least Aristotle (H. A. v. 19) speaks of silk from cocoons being wound on bobbins, and that would be done, I suppose, where the cocoons are produced. Under the Emperors a direct traffic was opened probably with Central Asia. Virgil seems to have fancied that the raw silk was found on trees, in a thin fleece; or perhaps he means that the young worms were placed on trees to spin their cocoons, which was very likely the case (Georg. ii. 121). Dr. Smith's Dict. of Antiquities may be consulted under 'Sericum.'

excessit] Sc. 'relationem.' Cf. ii. 38, and the note there. Or rather it is used absolutely, as in ii. 24: 'went beyond this.' For Gallus Asinius cf. iv. 20.

nimium aliquit] Excess or moderation are only relative: what is too much for one may not be too much for another, and what is too much for any one at a certain time, may be moderate for the same person at another period. The sense is not 'there is not any thing excessive,' for that would rather be 'nec nimium quicquam,' but a certain thing, conceived in the mind, is not either moderate or excessive: for 'non aliquit' is used to negative some certain individual idea: the negative is true for that one particular notion: 'non quicquam' negatives all possible ideas together.

census] For the equestrian census cf. Juv. i. 105, "sed quinque tabernae quadringenta parant." Augustus, according to Dio Cassius (liv. 17), fixed the senatorial census at 400,000 sesterces, the same as a knight's fortune, but afterwards doubled it, and at last made it 1,200,000 (Suet. Aug. 41), or, as Dio says, ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας προήγαγε, which last amount tallies with that of Tacitus, for in i. 75 'decies sestertium' were given to Propertius Celer, who claimed exemption from the duties of a senator on the ground of poverty. Cf. ii 37. After 'distinctos' 'a plebe' or 'a ceteris' is to be supplied, not 'inter se.'

locis ordinibus] The senators and knights had separate places assigned them in the theatre (and at a later period, xv. 32, in the Circus). The Lex Roscia, 67 A.C., assigned fourteen rows to the latter body. Cf. Juv. iii. 159, "sic libitum vano qui nos distinxit Othoni." The reading of the MS., 'italisque,' is unintelligible, for which I have adopted

ad requiem animi aut salubritatem corporum parentur, nisi forte clarissimo cuique plures curas, maiora pericula subeunda, delenimentis curarum et periculorum carendum esse. facilem adsensum Gallo sub nominibus honestis confessio vitiorum et similitudo audientium dedit. adiecerat et Tiberius non id tempus censurae nec, si quit in moribus labaret, defuturum corrigendi auctorem.

34. Inter quae L. Piso ambitum fori, corrupta iudicia, saevitiam oratorum accusationes minitantium increpans, abire se et cedere urbe, victurum in aliquo abdito et longinquo rure testabatur; simul curiam relinquebat. commotus est Tiberius, et quamquam mitibus verbis Pisonem permulsisset, propinquos quoque eius impulit ut abeuntem auctoritate vel precibus tenerent. haud minus liberi doloris documentum idem Piso mox dedit vocata in ius Urgulania, quam supra leges amicitia Augustae extulerat. nec aut Urgulania obtemperavit, in domum Caesaris spreto Pisone vecta, aut ille abscessit, quamquam Augusta se violari et imminui quereretur. Tiberius hactenus indulgere matri civile ratus, ut se iturum ad praetoris tribunal, adfuturum Urgulaniae diceret, processit Palatio, procul sequi iussis militibus. spectabatur occursante populo compositus ore et sermonibus variis tempus atque iter ducens, donec propinquis Pisonem frustra coercentibus deferri Augusta pecuniam, quae petebatur, iuberet. isque finis rei, ex

the suggestion of Grotius, 'et aliis.' The whole construction is perhaps a little involved; but it is not necessary to take 'ut' first in the sense of 'as,' and then of 'in order that,' as Ritter proposes; but it is 'in order that' simply, and 'et' is 'and,' not 'also:' 'not because they are . . . but in order that they may be distinguished above others in . . . and in every thing else' &c. 'Nisi forte' followed by the infinitive is peculiar. Cf. H. i. 17, "honorificum id militibus fore quorum favorem, ut largitione et ambitu male adquiri, ita per bonas artes haut spernendum." Nipperdey quotes Liv. ii. 13, "prae se ferre quemadmodum si non dedatur obses pro rupto foedus se habiturum" &c. In Greek the two clauses, 'subeunda . . . carendum,' would be more distinctly marked by μέν and δέ.

34. *abire se*] One would have expected a future here rather than a present. But the present is sometimes found. Cf. xiv. 14, "ratusque dedecus molliri si plures foedasset." Agric. 9, "revocatus est comitante opinione Britanniam ei provinciam dari." Here it is used apparently to give emphasis to the remark: 'he vowed that, for his part, he was leaving the city there and then.' The imperfect 'relinquebat' just below implies that he did not carry out his threat.

abscessit] Piso meeting Urgulania summoned her 'in ius,' 'into court,' on the ground of having a claim against her for money. Paying no regard to the summons, she entered the palace, and Piso followed her, and refused to abstain from pressing his claim. For Urgulania see iv. 22.

hactenus] Tiberius considered himself to be doing no more than any private citizen might do, in offering to advocate Urgulania's cause before the Praetor. In doing this, he claimed no especial right as Princeps.

adfuturum] 'Adesse' is used especially of rendering legal aid. Cf. Cic. ad Attic. i. 1, "rogavit me Caecilius ut adessem contra Satrium." Suet. August. 56, "adfuit et clientibus sicut Scutario cuidam qui postulabatur iniuriarum," and Hor. Sat. i. 9. 38.

qua neque Piso inglorius et Caesar maiore fama fuit. ceterum Urgulaniae potentia adeo nimia civitati erat, ut testis in causa quadam, quae aput senatum tractabatur, venire dedignaretur: missus est praetor qui domi interrogaret, cum virgines Vestales in foro et iudicio audiri, quotiens testimonium dicerent, vetus mos fuerit.

35. Res eo anno prolatas haud referrem, ni pretium foret Cn. Pisonis et Asinii Galli super eo negotio diversas sententias noscere. Piso, quamquam afuturum se dixerat Caesar, ob id magis agendas censebat, ut absente principe senatum et equites posse sua munia sustinere decorum rei publicae foret. Gallus, quia speciem libertatis Piso praeceperat, nihil satis inlustre aut ex dignitate populi Romani nisi coram et sub oculis Caesaris, eoque conventum Italiae et ei adfluentis provincias praesentiae eius servanda dicebat. audiente haec Tiberio ac silente magnis utrimque contentionibus acta, sed res dilatae.

36. Et certamen Gallo adversus Caesarem exortum est. nam censuit in quinquennium magistratuum comitia habenda, utque legionum legati, qui ante praeturam ea militia fungebantur, iam

35. *prolatas*] The sittings of the law courts and Senate were adjourned. Tiberius had no doubt announced his absence, or probable absence, and a 'iustitium' was proposed in consequence. Cf. Cic. ad Attic. xiv. 5, "ecce meam stultam verecundiam qui legari noluerim ante res prolatas." Plaut. Capt. i. 1. 10, "ubi res prolatae sunt, cum rus homines eunt."

Cn. Piso] Cn. Calpurnius Piso was a 'triumvir monetalis' under Augustus, and son of Cn. Piso, who was consul in 23 A.C. He was legatus pro praetore of Hispania Citerior (iii. 12, 13), and also of Syria (ii. 43).

senatum et equites] The 'iudices' were at this period selected from the Senate, Equites, aerarian tribunes, and ducenarii for less important causes. Cf. Suet. August. 32.

36. *iam tum*] Immediately on their appointment as 'legati legionum.' There is considerable difficulty about this passage. There were about twenty-five legions on foot at this period of Roman history. Of the 'legati' of these, some would have already been praetors (cf. Suet. Vespas. 2, 4): others had not (for instances of this cf. vi. 30, xiv. 28, xv. 28). Tiberius, if I understand the passage, was to select twelve persons for each year, or sixty for the whole period of five years, and nominate them for election to the Praetorship; and these twelve for each year, or sixty in all, were to be appointed by the Senate, and subsequently, I imagine, by the Comitia (i. 81), at intervals of five years, as a matter of course ("sine repulsa et ambitu designandi," i. 15). Those legati who had not yet been praetors were to be included in this list of candidates, and as of course they would not nearly exhaust the number to be nominated by the Princeps, he would add to them other candidates, not 'legati legionum,' to make the tale of men complete. I do not see clearly why Gallus made the proposal here detailed. Perhaps he thought in this way to secure to the Princeps the entire disposal of the Praetorship, as the 'legati legionum' were entirely appointed by him. But virtually Tiberius possessed this before (i. 15). However, the scheme thus put forward appeared to Tiberius a dangerous one (see the note just below on 'temptari'). He professed however, with his usual dissimulation, to regard it as an increase of his influence thus to have the control of the praetorian appointments entirely placed in his own hands: but the plan appeared to him,

tum praetores destinarentur, princeps duodecim candidatos in annos singulos nominaret. hau dubium erat eam sententiam altius penetrare et arcana imperii temptari. Tiberius tamen, quasi augeretur potestas eius, disseruit: grave moderationi suae tot eligere, tot differre. vix per singulos annos offensiones vitari, quamvis repulsam propinqua spes soletur: quantum odii fore ab iis qui ultra quinquennium proiciantur. unde prospici posse quae cuique tam longo temporis spatio mens, domus, fortuna? superbire homines etiam annua designatione: quid si honorem per quinquennium agitent? quinquiplicari prorsus magistratus, subverti leges, quae sua spatia exercendae candidatorum industriae quaerendisque aut potiundis honoribus statuerint. favorabili in speciem oratione vim imperii tenuit.

37. Censusque quorundam senatorum iuvit. quo magis mirum fuit, quod preces Marci Hortali, nobilis iuvenis, in paupertate manifesta superbius accepisset. nepos erat oratoris Hortensii, inlectus a divo Augusto liberalitate decies sestertii ducere uxorem, suscipere liberos, ne clarissima familia extingueretur. igitur quattuor filiis ante limen curiae adstantibus, loco sententiae, cum in

from the language here used by Tacitus, to have a decided tendency to lessen his power, instead of increasing it. I suppose this was so, because the choice of candidates for the Praetorship by Tiberius was thereby restricted. The scheme compelled him to nominate all 'legati legionum' to the Praetorship: he might wish to have a larger area allowed him for selection. But as he appointed the 'legati' himself, I do not see that the restriction was a serious one. Vitellius (H. iii. 55) endeavoured to secure himself in power by appointing at one stroke consuls for many years to come.

hau dubium] For 'haud dubium,' as often in the MS.

temptari] Perhaps this means that the Emperor's policy ('arcana') would be disclosed more openly than before. At present he was able to keep men in suspense, but if the elections were decided for five years to come, those who were appointed would feel less dependent on the Emperor's favour, as already secure of office, and those who were rejected for so many years in advance would be the more bitter against him. By 'arcana' Tacitus means the state-craft required to blind men to the actual policy of their rulers. Cf. ii. 59.

quinquiplicari] The magistrates were not, of course, increased fivefold in number, but each one gave himself the airs of a magistrate during the whole five years. This is the meaning, too, of the previous expression, 'honorem agitare,' where 'animo' must be supplied.

favorabili] Cf. xii. 36, H. ii. 97. The word is passive: 'viewed with favour,' 'worthy of approval.'

37. *inlectus . . . ducere*] For the construction here with 'inlectus' cf. iv. 12, "proximi inliciebantur pravis sermonibus tumidos spiritus perstimulare." So with 'imperare' (ii. 25), 'perpellere' (xii. 50), 'subigere' (xiv. 26), and many other verbs.

decies sestertii] The amount of a senator's qualification. See note on ii. 33. The grandfather of Marcus Hortalus was Q. Hortensius, the great orator (Cicero's rival): the father was also named Q. Hortensius, and was put to death by Antonius after the battle of Philippi (Plutarch, Brut. 28). Hortensius Corbio was also a grandson of Q. Hortensius the elder (Valer. Max. iii. 5).

in Palatio] Cf. Suet. Aug. 29, "Templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit . . . . addita porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque, quo

Palatio senatus haberetur, modo Hortensii inter oratores sitam imaginem modo Augusti intuens, ad hunc modum coepit: 'patres conscripti, hos, quorum numerum et pueritiam videtis, non sponte sustuli, sed quia princeps monebat; simul maiores mei meruerant ut posteros haberent. nam ego, qui non pecuniam, non studia populi neque eloquentiam, gentile domus nostrae bonum, varietate temporum accipere vel parare potuissem, satis habebam, si tenues res meae nec mihi pudori nec cuiquam oneri forent. iussus ab imperatore uxorem duxi. en stirps et progenies tot consulum, tot dictatorum. nec ad invidiam ista, sed conciliandae misericordiae refero. adsequentur florente te, Caesar, quos dederis honores: interim Q. Hortensii pronepotes, divi Augusti alumnos ab inopia defende.'

38. Inclinatio senatus incitamentum Tiberio fuit quo promtius adversaretur, his ferme verbis usus: 'si quantum pauperum est venire huc et liberis suis petere pecunias coeperint, singuli numquam exsatiabuntur, res publica deficiet. nec sane ideo a maioribus concessum est egredi aliquando relationem et quod in commune conducat loco sententiae proferre, ut privata negotia et res familiares nostras hic augeamus, cum invidia senatus et principum, sive indulserint largitionem sive abnuerint. non enim preces sunt

loco iam senior saepe etiam senatum habuit."

imaginem] The Senate met when Augustus was growing old in the Palatine Library, which was ornamented with the likenesses of illustrious men on round shields. Cf. ii. 83.

tot consulum] There was a Lucius Hortensius consul 108 A.C., a Quintus Hortensius 69 A.C. But there is no reason why he may not have counted in the number the consulates of the families with which the Hortensii were connected by marriage at different times.

38. *quantum pauperum*] Cf. Catullus iii. 2, "et quantum est hominum venustiorum." Below, 'egredi relationem' is to 'wander beyond the exact measure under discussion.' A senator, when called on to speak, was allowed to introduce into his speech remarks on subjects not connected intimately with the matter under debate. Cf. ii. 33, iii. 33, 34, iv. 74, xiii. 49. I think 'loco sententiae' means 'on the opportunity presented by being asked for his opinion.' So in xiv. 42.

sive indulserint] What tense is this? I think the second future indicative, not the perfect subjunctive. Cf. xiv. 59, "sed Plautum ea non movere, sive nullam opem providebat inermis atque exsul, seu taedio ambiguae spei;" iii. 3, "seu valetudine praepediebatur, seu victus luctu animus magnitudinem mali perferre visu non toleravit;" vi. 9, "causa offensionis Vistilio fuit, seu composuerat quaedam in C. Caesarem ut impudicum, sive ficto habita fides." Germ. 34, "sive adiit Hercules seu quidquid ubique magnificum est in claritatem eius referre consensimus." De Oratoribus 6, "sive accuratam meditatamque profert orationem . . . sive novam et recentem curam . . . adtulerit." In iv. 60 there is a subjunctive, "seu loqueretur seu taceret iuvenis crimen ex silentio, ex voce." I think Nipperdey rightly views this as being a subjunctive (like an optative in Greek) of indefinite frequency. So also in De Oratoribus 28, "quae disciplina ac severitas eo pertinebat ut sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus detorta uniuscuiusque natura toto statim pectore adriperet artes honestas, et sive ad rem militarem sive ad iuris scientiam sive ad eloquentiae

istut, sed efflagitatio, intempestiva quidem et inprovisa, cum aliis de rebus convenerint patres, consurgere et numero atque aetate liberum suorum urgere modestiam senatus, eandem vim in me transmittere ac velut perfringere aerarium, quod si ambitione exhauserimus, per scelera supplendum erit. dedit tibi, Hortale, divus Augustus pecuniam, sed non conpellatus nec ea lege ut semper daretur. languescet alioqui industria, intendetur socordia, si nullus ex se metus aut spes, et securi omnes aliena subsidia expectabunt, sibi ignavi, nobis graves.' haec atque talia, quamquam cum adsensu audita ab iis, quibus omnia principum, honesta atque inhonesta, laudare mos est, plures per silentium aut occultum murmur excepere. sensitque Tiberius; et cum paulum reticuisset, Hortalo se respondisse ait: ceterum si patribus videretur, daturum liberis eius ducena sestertia singulis, qui sexus virilis essent. egere alii grates: siluit Hortalus, pavore an avitae nobilitatis etiam inter angustias fortunae retinens. neque miseratus est

studium inclinasset, id solum ageret, id universum hauriret." Here the whole latter part of the sentence is in dependence on 'eo pertinebat,' and expresses the object of the training in question viewed subjectively by the mind of the trainers.

non preces sunt istut] See on i. 49.

urgere modestiam] 'To bear hardly on the delicacy of the Senate.' The Senate would scarcely like to refuse the request from a delicacy of feeling towards their fellow-senator. This urgency of persuasion is the 'vis eadem' of the next clause.

ex se] 'From a man's own self.' Nipperdey quotes Cic. de Fin. i. 20, "amicitiae effectrices sunt voluptatum tam amicis quam sibi," and Senec. Epist. v. 12. 14, "desiderat propriam et longam executionem quemadmodum populo disserendum quid sibi aput populum permittendum, quid populo aput se." So the possessive reflexive pronoun is used to express what especially belongs to a man's own self, as distinguished from what belongs to others. Cf. Cic. ad Fam. vi. 7. 4, "cum plurima ad alieni sensus coniecturam, non ad suum iudicium scribantur." Ibid. xiv. 12, "Octavius quem sui Caesarem salutabant, Philippus non." Ibid. ix. 12. 2, "illum ulciscentur mores sui." Caes. B. G. vii. 81, "suus cuique erat locus definitus." In these passages 'sui' and 'suus' are not truly reflexive. There is another common use of 'sui' where the pronoun is virtually reflexive, but not quite grammatically so: for instance, Caesar, B. G. i. 51, "eo mulieres imposuerunt quae . . . milites . . . implorabant ne se in servitutem Romanis traderent." Here of course 'se' refers to the subject not of the verb in its own clause, 'traderent,' but to that of the verb in the primary clause, 'imposuerunt;' and this subject is virtually regarded as running through the whole sentence, so that even in the subsidiary portions of it, the reflexive pronouns are used with reference to *it*, and not the grammatical subject of those clauses themselves. So too Hor. Sat. ii. 1. 49, "grande malum Thurius, si quid se iudice certes." Similarly σφεῖς is used in Greek. Cf. Thucyd. vi. 42, προὔπεμψαν τρεῖς ναῦς εἰσομένας αἵτινες σφᾶς τῶν πόλεων δέξονται. In this chapter of our author, just above 'nullus ex se metus,' there is a use of the reflexive possessive pronoun worth noticing: the passage runs, "efflagitatio (est) consurgere et numero atque aetate liberum suorum urgere modestiam senatus." Here there is no subject actually expressed, but it is virtually present, in the form of 'a man,' 'any one:' 'that a man should get up and by dwelling on the number and age of his children' &c.

retinens] Cf. v. 11, xvi. 5, Cic. ad Q. Fr. i. 2 for instances of a genitive after this word. So "tolerans laborum corpus" (iv. 1), "obtegens sui" (ibid.), "intellegens imminentium" (v. 9), "tem-

posthac Tiberius, quamvis domus Hortensii pudendam ad inopiam delaberetur.

39. Eodem anno mancipii unius audacia, ni mature subventum foret, discordiis armisque civilibus rem publicam perculisset. Postumi Agrippae servus, nomine Clemens, conperto fine Augusti pergere in insulam Planasiam et fraude aut vi raptum Agrippam ferre ad exercitus Germanicos non servili animo concepit. ausa eius inpedivit tarditas onerariae navis; atque interim patrata caede ad maiora et magis praecipitia conversus furatur cineres vectusque Cosam Etruriae promunturium ignotis locis sese abdit, donec crinem barbamque promitteret: nam aetate et forma haut dissimili in dominum erat. tum per idoneos et secreti eius socios crebrescit vivere Agrippam, occultis primum sermonibus, ut vetita solent, mox vago rumore aput inperitissimi cuiusque promptas aures aut rursum aput turbidos eoque nova cupientes. atque ipse adire municipia obscuro diei, neque propalam aspici neque diutius isdem locis, sed quia veritas visu et mora, falsa festinatione et incertis valescunt, relinquebat famam aut praeveniebat.

40. Vulgabatur interim per Italiam servatum munere deum Agrippam, credebatur Romae; iamque Ostiam invectum multitudo ingens, iam in urbe clandestini coetus celebrabant, cum Tiberium

perantior potestatis" (xiii. 46). It is only when a participle has lost its own participial force, and acquired that of an adjective, that it is constructed with a genitive case, instead of that required by the verb of which it is a part.

39. *pergere*] This infinitive after 'concepit animo' supplies a good example of the real nature of that mood. The infinitive here is really used substantively, as the object of 'concepit,' just as in Greek the infinitive with the article can always be so used. Of course, although this is true, the infinitive differs from a noun in one respect: it cannot be followed by a genitive case, as a substantive would, but requires an accusative of its own subject. It is impossible to say 'video esse tui,' but 'esse te.'

Cosam] A town in Southern Etruria near the Mons Argentarius. A Roman colony was established here 273 A.C. (Liv. Epit. xiv.), and after the losses sustained in the second Punic war, 1000 new colonists were sent 196 A.C. (Liv. xxxiii. 24). It seems to have fallen into ruins early, perhaps in the third or fourth century after Christ; and these ruins still exist, consisting of walls of polygonal blocks of limestone, fortified by square towers at intervals. It is called 'Cosae' by Virgil (Aen. x. 167). Probably from the expression 'ignotis locis' here, Tacitus includes the Mons Argentarius in the term 'Cosa.'

in dominum] This is a singular expression. The preposition serves to introduce the standard of measurement, as it were: 'of form not unlike, taking his master as the standard,' i. e. not without some resemblance to his master. Orelli quotes a very similar passage, Apul. Metam. x. 30, "puella vultu honesta, in deae Iunonis speciem similis." Below, for 'obscuro diei' cf. H. iv. 50, "obscuro adhuc coeptae lucis." H. ii. 14, "obscurum noctis."

relinquebat famam] He either left the places he visited before people had time to analyse and sift his pretensions, or he arrived before the report of him reached the locality to set the inhabitants inquiring who he was.

40. *celebrabant*] The word is used in rather different senses in the two clauses. At Ostia the crowd flocked round him bodily (for this meaning cf.

anceps cura distrahere, vine militum servum suum coerceret an inanem credulitatem tempore ipso vanescere sineret: modo nihil spernendum, modo non omnia metuenda ambiguus pudoris ac metus reputabat. postremo dat negotium Sallustio Crispo. ille e clientibus duos (quidam milites fuisse tradunt) deligit atque hortatur, simulata conscientia adeant, offerant pecuniam, fidem atque pericula polliceantur. exsequuntur ut iussum erat. dein speculati noctem incustoditam, accepta idonea manu, vinctum clauso ore in Palatium traxere. percontanti Tiberio, quo modo Agrippa factus esset, respondisse fertur 'quo modo tu Caesar.' ut ederet socios subigi non potuit. nec Tiberius poenam eius palam ausus, in secreta Palatii parte interfici iussit corpusque clam auferri. et quamquam multi e domo principis equitesque ac senatores sustentasse opibus, iuvisse consiliis dicerentur, haud quaesitum.

41. Fine anni arcus propter aedem Saturni ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii, et aedes Fortis Fortunae Tiberim iuxta in hortis, quos Caesar dictator populo Romano legaverat, sacrarium genti Iuliae effigiesque divo Augusto aput Bovillas dicantur.

C. Caelio L. Pomponio consulibus Germanicus Caesar a. d.

Cic. pro Muren. 34, "a quibus si domus nostra celebratur"); at Rome the secret assemblies made him their subject of discussion and plots.

suum] On the death of Agrippa, his property and slaves passed into the hands of Tiberius. Below, for Sallustius Crispus cf. iii. 30. He is the Sallustius Crispus of Horace, Carm. ii. 2.

fidem atque pericula] 'Fidelity and bold deeds.' They undertook to be faithful, and accepted all risks in his service.

quo modo tu Caesar] This is apparently an answer dictated by sheer effrontery and recklessness: he was, he said, turned into Agrippa with as much reason as Tiberius was turned into a Caesar: one was just as great a fraud as the other.

nec Tiberius] That is, 'et Tiberius non poenam' &c., as in i. 30, "et Drusus non expectato legatorum regressu . . . in urbem rediit." Cf. xii. 7, "nec Claudius ultra expectato . . . se praebet."

41. *aedem Saturni*] This Temple of Saturn was close to the broad end of the Forum Romanum, south of the Temple of Concord. It was used as the public treasury. Close to it was the arch here mentioned.

Fortis Fortunae] 'Fors Fortuna,' the name being a repetition of the same idea, had a temple founded in her honour by Servius Tullius (Varro, L. L. vi. 17), and Sp. Carvilius built a new temple near the old one (Liv. x. 46).

in hortis] Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 9. 18, "trans Tiberim longe cubat is prope Caesaris hortos." They were left to the people by the Dictator Caesar.

aput Bovillas] Bovillae was on the Via Appia, about ten miles from Rome. It was colonized from Alba Longa (cf. Inscrip. Lat. 119, 2252, "Albani Longani Bovillenses"). Afterwards, as one of the thirty cities which formed the Latin League, it took part in the sacrifices on the Alban Mount (Cic. pro Planc. 9). It has been suggested that the especial connexion with Bovillae maintained by the Julian family was owing to their connexion with Alba Longa. There is an inscription illustrating the erection of the 'sacrarium' mentioned here (n. 1287): "Vediovei fratrei genteiles Ivliei."

C. Caelio] There is some doubt here as to the true name of this consul. Dio

VII. K. Iunias triumphavit de Cheruscis Chattisque et Angrivariis quaeque aliae nationes usque ad Albim colunt. vecta spolia, captivi, simulacra montium, fluminum, proeliorum; bellumque, quia conficere prohibitus erat, pro confecto accipiebatur. augebat intuentium visus eximia ipsius species currusque quinque liberis onustus. sed suberat occulta formido reputantibus haud prosperum in Druso patre eius favorem vulgi, avunculum eiusdem Marcellum flagrantibus plebis studiis intra iuventam ereptum, breves et infaustos populi Romani amores.

42. Ceterum Tiberius nomine Germanici trecenos plebi sestertios viritim dedit seque collegam consulatui eius destinavit. nec ideo sincerae caritatis fidem adsecutus amoliri iuvenem specie honoris statuit struxitque causas aut forte oblatas arripuit. rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, invisus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluisset. nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti monitus, quia florente Gaio Caesare missoque ad res orientis intuta Tiberii

speaks (lvii. 17) of Caius Caecilius (with Lucius Flaccus) as consul in this year (A.D. 17), and he is so described in an inscription (Inscr. Lat. n. 6444). Other inscriptions however make him C. Caelius C. f. Rufus (n. 6442 and 7419 d β). He is spoken of in the index of Dio lvii. as Nepos or Rufus. Supposing his name to have been C. Caelius Rufus, if he were adopted by a Caecilius Metellus Nepos (for Nepos is a name of the Caecilii Metelli), he would, I suppose, properly have been called Caius Caecilius Metellus Nepos Caelianus. But this rule was often violated: for instance, when Caius Plinius Secundus adopted his nephew Caecilius, the latter was called Caius Plinius Caecilius Secundus. I am not aware of any evidence whatever for adoption in the case of C. Caelius Rufus, but it might explain the variety of name, as Nipperdey, if I understand him, suggests.

avunculum eiusdem Marcellum] This will be seen from the annexed table:—

Caius Octavius
- Octavia m. (1) C. Marcellus (2) M. Antonius
  - (by C. Marcellus) M. Marcellus.
  - (by M. Antonius) Antonia m. Drusus, br. of Tiberius
    - Germanicus.
- C. Octavius (Augustus)
  - Julia
    - Agrippina m. Germanicus.

Hence, M. Marcellus and Antonia were half-brother and sister, with the same mother Octavia, but different fathers; and M. Marcellus was uncle (by the half-blood) of Germanicus.

amores, &c.] 'The darlings of the Roman people.' So Catull. vi. 16, "volo te ac tuos amores Ad caelum lepido vocare versu."

42. *amoliri*] Cf. i. 50, "obstantia silvarum amoliri iubetur;" xiv. 59, "coniugem amoliri." Also H. i. 13, H. iii. 75.

Archelaus] Great-grandson of Archelaus, the ablest of the generals of Mithridates. Antonius gave him Cappadocia 36 A.C. (Dio xlix. 30). Augustus left him in possession of his kingdom on the defeat of Antonius, with whom he sided, and added part of Cilicia and Lesser Armenia. Tiberius defended him when accused by his own subjects (Suet. Tib. 8).

amicitia credebatur. ut versa Caesarum subole imperium adeptus est, elicit Archelaum matris litteris, quae non dissimulatis filii offensionibus clementiam offerebat, si ad precandum veniret. ille ignarus doli vel, si intellegere crederetur, vim metuens in urbem properat; exceptusque immiti a principe et mox accusatus in senatu, non ob crimina quae fingebantur, set angore, simul fessus senio et quia regibus aequa, nedum infima insolita sunt, finem vitae sponte an fato implevit. regnum in provinciam redactum est, fructibusque eius levari posse centesimae vectigal professus Caesar ducentesimam in posterum statuit. per idem tempus Antiocho Commagenorum, Philopatore Cilicum regibus defunctis turbabantur nationes, plerisque Romanum, aliis regium imperium cupientibus; et provinciae Syria atque Iudaea, fessae oneribus, deminutionem tributi orabant.

43. Igitur haec et de Armenia quae supra memoravi aput patres disseruit, nec posse motum orientem nisi Germanici sapientia conponi: nam suam aetatem vergere, Drusi nondum satis adolevisse. tunc decreto patrum permissae Germanico provinciae quae mari dividuntur, maiusque imperium, quoquo adisset, quam iis qui sorte aut missu principis obtinerent. sed Tiberius demoverat Syria Creticum Silanum, per adfinitatem conexum Germanico, quia Silani filia Neroni vetustissimo liberorum eius pacta erat, praefeceratque Cn. Pisonem, ingenio violentum et obsequii igna-

versa Caesarum subole] Cf. iii. 36, "abolitas leges et funditus versas;" vi. 46, "versaeque Artabani res." So Virg. Aen. i. 20, "Tyrias olim quae verteret arces." Below, for 'aequa' cf. vi. 25, "Agrippina aequi impatiens."

sponte an fato] Cf. ii. 22. There seems to be running in the writer's mind the idea of doubt, uncertainty, and the sentence is equivalent to 'sponte an fato incertum.'

centesimae] Cf. i. 78.

Antiocho] For 'Commagene' see ii. 56. This Antiochus was the third of that name, the son of the Antiochus II. put to death by Augustus 29 A.C. (Dio lii. 43), and father of Antiochus IV. (xiii. 7), to whom Commagene was restored A.D. 38.

Philopatore] Tarcondimotus, king of Cilicia Aspera, was a supporter of Cn. Pompeius against C. Julius Caesar. He was killed at the battle of Actium (Dio l. 34). His eldest son, Philopator I., was deprived of his throne, and Tarcondimotus, his brother, obtained the kingdom 20 A.C., and his successor was the Philopator II. of the text. Cilicia Aspera was attached to the Roman province of Cilicia by Vespasian. Nipperdey points out that the construction found here, 'Antiocho Commagenorum, Philopatore Cilicum regibus,' is usual in Tacitus. Cf. ii. 53, "namque ei avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius erant." H. ii. 31, "Caecina ut foedum ac maculosum, ille ut tumidum ac vanum inridebant;" iii. 62, "ille Antiocho, hic Mithridate pulsis."

43. *mari*] The sea is the Mediterranean, and Germanicus had Asia, and Egypt, and perhaps Africa assigned him. He was to be the superior of all the proconsular or pro-praetorian governors of the senatorial and imperial provinces respectively.

Creticum Silanum] His full name was Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus (M. f.) Silanus (Lat. Inscr. n. 6021), having been adopted from the Iunii Silani into the family of the Caecilii Metelli. He was consul A.D. 7, and legatus pro praetore of Syria from A.D. 11.

rum, insita ferocia a patre Pisone, qui civili bello resurgentes in Africa partes acerrimo ministerio adversus Caesarem iuvit, mox Brutum et Cassium secutus, concesso reditu petitione honorum abstinuit, donec ultro ambiretur delatum ab Augusto consulatum accipere. sed praeter paternos spiritus uxoris quoque Plancinae nobilitate et opibus accendebatur; vix Tiberio concedere, liberos eius ut multum infra despectare. nec dubium habebat se delectum, qui Syriae imponeretur ad spes Germanici coercendas. credidere quidam data et a Tiberio occulta mandata; et Plancinam haud dubie Augusta monuit aemulatione muliebri Agrippinam insectandi. divisa namque et discors aula erat tacitis in Drusum aut Germanicum studiis. Tiberius ut proprium et sui sanguinis Drusum fovebat: Germanico alienatio patrui amorem aput ceteros auxerat, et quia claritudine materni generis anteibat, avum M. Antonium, avunculum Augustum ferens. contra Druso proavus eques Romanus Pomponius Atticus dedecere Claudiorum imagines

ultro] The word means, of course, 'to a point beyond,' after the analogy of 'alio,' 'citro,' &c. Tacitus, in his use of it, contrasts this further point with one less remote, often with the idea added that this latter is the more naturally to be expected. Some instances will make this clear: vi. 30, "dum Lentulo Gaetulico periculum facessit, ultro damnatur," he not only failed to succeed in his attempt to procure the condemnation of another, but he was himself accused and convicted; vi. 31, "non despectum id ultroque potentiam habet," it is not only not despised, but going beyond that mere negative condition, it actually brings power with it. Agric. 19, "emere ultro" &c., instead of selling corn, the natural arrangement, they reverse this and buy it. Cf. H. i. 32, iv. 79.

Plancinae nobilitate] She is called Munatia Plancina by Dio (lviii. 22), and was probably daughter of L. Munatius Plancus, consul 42 A.C. and 36 A.C., censor, imperator (iterum), VII. vir epulonum, conqueror of the Raeti, and leader of a colony to Lugdunum (Lat. Inscr. n. 590). She was sister to the L. Munatius Plancus of i. 39, who was consul A.D. 13.

insectandi] The genitive depends, I think, on 'monuit,' in the sense of 'admonuit,' and with the same construction. 'Admonere' takes a genitive in i. 12, and 'monere' in i. 67; and although in those passages the reminding is of something already done, and here of something to be done, I do not see that it makes any difference.

avunculum] 'Great-uncle' or grandmother's brother. The table will show this:—

Augustus, brother of Octavia who m. M. Antonius
|
Antonia m. Drusus Claudius Nero
|
Germanicus. — Livia or Drusilla m. Drusus, son of Tiberius.

Whence Augustus is great-uncle of Germanicus.

proavus] The table is as follows:—

T. Pomponius Atticus
|
Pomponia m. M. Agrippa
|
Vipsania Agrippina m. Tiberius
|
Drusus.

videbatur: et coniunx Germanici Agrippina fecunditate ac fama Liviam uxorem Drusi praecellebat. sed fratres egregie concordes et proximorum certaminibus inconcussi.

44. Nec multo post Drusus in Illyricum missus est, ut suesceret militiae studiaque exercitus pararet; simul iuvenem urbano luxu lascivientem melius in castris haberi Tiberius seque tutiorem rebatur utroque filio legiones obtinente. sed Suebi praetendebantur auxilium adversus Cheruscos orantes; nam discessu Romanorum ac vacui externo metu gentis adsuetudine et tum aemulatione gloriae arma in se verterant. vis nationum, virtus ducum in aequo; set Maroboduum regis nomen invisum aput populares, Arminium pro libertate bellantem favor habebat.

45. Igitur non modo Cherusci sociique eorum, vetus Arminii miles, sumpsere bellum, sed e regno etiam Marobodui Suebae gentes, Semnones ac Langobardi, defecere ad eum. quibus additis praepollebat, ni Inguiomerus cum manu clientium ad Maroboduum perfugisset, non aliam ob causam quam quia fratris filio iuveni patruus senex parere dedignabatur. deriguntur acies, pari utrimque spe, nec, ut olim aput Germanos, vagis incursibus aut disiectas per catervas: quippe longa adversum nos militia insueverant sequi signa, subsidiis firmari, dicta imperatorum accipere. ac tunc Arminius equo conlustrans cuncta, ut quosque advectus erat, reciperatam libertatem, trucidatas legiones, spolia adhuc et tela Romanis derepta in manibus multorum ostentabat; contra fugacem Maroboduum appellans, proeliorum expertem, Hercyniae latebris defensum; ac mox per dona et legationes petivisse foedus, proditorem patriae, satellitem Caesaris, haud minus infensis animis

44. *ac vacui*] 'On the withdrawal of the Romans, and their own consequent freedom from the dread of foreign complications.' For the ablative see iii. 24, under 'potentia;' and for the combination of cases cf. ii. 23, "manantes per latera et fluctu superurgente."

habebat] A more usual form would be 'Arminius bellantium favorem habebat.'

45. *Semnones ac Langobardi*] The Semnones apparently extended from the Riesengebirge to Frankfort on the Oder, and Potsdam, occupying part of Mark Brandenburg, Saxony, Silesia, and Anhalt. They are described by Tacitus as the oldest and noblest of the Suebi (Germ. 39). The Langobardi were few in numbers: they were said to have come from Scandinavia as the Winili, and to have received their new name from the length of their beards: more likely, I think, from a word 'bard' (compare 'halbert'), the weapon they carried. They occupied a district between Lüneburg and Magdeburg, but were removed by Tiberius eastward of the Elbe near the Havel. After exterminating the Heruli, they settled in Pannonia, and in A.D. 568 crossed the Julian Alps and took possession of the plains of Northern Italy.

iuveni] Cf. ii. 88, "septem et triginta annos vitae, duodecim potentiae explevit."

ac mox, &c.] The infinitive depends on a verb of assertion, supplied from 'appellans.' Cf. i. 28, "suis laboribus defectionem sideris adsimulans, prosperaque cessura quae pergerent."

exturbandum quam Varum Quintilium interfecerint. meminissent modo tot proeliorum, quorum eventu et ad postremum eiectis Romanis satis probatum, penes utros summa belli fuerit.

46. Neque Maroboduus iactantia sui aut probris in hostem abstinebat, sed Inguiomerum tenens illo in corpore decus omne Cheruscorum, illius consiliis gesta quae prospere ceciderint testabatur: vaecordem Arminium et rerum nescium alienam gloriam in se trahere, quoniam tres vacuas legiones et ducem fraudis ignarum perfidia deceperit, magna cum clade Germaniae et ignominia sua, cum coniunx, cum filius eius servitium adhuc tolerent. at se duodecim legionibus petitum duce Tiberio inlibatam Germanorum gloriam servavisse, mox condicionibus aequis discessum; neque paenitere quod ipsorum in manu sit, integrum adversum Romanos bellum an pacem incruentam malint. his vocibus instinctos exercitus propriae quoque causae stimulabant, cum a Cheruscis Langobardisque pro antiquo decore aut recente libertate et contra augendae dominationi certaretur. non alias maiore mole concursum neque ambiguo magis eventu, fusis utrimque dextris cornibus; sperabaturque rursum pugna, ni Maroboduus castra in colles subduxisset. id signum perculsi fuit; et transfugiis paulatim nudatus in Marcomanos concessit misitque legatos ad Tiberium oraturos auxilia. responsum est non iure eum adversus Cheruscos arma Romana invocare, qui pugnantis in eundem hostem Romanos nulla ope iuvisset. missus tamen Drusus, ut rettulimus, paci firmator.

47. Eodem anno duodecim celebres Asiae urbes conlapsae nocturno motu terrae, quo inprovisior graviorque pestis fuit. neque solitum in tali casu effugium subveniebat in aperta prorumpendi, quia diductis terris hauriebantur. sedisse inmensos montes, visa in

46. *vacuas legiones*] This can hardly be 'deprived of their leader,' for he is mentioned directly after. It must mean, I think, 'skeleton regiments.' Probably some of the men were detached on convoy duty, to guard isolated forts, &c. (Dio lvi. 19); or it might be 'careless,' 'unwary.'

neque paenitere] They had good cause for satisfaction that they retained in their own hands the power of choosing between a war with forces undiminished or a bloodless peace. If they determined to fight, their forces were unimpaired; if they wished for peace, the Romans would at once grant it to so formidable an enemy, and avoid the risk of an unsuccessful contest.

recente libertate] Cf. ii. 45, "e regno etiam Marobodui Suebae gentes, Semnones ac Langobardi, defecere ad eum."

transfugiis] Cf. H. ii. 34, iii. 61. So 'effugia' (iii. 42, xii. 31) and 'diffugia' (H. i. 39) are used in the plural. Below, for 'paci firmator' cf. i. 24, under 'rector iuveni.'

47. *duodecim urbes*] On a stone dug up at Puteoli in A.D. 1693, erected in honour of Tiberius, there are fourteen names, the additional ones being Cibyra and Ephesus. The earthquake at the former place is mentioned iv. 13, and that at the latter may have been mentioned in the last portion of the fifth book, and have occurred about A.D. 30.

arduo quae plana fuerint, effulsisse inter ruinam ignes memorant. asperrima in Sardianos lues plurimum in eosdem misericordiae traxit: nam centies sestertium pollicitus Caesar, et quantum aerario aut fisco pendebant, in quinquennium remisit. Magnetes a Sipylo proximi damno ac remedio habiti. Temnios, Philadelphenos, Aegeatas, Apollonidenses, quique Mosteni aut Macedones Hyrcani vocantur, et Hierocaesariam, Myrinam, Cymen, Tmolum levari idem in tempus tributis mittique ex senatu placuit qui praesentia spectaret refoveretque. delectus est M. Aletus e praetoriis, ne consulari obtinente Asiam aemulatio inter pares et ex eo impedimentum oreretur.

48. Magnificam in publicum largitionem auxit Caesar haud minus grata liberalitate, quod bona Aemiliae Musae, locupletis intestatae, petita in fiscum, Aemilio Lepido, cuius e domo videbatur, et Pantulei divitis equitis Romani hereditatem, quamquam ipse heres in parte legeretur, tradidit M. Servilio, quem prioribus neque suspectis tabulis scriptum compererat, nobilitatem utriusque pecunia iuvandam praefatus. neque hereditatem cuiusquam adiit nisi cum amicitia meruisset: ignotos et aliis infensos eoque principem nuncupantes procul arcebat. ceterum ut honestam inno-

Magnetes a Sipylo] This Magnesia was under Mount Sipylus, and was so distinguished from the Magnesia by the river Maeander. Cf. Liv. xxxvii. 44. The Aegae here mentioned was an Aeolian city near Cume and Temnos.

Apollonidenses] The MS. has 'Apolloniensis,' but the town spoken of is Apollonis, equidistant from Pergamum and Sardis. There is an Apollonia in Mysia, from which is formed Apolloniates or Apolloniensis.

Mosteni aut Macedones] The people are quite distinct, and the use of 'aut' is curious. See the note on i. 8. 'Sive' would of course imply that the people were the same; 'aut' does not: 'those who are called Mosteni, or, on the other hand, if not that (those other inhabitants of the Hyrcanian plain, the) Macedones Hyrcani.' This Hyrcania was a town in Lydia, so called, it is said, because a colony of Hyrcani was settled there by the Persians. A body of Macedonians afterwards settled there. Mosteni was also a town in the Hyrcanian plain.

consulari] As before noticed, the provinces of Asia and Africa were always governed by proconsuls selected from the 'viri consulares,' and in this respect were under a special arrangement. Cf. i. 74. 'M. Aletus' must apparently be wrong: it is not a Roman name. Orelli gives 'Aletius,' if I understand him, from an inscription (see his note); Nipperdey, 'Ateius.' I leave it as I find it.

48. *in publicum*] Cf. "laetum in publicum rata," xii. 8. The sense is liberality connected with the state: the liberality was not shown to the state, of course, but really by the state, or Tiberius as its organ.

petita] By the law of the Twelve Tables, if a freedman died intestate, and without 'sui heredes,' the 'patronus' took the property. This would be equally true in the case of a 'liberta.' Perhaps, as Lipsius suggests, the patron of Aemilia Musa and his children being dead, and there being no other 'patronus,' the property was claimed for the 'fiscus.'

M. Servilio] M. Servilius was consul A.D. 3 (cf. iii. 22), and father of the M. Servilius Nonianus of vi. 31. Marius Nepos was praetor, and apparently a spendthrift (Senec. de Benef. ii. 7. 2). Q. Vitellius was uncle of the Emperor Vitellius, and quaestor of Augustus (Suet. Vitell. 1 and 2).

centium paupertatem levavit, ita prodigos et ob flagitia egentes, Vibidium Varronem, Marium Nepotem, Appium Appianum, Cornelium Sullam, Q. Vitellium movit senatu aut sponte cedere passus est.

49. Isdem temporibus deum aedes vetustate aut igni abolitas coeptasque ab Augusto dedicavit Libero Liberaeque et Cereri iuxta circum maximum, quas A. Postumius dictator voverat, eodemque in loco aedem Florae ab Lucio et Marco Publiciis aedilibus constitutam, et Iano templum, quod aput forum holitorium C. Duilius struxerat, qui primus rem Romanam prospere mari gessit triumphumque navalem de Poenis meruit. Spei aedes a Germanico sacratur: hanc A. Atilius voverat eodem bello.

50. Adolescebat interea lex maiestatis. et Appuleiam Varillam, sororis Augusti neptem, quia probrosis sermonibus divum Augustum ac Tiberium et matrem eius inlusisset Caesarique conexa adulterio teneretur, maiestatis delator arcessebat. de adulterio satis caveri lege Iulia visum: maiestatis crimen distingui Caesar postulavit damnarique, si qua de Augusto inreligiose dixisset: in se iacta nolle ad cognitionem vocari. interrogatus a consule, quid de iis censeret quae de matre eius locuta secus argueretur, reticuit; dein proximo senatus die illius quoque nomine oravit, ne cui verba in eam quoquo modo habita crimini forent. liberavitque Appuleiam lege maiestatis: adulterii graviorem poenam deprecatus, ut

49. *quas*] Lipsius corrects this to 'quam,' because it was only a single temple to the three divinities joined together. But possibly the temple was divided in some way so that each division might be termed 'aedes,' and the whole be spoken of as 'temples.' Livy speaks of it as a single temple only (iii. 55): "ad aedem Cereris Liberi Liberaeque." The last deity is Proserpine: Orelli's Inscript. n. 2361, "Libero et Cereri et Corae sacratae apud Aegynam." A. Postumius vowed this temple before the battle of the Lake Regillus. Lucius and Marcus Publicius Malleolus were plebeian aediles 241 A.C. (Ovid's Fasti, v. 287).

forum holitorium] This is added to distinguish it from the temple erected by Numa at the bottom of the Argiletum, Liv. i. 19.

A. Atilius] This was A. Atilius Calatinus, who was consul 258 A.C. and 254 A.C. He celebrated a triumph over the Carthaginians in 257 A.C.

50. *sororis*] This will be plain from the table, which I transcribe from Nipperdey:—

Octavia, sister of Augustus, m. C. Marcellus
|
Claudia Pulchra or Marcella the younger m. Sextus Apuleius
| (consul 29 A.C.)
Sextus Appuleius
and Appuleia, called Varilla from her mother's second husband Quintilius Varus (iv. 66).

graviorem poenam] The Lex Iulia, 17 A.C., deprived women convicted of adultery of half their dowry and one-third of their property, with 'relegatio in insulam.'

exemplo maiorum propinquis suis ultra ducentesimum lapidem removeretur suasit. adultero Manlio Italia atque Africa interdictum est.

51. De praetore in locum Vipstani Galli, quem mors abstulerat, subrogando certamen incessit. Germanicus atque Drusus (nam etiam tum Romae erant) Haterium Agrippam propinquum Germanici fovebant: contra plerique nitebantur, ut numerus liberorum in candidatis praepolleret, quod lex iubebat. laetabatur Tiberius, cum inter filios eius et leges senatus disceptaret. victa est sine dubio lex, sed neque statim et paucis suffragiis, quo modo etiam cum valerent leges vincebantur.

52. Eodem anno coeptum in Africa bellum, duce hostium Tacfarinate. is natione Numida, in castris Romanis auxiliaria stipendia meritus, mox desertor, vagos primum et latrociniis suetos ad praedam et raptus congregare, dein more militiae per vexilla et turmas componere, postremo non inconditae turbae sed Musulamiorum dux ha-

As the punishment here recommended was clearly less severe than this, and consisted only in removal to a distance from Rome exceeding two hundred miles, the sense of the words 'graviorem' &c. must be 'advising them not to inflict the heavier penalty fixed by the Lex Iulia, but to be contented with a less severe one.'

exemplo maiorum] Cf. Liv. xxxix. 18, "mulieres damnatas cognatis aut in quorum manu essent tradebant ut ipsi in privato animadverterent in eas." Cf. xiii. 32. For the case of 'propinquis suis' see a note i. 1, under 'claris scriptoribus.'

51. *nam etiam tum*] Tiberius, c. 44, had determined to send Drusus to Illyricum, and Germanicus to the East. Germanicus clearly had not left Rome, but Drusus, from the language of Tacitus (ii. 44), one would have supposed to have left already. However, these words, 'etiam tum Romae erant,' seem to show that he had not, and that some delay had occurred. The two, Drusus and Germanicus, were even at the period of the death of Gallus still in Rome. For 'etiam tum' cf. ii. 52, "nullo etiam tum urbium cultu."

propinquum Germanici] This will be seen from the annexed table:—

Octavia (sister of Augustus) m. C. Marcellus
|
Marcella (maior) m. M. Vipsanius Agrippa
|
Vipsania[1]
|
Haterius Agrippa (ii. 51).

C. Octavius (Augustus)
|
Iulia m. M. Vipsanius Agrippa
|
Agrippina m. Germanicus.

lex] The Lex Papia Poppaea, about 18 A.C., which enacted that a candidate who had several children should be preferred to one who had fewer. Cf. xv. 19. Haterius Agrippa was tribunus plebis in A.D. 15 (i. 77), and consul A.D. 22.

[1] There is no proof of the existence of this lady, but Suetonius (August. 63) says "Agrippa alteram Marcellarum habebat, et ex ea liberos." Supposing therefore the above stem to represent the actual facts in this respect, Vipsania and Agrippina were second cousins, and therefore Haterius Agrippa and Germanicus (by marriage) were second cousins once removed. Or again, as M. Agrippa was the husband both of Marcella Major and Julia, the aforesaid two ladies were half-sisters. Haterius Agrippa was nephew (by the half-blood) to Germanicus through his marriage with Agrippina.

beri. valida ea gens et solitudinibus Africae propinqua, nullo etiam tum urbium cultu, cepit arma Maurosque accolas in bellum traxit: dux et his, Mazippa. divisusque exercitus, ut Tacfarinas lectos viros et Romanum in modum armatos castris attineret, disciplina et imperiis suesceret, Mazippa levi cum copia incendia et caedes et terrorem circumferret. conpulerantque Cinithios, haud spernendam nationem, in eadem, cum Furius Camillus pro consule Africae legionem et quod sub signis sociorum in unum conductos ad hostem duxit, modicam manum, si multitudinem Numidarum atque Maurorum spectares; sed nihil aeque cavebatur quam ne bellum metu eluderent: spe victoriae inducti sunt ut vincerentur. igitur legio medio, leves cohortes duaeque alae in cornibus locantur. nec Tacfarinas pugnam detrectavit. fusi Numidae, multosque post annos Furio nomini partum decus militiae. nam post illum reciperatorem urbis filiumque eius Camillum penes alias familias imperatoria laus fuerat; atque hic quem memoramus bellorum expers habebatur. eo pronior Tiberius res gestas aput senatum celebravit; et decrevere patres triumphalia insignia, quod Camillo ob modestiam vitae impune fuit.

53. Sequens annus Tiberium tertio, Germanicum iterum consules habuit. sed eum honorem Germanicus iniit aput urbem Achaiae Nicopolim, quo venerat per Illyricam oram, viso fratre Druso in Delmatia agente, Hadriatici ac mox Ionii maris adversam navigationem perpessus. igitur paucos dies insumpsit

52. *dux et his*] 'These had also a leader, Mazippa.' Tacfarinas was the leader of the original band and the Musulamii. These, with such of the Mauri as dwelt near and joined them, had another leader as well, Mazippa. Consequently the sense appears to be, not 'these also, as well as the others, had Mazippa for their leader,' but 'these had also Mazippa for their leader.'

suesceret] The word is used actively, and the ablatives express the instrumentality employed: 'by discipline and the exercise of authority, he gradually broke them in to their duty.' In Hor. Sat. i. 4. 105, 'insuesco' is used actively. If the word were used in a neuter sense, the dative would have been employed, as in ii. 44.

Cinithii] These people lived near the lesser Syrtis (Ptolemaeus iv. 3. 22). The Camillus here mentioned was M. Furius P. f. P. n. Camillus, who was consul A.D. 8.

post illum] There was a Lucius Furius Camillus who was consul 338 A.C., and again 325 A.C., and triumphed in 338 A.C.; but he is usually made the grandson of the great Camillus, and different from the L. Furius Camillus who was consul in 349 A.C., but never triumphed. Triumphs were celebrated by members of other families belonging to the 'Furia gens:' by P. Furius Philus 223 A.C., and L. Furius Purpureo 200 A.C.

53. *tertio*] Varro in Gell. x. 1 says, "aliud est quarto praetorem fieri et quartum, quod quarto locum adsignificat ac tres ante factos, quartum tempus adsignificat et ter ante factum." But the usage must have been uncertain, as the story is told us there that Cicero evaded the question whether 'tertio' or 'tertium consul' were correct, by suggesting that 'tert. consul' should be written.

Achaiae] Achaia is used here in its wider sense, for Nicopolis is in Epirus. See note on Achaia in i. 76.

reficiendae classi; simul sinus Actiaca victoria inclutos et sacratas ab Augusto manubias castraque Antonii cum recordatione maiorum suorum adiit. namque ei, ut memoravi, avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius erant, magnaque illic imago tristium laetorumque. hinc ventum Athenas, foederique sociae et vetustae urbis datum ut uno lictore uteretur. excepere Graeci quaesitissimis honoribus, vetera suorum facta dictaque praeferentes, quo plus dignationis adulatio haberet.

54. Petita inde Euboea tramisit Lesbum, ubi Agrippina novissimo partu Iuliam edidit. tum extrema Asiae Perinthumque ac Byzantium, Thracias urbes, mox Propontidis angustias et os Ponticum intrat, cupidine veteres locos et fama celebratos noscendi; pariterque provincias internis certaminibus aut magistratuum iniuriis fessas refovebat. atque illum in regressu sacra Samothracum visere nitentem obvii aquilones depulere. igitur adito Ilio quaeque ibi varietate fortunae et nostri origine veneranda, relegit Asiam adpellitque Colophona, ut Clarii Apollinis oraculo uteretur. non femina illic, ut aput Delphos, sed certis e familiis et ferme Mileto accitus sacerdos numerum modo consultantium et nomina audit; tum in specum degressus, hausta fontis arcani aqua, ignarus plerumque litterarum et carminum edit responsa versibus compositis super rebus quas quis mente concepit. et ferebatur Germanico per ambages, ut mos oraculis, maturum exitium cecinisse.

55. At Cn. Piso, quo properantius destinata inciperet, civitatem Atheniensium turbido incessu exterritam oratione saeva increpat, oblique Germanicum perstringens, quod contra decus Romani nominis non Athenienses tot cladibus exstinctos, sed conluviem

manubias] Cf. Suet. Aug. 18, "quo Actiacae victoriae memoria celebratior et in posterum esset urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit ludosque illic quinquennales instituit, et locum castrorum quibus fuerat usus exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit."

praeferentes] This can only, I think, mean that the Greeks brought forward and made the most of the illustrious deeds and sayings (may it include 'writings'?) of their famous countrymen of old, to enhance their own greatness as their modern representatives, and so give additional value to their flattery of Germanicus. No doubt they extolled their own ancestors, and then professed to regard Germanicus as superior to them all.

54. *extrema Asiae*] That is, 'the margin, the outskirts of Asia,' which Germanicus traversed before reaching Perinthus, afterwards Heraclea in Thrace.

magistratuum iniuriis] For an explanation of this cf. iv. 45, and the note there.

sacra] The Cabeiria. For these see Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities.

varietate fortunae] 'By reason of the reverse in its fortunes.'

55. *oblique perstringens*] This is a favourite expression of Tacitus. Cf. v. 2 and 11.

conluviem] Demosthenes complains bitterly of the lavish way in which

illam nationum comitate nimia coluisset: hos enim esse Mithridatis adversus Sullam, Antonii adversus divum Augustum socios. etiam vetera obiectabat, quae in Macedones inprospere, violenter in suos fecissent, offensus urbi propria quoque ira, quia Theophilum quendam Areo iudicio falsi damnatum precibus suis non concederent. exim navigatione celeri per Cycladas et compendia maris adsequitur Germanicum aput insulam Rhodum, haud nescium quibus insectationibus petitus foret: sed tanta mansuetudine agebat, ut, cum orta tempestas raperet in abrupta possetque interitus inimici ad casum referri, miserit triremis quarum subsidio discrimini eximeretur. neque tamen mitigatus Piso, et vix diei moram perpessus linquit Germanicum praevenitque. et postquam Syriam ac legiones attigit, largitione, ambitu, infimos manipularium iuvando, cum veteres centuriones, severos tribunos demoveret locaque eorum clientibus suis vel deterrimo cuique attribueret, desidiam in castris, licentiam in urbibus, vagum ac lascivientem per agros militem sineret, eo usque corruptionis provectus est, ut sermone vulgi parens legionum haberetur. nec Plancina se intra decora feminis tenebat, sed exercitio equitum, decursibus cohortium interesse, in Agrippinam, in Germanicum contumelias iacere, quibusdam etiam bonorum militum ad mala obsequia promptis, quod haud invito inperatore ea fieri occultus rumor incedebat. nota haec Germanico, sed praeverti ad Armenios instantior cura fuit.

56. Ambigua gens ea antiquitus hominum ingeniis et situ terrarum, quoniam nostris provinciis late praetenta penitus ad Medos porrigitur; maximisque imperiis interiecti et saepius discordes

the Athenians of his own day bestowed the franchise: νῦν δὲ φθόρους ἀνθρώπων τιμὴν ὥσπερ ἄλλου του τῶν ὠνίων λαμβάνοντες ποιεῖσθε πολίτας (Περὶ συντάξεως, § 27).

Areo iudicio] This expression for the Areiopagus occurs nowhere else: it is equivalent to 'Arei pagi iudicio.' Below, for 'compendia maris' cf. xii. 28, "propioribus compendiis ierant," and Plin. N. H. v. 5, "compendium viae quatridui deprehensum est."

decursibus] These formed part of the usual training of the soldiers. Cf. Suet. Galba 6, "insignis quod campestrem decursionem scuto moderatus, etiam ad essedum Imperatoris per viginti passuum milia cucurrit." Cf. also Suet. Nero 7. This was of course different from the 'decursus' mentioned in ii. 7, a ceremony observed at funerals.

praeverti] Cf. iv. 32, "si quando ad interna praeverterent." Cf. Plaut. Capt. ii. 3. 100, "ei rei primum praevorti volo," and Rudens iii. 2. 27, "obsecro hoc praevortere ergo." Here the meaning is that to reach Armenia was the first object of Germanicus.

56. *hominum ingeniis*] The Armenians are said by Herodotus to be of Phrygian origin (vii. 73), and by Tacitus (vi. 34) to have claimed Thessalian kindred. Really they were members of the Aryan family, and their language one of the Indo-European group. Their extraction would to some extent explain their love of independence, and their constant variance ('discordes') with the two empires of Rome and Parthia between which they lay.

sunt, adversus Romanos odio et in Parthum invidia. regem illa tempestate non habebant, amoto Vonone: sed favor nationis inclinabat in Zenonem, Polemonis regis Pontici filium, quod is prima ab infantia instituta et cultum Armeniorum aemulatus, venatu epulis et quae alia barbari celebrant, proceres plebemque iuxta devinxerat. igitur Germanicus in urbe Artaxata, adprobantibus nobilibus, circumfusa multitudine, insigne regium capiti eius imposuit. ceteri venerantes regem Artaxiam consalutavere, quod illi vocabulum indiderant ex nomine urbis. at Cappadoces in formam provinciae redacti Q. Veranium legatum accepere; et quaedam ex regiis tributis deminuta, quo mitius Romanum imperium speraretur. Commagenis Q. Servaeus praeponitur, tum primum ad ius praetoris translatis.

57. Cunctaque socialia prospere composita non ideo laetum Germanicum habebant ob superbiam Pisonis, qui iussus partem legionum ipse aut per filium in Armeniam ducere utrumque neglexerat. Cyrri demum aput hiberna decumae legionis convenere, firmato vultu, Piso adversus metum, Germanicus, ne minari crederetur; et erat, ut rettuli, clementior. sed amici accendendis offensionibus callidi intendere vera, adgerere falsa ipsumque et Plancinam et filios variis modis criminari. postremo paucis familiarium adhibitis sermo coeptus a Caesare, qualem ira et dissimulatio gignit, responsum a Pisone precibus contumacibus; discesserantque apertis odiis. post quae rarus in tribunali Caesaris Piso, et si quando adsideret, atrox ac dissentire manifestus. vox

amoto Vonone] For Vonones cf. ii. 1.

Polemonis] Polemo, the son of the orator Zeno, was allowed to occupy the throne of Armenia by Octavianus and Antonius, 35 A.C. (Dio xlix. 33, 44). Polemo had a son also called Zeno, of whom Tacitus is speaking (Strabo xii. 3. 29, p. 555.)

in urbe Artaxata] Tacitus seems to waver between a feminine singular form and a neuter plural. For the former cf. vi. 33: the latter and more usual form occurs xii. 51, xiii. 39 and 41, xiv. 23. There is the same variety in the name 'Tigranocerta.' Cf. xv. 5 and 6 for different forms.

ad ius praetoris] The Commageni were attached to Syria, governed by a legatus pro praetore, or with 'ius praetoris.' Cf. i. 74. Commagene was a part of Syria, bounded on the north by Amanus, east by the Euphrates, and west by Cilicia; in A.D. 38 it was given to the son of Antiochus IV., but again in A.D. 73 made a province.

57. *Cyrri*] Cyrrus is a town of Syria about eighty miles N.E. of Antioch. The modern village of Corus is supposed to be on the same site as Cyrrus.

filios] One on the spot (iii. 16), and the other no doubt at Rome.

qualem ira] The sort of conversation which accompanies smothered anger not bursting into open quarrel, but cold and void of all heartiness.

discesserant] This is the reading of the MS., and seems defensible. Tacitus speaks as already having in view the incident mentioned in the next sentence. They had already separated with openly avowed animosity, and this was followed by the circumstances next recorded.

dissentire] The infinitive occurs after 'manifestus' in Dialog. de Orat. 16, "ipse satis est iamdudum manifestus in contrarium accingi."

quoque eius audita est in convivio, cum aput regem Nabataeorum coronae aureae magno pondere Caesari et Agrippinae, leves Pisoni et ceteris offerrentur, principis Romani, non Parthi regis filio eas epulas dari; abiecitque simul coronam et multa in luxum addidit, quae Germanico quamquam acerba tolerabantur tamen.

58. Inter quae ab rege Parthorum Artabano legati venere. miserat amicitiam ac foedus memoraturos, et cupere renovari dextras, daturumque honori Germanici ut ripam Euphratis accederet: petere interim ne Vonones in Syria haberetur neu proceres gentium propinquis nuntiis ad discordias traheret. ad ea Germanicus de societate Romanorum Parthorumque magnifice, de adventu regis et cultu sui cum decore ac modestia respondit. Vonones Pompeiopolim Ciliciae maritimam urbem amotus est. datum id non modo precibus Artabani sed contumeliae Pisonis, cui gratissimus erat ob plurima officia et dona, quibus Plancinam devinxerat.

59. M. Silano L. Norbano consulibus Germanicus Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis. sed cura provinciae praetendebatur, levavitque apertis horreis pretia frugum multaque in vulgus grata usurpavit: sine milite incedere, pedibus intectis et pari cum Graecis amictu, P. Scipionis aemulatione, quem eadem factitavisse aput Siciliam, quamvis flagrante adhuc Poenorum bello, accepimus. Tiberius cultu habituque eius lenibus verbis perstricto, acerrime increpuit quod contra instituta Augusti non sponte principis Alexandriam introisset. nam Augustus inter alia dominationis arcana, vetitis nisi permissu ingredi senatoribus aut

58. *et cupere*] This depends on 'memoraturos,' with a change in the construction from a substantive to a verb. The envoys mentioned the league formed between Augustus and Phraates (ii. 1), and that he was desirous, &c.

ut . . . accederet] The subject of the verb is the Parthian king, as is clear from the words below, 'de adventu regis.'

Pompeiopolim] Formerly 'Soli:' named Pompeiopolis by Cn. Pompeius Magnus, in the Mithridatic war.

59. *M. Silano*] M. Iunius Silanus and L. Norbanus Balbus were the two consuls who gave their names to the Lex Iunia Norbana, by which the status of a Latinus was given in some cases to slaves manumitted without the requisite formalities.

cognoscendae antiquitatis] This genitive is common in Tacitus. Cf. ii. 1, and the note on 'firmandae amicitiae.'

pretia frugum] Germanicus, while visiting Alexandria, took measures for bringing down the price of wheat. He ordered the public granaries where wheat was stored for the use of Rome to be thrown open, and the contents sold to the people of Alexandria, which of course, by increasing the supply, diminished the price. Egypt was one of the chief granaries of Rome (cf. St. Paul's wheat-ship of Alexandria). C. Julius Caesar was afraid to make Egypt a province, lest under an ambitious ruler it should be the nucleus of a revolt, and so conferred it on Cleopatra and her brother.

pedibus intectis] Germanicus wore sandals, not shoes ('calcei'), so that the greater part of the foot was exposed; and the 'pallium' instead of the 'toga.'

sponte principis] See note on xii. 42.

equitibus Romanis inlustribus, seposuit Aegyptum, ne fame urgueret Italiam, quisquis eam provinciam claustraque terrae ac maris quamvis levi praesidio adversum ingentes exercitus insedisset.

60. Sed Germanicus nondum comperto profectionem eam incusari Nilo subvehebatur, orsus oppido a Canopo. condidere id Spartani ob sepultum illic rectorem navis Canopum, qua tempestate Menelaus Graeciam repetens diversum ad mare terramque Libyam deiectus. inde proximum amnis os dicatum Herculi, quem indigenae ortum aput se et antiquissimum perhibent eosque qui postea pari virtute fuerint in cognomentum eius adscitos; mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia. et manebant structis molibus litterae Aegyptiae, priorem opulentiam complexae; iussusque e senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat habitasse quondam septingenta milia aetate militari, atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamsen Libya Aethiopia Medisque et Persis et Bactriano ac Scytha potitum quasque terras Suri Armeniique et contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bithynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse. legebantur et indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti et auri, numerus armorum equorumque et dona templis ebur atque odores, quasque copias frumenti et omnium utensilium quaeque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana iubentur.

inlustribus] These were the 'equites,' classed separately by Augustus. They possessed a senator's property, and must have been 'ingenui' up to their grandfathers. They wore the laticlave. The 'tribuni plebis' and senators might be chosen from them, and at the close of office they might remain, if they wished, in the Senate. Cf. xi. 4, xvi. 17, Suet. August. 40.

seposuit] In H. i. 11 Augustus is said "domi retinere Aegyptum," to have kept it in his own hands. This seems the sense nearly of 'seposuit' here: Egypt was put on one side, and kept apart from all other provinces, and treated differently.

claustraque] In H. ii. 82 Tacitus speaks of 'claustra Aegypti.' Cf. Hirt. B. Alex. 26, "tota Aegyptus maritimo accessu Pharo, pedestri Pelusio velut claustris munita existimatur." Lucan x. 509, "tum claustrum pelagi cepit Pharon." The sense appears to be 'the barriers it presents with reference to the land and sea:' the difficulties it opposed to any attack from the land or water: not the barriers presented by its land and sea fronts, but *against* any approach from these points. Similarly H. iii. 83, 'Foroiuliensis colonia' is called 'claustra maris.'

60. *oppido a Canopo*] For the position of the preposition, see note on iii. 1.

inde proximum amnis os] The Canopic mouth, or the Heracleotic, the most westerly of all the mouths. These words depend on 'visit.'

Rhamsen] There was a Rameses II. about 1300 B.C., who captured Ketesh, the city of the Hittites; and a more illustrious king still, Rameses III., about 1200 B.C., who gained naval victories in the Mediterranean. The tablet of Karnak gives an exact account of his conquests, the amount of tribute imposed on the conquered nations, and other particulars. He is apparently identical with the Sesostris of Herodotus.

61. Ceterum Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum praecipua fuere Memnonis saxea effigies, ubi radiis solis icta est, vocalem sonum reddens, disiectasque inter et vix pervias arenas instar montium eductae pyramides certamine et opibus regum, lacusque effossa humo, superfluentis Nili receptacula; atque alibi angustiae et profunda altitudo, nullis inquirentium spatiis penetrabilis. exin ventum Elephantinen ac Syenen, claustra olim Romani imperii, quod nunc rubrum ad mare patescit.

62. Dum ea aestas Germanico plures per provincias transigitur, haud leve decus Drusus quaesivit inliciens Germanos ad discordias utque fracto iam Maroboduo usque in exitium insisteretur. erat inter Gotones nobilis iuvenis nomine Catualda, profugus olim vi Marobodui et tunc dubiis rebus eius ultionem ausus. is valida manu fines Marcomanorum ingreditur corruptisque primoribus ad societatem inrumpit regiam castellumque iuxta situm. veteres

61. *vocalem sonum*] Cf. Juv. xv. 5, "dimidio magicae resonant ubi Memnone chordae." Strabo, xvii. 1. 46, declares that he heard it. In the reign of Domitian, T. Petronius Secundus heard it also, and was sufficiently inspired to write the following distich: Φθέγξαο Λατοίδα σὸν γὰρ μέρος ὧδε κάθηται Μέμνων, ἀκτῖσιν βαλλόμενος πυριναῖς (Lat. Inscr. n. 5305).

lacusque] Lake Moeris. Cf. Herod. ii. 140.

angustiae] This is the narrow bed of the Nile in Upper Egypt. The river is pent up within a rocky valley, leaving scarcely any margin on either side. In Herod. ii. 28 something similar is related about the marvellous depth of the river, but this the writer himself explains to be due, in his opinion, to the existence of strong eddies, which prevented the sounding-cords from sinking.

penetrabilis] This adjective, whether in its passive meaning as here, or its active (Virg. Georg. i. 93, "Boreae penetrabile frigus), is only found in the poets or late prose writers. Below, Elephantine is an island in the Nile opposite Syene, and just below the second cataract. It is here the river becomes navigable.

rubrum ad mare] That is, the mare Erythraeum. Cf. Pomponius Mela iii. 8, "rubrum mare Graeci . . . Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν appellant . . duosque iterum sinus aperit. Persicus vocatur dictis regionibus propior, Arabicus ulterior." Also Plin. N. H. vi. 28. It was Trajan who extended the frontiers of the Roman empire to this point. Cf. Eutrop. viii. 3, "usque ad Indiae fines et mare rubrum accessit."

62. *utque . . . insisteretur*] This depends on some participle supplied from 'inliciens,' such as 'monens' or the like. Something of the same sort occurs H. iii. 46, "Cremonensis victoriae gnarus ac ne externa moles utrimque ingrueret."

inter Gotones] The Gotones (Gothones, Guttones) originally seem to have occupied the banks of the Lower Vistula. In the third century they first appear under the name of Goths in Thrace and Dacia. They were signally defeated in Macedonia A.D. 269, by Claudius. In A.D. 272 Aurelian ceded Dacia to them. Portions of them settled also in Maesia, and it was for them that Ulphilas made his translation of the Gospels into Maesogothic. After the capture of Rome by Alaric (about A.D. 400), his successor Ataulph founded the splendid Gothic kingdom in Spain, and Theodoric the Ostrogoth defeated Odoacer, the king of the Heruli, and assumed the title of King of Italy. The Gotones are not to be confounded with the Gothini, a people near the head waters of the Marus (March), in Upper Silesia and Moravia, who were a Keltic people (Germ. 43). Below, 'regiam' is 'Boihemum,' the name having been originally given to the place by the Keltic Boii, who were displaced by the Marcomani. Cf. Germ. 28; Livy v. 34.

illic Sueborum praedae et nostris e provinciis lixae ac negotiatores reperti, quos ius commercii, dein cupido augendi pecuniam, postremum oblivio patriae suis quemque ab sedibus hostilem in agrum transtulerat.

63. Maroboduo undique deserto non aliut subsidium quam misericordia Caesaris fuit. transgressus Danuvium, qua Noricam provinciam praefluit, scripsit Tiberio non ut profugus aut supplex, sed ex memoria prioris fortunae: nam multis nationibus clarissimum quondam regem ad se vocantibus Romanam amicitiam praetulisse. responsum a Caesare tutam ei honoratamque sedem in Italia fore, si maneret: sin rebus eius aliut conduceret, abiturum fide qua venisset. ceterum aput senatum disseruit non Philippum Atheniensibus, non Pyrrum aut Antiochum populo Romano perinde metuendos fuisse. extat oratio, qua magnitudinem viri, violentiam subiectarum ei gentium et quam propinquus Italiae hostis, suaque in destruendo eo consilia extulit. et Maroboduus quidem Ravennae habitus, ne si quando insolescerent Suebi, quasi rediturus in regnum ostentabatur: sed non excessit Italia per duodeviginti annos consenuitque multum imminuta claritate ob nimiam vivendi cupidinem. idem Catualdae casus neque aliut perfugium. pulsus haud multo post Hermundurorum opibus et Vibilio duce, receptusque Forum Iulium, Narbonensis Galliae coloniam, mittitur. barbari utrumque comitati ne quietas provincias immixti turbarent, Danuvium ultra inter flumina Marum et Cusum locantur, dato rege Vannio gentis Quadorum.

64. Simul nuntiato regem Artaxian Armeniis a Germanico datum, decrevere patres ut Germanicus atque Drusus ovantes urbem introirent. structi et arcus circum latera templi Martis

63. *extulit*] Sc. 'in vulgus,' brought into notice. Cf. vi. 9, "repertus erat qui efferret quae omnes animo agitabant," and Cic. de Orat. i. 24, "petamque a vobis, inquit, ne has meas ineptias efferatis."

ne si quando] This is the reading of the MS., and I think may be correct. Cf. xiii. 57, "neque extingui poterant, non si imbres caderent, non si fluvialibus aquis aut quo alio humore." So here, 'lest they should grow unruly, if they ever felt disposed.' For 'insolescere' cf. ii. 75 and H. ii. 7.

ob nimiam, &c.] The old king did not carry out the principle afterwards expressed by Juvenal (viii. 83): "Summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori, Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas."

Hermunduri] These people dwelt between the Sudetes mountains and the Roman rampart, bounding the Decumates agri. They appear first in the time of Domitius Ahenobarbus, who gave them settlements between the Maine and the Danube.

Forum Iulium] Tacitus uses various forms in speaking of this place. In iv. 5 it is "oppidum Foroiuliense;" H. ii. 14, "colonia Foroiuliensis." Plinius (iii. 5) speaks of it as "Forum Iulii Octavanorum, colonia." Below, the Cusus is supposed to be the Waag. The Quadi were settled in Moravia and north-western Hungary. For Vibilius and Vannius, cf. xii. 29.

64. *Martis Ultoris*] This temple was vowed by Augustus in the war against

Ultoris cum effigie Caesarum, laetiore Tiberio, quia pacem sapientia firmaverat, quam si bellum per acies confecisset. igitur Rhescuporim quoque, Thraeciae regem, astu adgreditur. omnem eam nationem Rhoemetalces tenuerat; quo defuncto Augustus partem Thraecum Rhescuporidi fratri eius, partem filio Cotyi permisit. in ea divisione arva et urbes et vicina Graecis Cotyi, quod incultum, ferox, adnexum hostibus, Rhescuporidi cessit: ipsorumque regum ingenia, illi mite et amoenum, huic atrox, avidum et societatis inpatiens erat. sed primo subdola concordia egere: mox Rhescuporis egredi fines, vertere in se Cotyi data et resistenti vim facere, cunctanter sub Augusto, quem auctorem utriusque regni, si sperneretur, vindicem metuebat. enimvero audita mutatione principis inmittere latronum globos, excindere castella, causas bello.

65. Nihil aeque Tiberium anxium habebat quam ne conposita turbarentur. deligit centurionem, qui nuntiaret regibus ne armis disceptarent; statimque a Cotye dimissa sunt quae paraverat auxilia. Rhescuporis ficta modestia postulat eundem in locum coiretur: posse de controversiis conloquio transigi. nec diu dubitatum de tempore, loco, dein condicionibus, cum alter facilitate, alter fraude cuncta inter se concederent acciperentque. Rhescuporis sanciendo, ut dictitabat, foederi convivium adicit, tractaque in multam noctem laetitia per epulas ac vinolentiam incautum Cotyn et, postquam dolum intellexerat, sacra regni, eiusdem familiae deos et hospitalis mensas obtestantem catenis onerat. Thraeciaque omni potitus scribsit ad Tiberium structas sibi insidias, praeventum insidiatorem; simul bellum adversus Basternas Scythasque praetendens novis peditum et equitum copiis sese firma-

Brutus and Cassius, just before the battle of Philippi. It stood in the Forum Augusti. It was used after its completion for the meetings of the Senate, whenever the questions of war and triumphs were considered. Generals took their departure from it for war, and brought to it the insignia of their triumphs.

vertere in se] Cf. Liv. xxi. 53, "occasio in se unum vertendae gloriae." Suetonius (Vesp. 4) uses 'convertere in se,' and 'vertere ad se' is also found.

enimvero] Tacitus uses this word peculiarly. Cf. iv. 60, "enimvero Tiberius torvus aut falsum renidens vultu;" vi. 25, "enimvero Tiberius foedissimis criminationibus exarsit." So also vi. 35, xii. 64, Germ. 44. From these passages the meaning of 'enimvero' is clearly 'but.' Draeger says this sense is found only in Florus (ii. 7) and Apuleius. Below, for 'causas bello' see note on i. 27.

65. *sacra regni*] 'The sacred rights attaching to kingship.' He appealed to the other's sense of the 'divinity which hedges in a king.' The 'sanctitas regni,' as Suetonius calls it (C. Julius Caesar 6).

Basternae] Otherwise called Peucini (Germ. 46). They were settled at first probably between the Theiss and the March, and spread towards the Lower Danube. They crossed the river, and were driven back by M. Crassus. They were distinguished from their neighbours by their height, bravery, and pride. Plut. Paul. Aemil. 4.

bat. molliter rescriptum, si fraus abesset, posse eum innocentiae fidere; ceterum neque se neque senatum nisi cognita causa ius et iniuriam discreturos: proinde tradito Cotye veniret transferretque invidiam criminis.

66. Eas litteras Latinius Pandusa pro praetore Moesiae cum militibus, quis Cotys traderetur, in Thraciam misit. Rhescuporis inter metum et iram cunctatus maluit patrati quam incepti facinoris reus esse: occidi Cotyn iubet mortemque sponte sumptam ementitur. nec tamen Caesar placitas semel artes mutavit, sed defuncto Pandusa, quem sibi infensum Rhescuporis arguebat, Pomponium Flaccum, veterem stipendiis et arta cum rege amicitia eoque accommodatiorem ad fallendum, ob id maxime Moesiae praefecit.

67. Flaccus in Thraciam transgressus per ingentia promissa quamvis ambiguum et scelera sua reputantem perpulit ut praesidia Romana intraret. circumdata hinc regi specie honoris valida manus, tribunique et centuriones monendo, suadendo, et quanto longius abscedebatur, apertiore custodia, postremo gnarum necessitatis in urbem traxere. accussatus in senatu ab uxore Cotyis damnatur, ut procul regno teneretur. Thraecia in Rhoemetalcen filium, quem paternis consiliis adversatum constabat, inque liberos Cotyis dividitur; iisque nondum adultis Trebellienus Rufus praetura functus datur, qui regnum interim tractaret, exemplo quo maiores M. Lepidum Ptolemaei liberis tutorem in Aegyptum miserant. Rhescuporis Alexandriam devectus atque illic fugam temptans an ficto crimine interficitur.

68. Per idem tempus Vonones, quem amotum in Ciliciam memoravi, corruptis custodibus effugere ad Armenios, inde in Albanos Heniochosque et consanguineum sibi regem Scytharum

transferretque] Rhescuporis was to shift to the shoulders of Cotys the odium of the charge made. He was to prove that the accusation brought against Cotys, of having meditated treachery, was really true.

66. *Latinius Pandusa*] Poppaeus Sabinus was legatus pro praetore of Maesia in A.D. 15 (i. 80), and also of Achaia and Macedonia. He was still in command of the latter provinces in A.D. 31 (v. 10), but was replaced in Maesia, it seems, by Pandusa.

67. *in Rhoemetalcen*] For the use of 'in' after verbs of dividing, distributing, and the like, cf. ii. 8, "distributis in legiones ac socios navibus;" i. 55, "dissidere hostem in Arminium ac Segestem;" H. i. 13, "potentia principatus divisa in T. Vinium consulem, Cornelium Laconem praetorii praefectum;" H. iv. 58, "curam delectus in consules partitur."

M. Lepidum] This was M. Aemilius Lepidus, consul A.C. 187 and 175, and appointed guardian to the children of Ptolemaeus Epiphanes.

68. *in Albanos*] Vonones fled to the Armenians, and thence made his way amongst the Albani and Heniochi, where 'in' seems to be used because he made his way deep into them, as it were. Of course 'in' is not strictly the preposition for 'consanguineum regem,' but the zeugma does not seem to present any difficulty. The Heniochi were settled

conatus est. specie venandi omissis maritimis locis avia saltuum petiit, mox pernicitate equi ad amnem Pyramum contendit, cuius pontes accolae ruperant audita regis fuga; neque vado penetrari poterat. igitur in ripa fluminis a Vibio Frontone praefecto equitum vincitur; mox Remmius evocatus, priori custodiae regis adpositus, quasi per iram gladio eum transigit. unde maior fides conscientia sceleris et metu indicii mortem Vononi inlatam.

69. At Germanicus Aegypto remeans cuncta, quae aput legiones aut urbes iusserat, abolita vel in contrarium versa cognoscit. hinc graves in Pisonem contumeliae, nec minus acerba quae ab illo in Caesarem intentabantur. dein Piso abire Suria statuit. mox adversa Germanici valetudine detentus, ubi recreatum accepit votaque pro incolumitate solvebantur, admotas hostias, sacrificalem apparatum, festam Antiochensium plebem per lictores proturbat. tum Seleuciam degreditur, opperiens aegritudinem, quae rursum Germanico acciderat. saevam vim morbi augebat persuasio veneni a Pisone accepti; et reperiebantur solo ac parietibus erutae humanorum corporum reliquiae, carmina et devotiones et nomen Germanici plumbeis tabulis insculptum, semusti cineres ac tabe obliti aliaque malefica, quis creditur animas numinibus infernis sacrari. simul missi a Pisone incusabantur ut valetudinis adversa rimantes.

70. Ea Germanico haud minus ira quam per metum accepta. si limen obsideretur, si effundendus spiritus sub oculis inimicorum foret, quid deinde miserrimae coniugi, quid infantibus liberis eventurum? lenta videri veneficia: festinare et urgere, ut provinciam,

on the shores of the Euxine, some little distance east of Trapezus.

praefecto equitum] Cf. Suet. August. 38, "non tribunatum modo legionum sed et praefecturas alarum dedit."

69. *Aegypto*] This simple ablative in the meaning of 'from' is not common; but Tacitus has it i. 3, "remeantem Armenia;" iii. 11, "rediens Illyrico;" xiii. 35, "Syria transmotae legiones," and elsewhere. I imagine the reason of the construction to be that the words used in these sentences naturally convey the sense of going from, and as Tacitus would use 'abire' (see below 'abire Suria') with a simple ablative he adopts the same construction with these equivalent verbs. Below, the Seleucia is Seleucia Pieria on the coast near Antioch.

et reperiebantur] 'And certainly there were found.' Tacitus mentions this as affording some colouring to the report of poison. The two things seemed all of a piece, and to suggest foul play on the part of Piso. For the meaning of 'et' cf. H. v. 22, "Cerialis alibi noctem egerat, ut plerique credidere, et vigiles," &c. The morsels of human remains, and other things found in the walls of Piso's house, pointed to the employment of magical rites. One would have thought them useless, if Piso had determined to adopt the quicker method of poison.

tabe] Tacitus elsewhere uses 'tabum' in the sense of 'gore' (H. ii. 70, H. iii. 35); whereas 'tabes' means 'a wasting disease.' Cf. i. 53, xi. 6, &c. But I have not ventured to alter the reading.

70. *eventurum*] Sc. 'esse.' This construction with a relative has been noticed before. See note i. 17, on 'quando ausuros.' The 'infant children' here are Julia, born the year before (ii. 54.), and Cali-

ut legiones solus habeat. sed non usque eo defectum Germanicum, neque praemia caedis aput interfectorem mansura. componit epistulas, quis amicitiam ei renuntiabat: addunt plerique iussum provincia decedere. nec Piso moratus ultra navis solvit, moderabaturque cursui, quo propius regrederetur, si mors Germanici Suriam aperuisset.

71. Caesar paulisper ad spem erectus, dein fesso corpore, ubi finis aderat, adsistentes amicos in hunc modum adloquitur: 'si fato concederem, iustus mihi dolor etiam adversus deos esset, quod me parentibus liberis patriae intra iuventam praematuro exitu raperent: nunc scelere Pisonis et Plancinae interceptus ultimas preces pectoribus vestris relinquo: referatis patri ac fratri, quibus acerbitatibus dilaceratus, quibus insidiis circumventus miserrimam vitam pessima morte finierim. si quos spes meae, si quos propinquus sanguis, etiam quos invidia erga viventem movebat, inlacrimabunt quondam florentem et tot bellorum superstitem muliebri fraude cecidisse. erit vobis locus querendi aput senatum, invocandi leges. non hoc praecipuum amicorum munus est, prosequi defunctum ignavo questu, sed quae voluerit meminisse, quae mandaverit exsequi. flebunt Germanicum etiam ignoti: vindicabitis vos, si me potius quam fortunam meam fovebatis. ostendite populo Romano divi Augusti neptem eandemque coniugem meam, numerate sex liberos. misericordia cum accusantibus erit, fingentibusque scelesta mandata aut non credent homines aut non ignoscent.' iuravere amici, dextram morientis contingentes, spiritum ante quam ultionem amissuros.

72. Tum ad uxorem versus per memoriam sui, per communes liberos oravit, exsueret ferociam, saevienti fortunae submitteret

gula (Suet. Calig. 10), then about seven years old. There were only two children with Germanicus (iii. 1).

renuntiabat] Cf. Cic. in Verr. iv. 36, "iste vehementer Sthenio infensus hospitium ei renuntiat, domo eius emigrat." Cf. Suet. Calig. 3, "ne tunc quidem ultra progressus quam ut et amicitiam ei more maiorum renuntiaret."

propius] Cf. iv. 5, "haud procul accirentur;" vi. 26, "quanto propius mala rei publicae viseret." The idea is, 'that being at a nearer point, he might return thence, might have the less distance to return.'

71. *parentibus*] i.e. Antonia his mother, and his adopted father Tiberius. Below by 'patri ac fratri,' Tiberius and Drusus are meant, so that the relationships are those of adoption. Germanicus had a brother Claudius, but from his utter insignificance he could hardly be intended.

prosequi] Cf. Agric. 46, "ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces: admiratione te potius et immortalibus laudibus etsi natura suppeditet, aemulatu decorabimus." Below, the 'sex liberos' are Nero, Drusus, Gaius (Caligula), Agrippina, Drusilla (the 'quinque liberis' of ii. 41), and Julia (ii. 54), or Livilla (Suet. Calig. 7).

72. *ferociam*] Cf. vi. 25, "aequi impatiens, dominandi avida, virilibus curis feminarum vitia exsuerat."

animum, neu regressa in urbem aemulatione potentiae validiores inritaret. haec palam et alia secreto, per quae ostendere credebatur metum ex Tiberio. neque multo post extinguitur, ingenti luctu provinciae et circumiacentium populorum. indoluere exterae nationes regesque: tanta illi comitas in socios, mansuetudo in hostis; visuque et auditu iuxta venerabilis, cum magnitudinem et gravitatem summae fortunae retineret, invidiam et adrogantiam effugerat.

73. Funus sine imaginibus et pompa per laudes ac memoriam virtutum eius celebre fuit. et erant qui formam, aetatem, genus mortis, ob propinquitatem etiam locorum, in quibus interiit, magni Alexandri fatis adaequarent. nam utrumque corpore decoro, genere insigni, haud multum triginta annos egressum, suorum insidiis externas inter gentes occidisse: sed hunc mitem erga amicos, modicum voluptatum, uno matrimonio, certis liberis egisse, neque minus proeliatorem, etiam si temeritas afuerit praepeditusque sit perculsas tot victoriis Germanias servitio premere. quod si solus arbiter rerum, si iure et nomine regio fuisset, tanto promptius adsecuturum gloriam militiae, quantum clementia, temperantia, ceteris bonis artibus praestitisset. corpus antequam cremaretur nudatum in foro Antiochensium, qui locus sepulturae destinabatur, praetuleritne veneficii signa, parum constitit; nam ut quis misericordia in Germanicum et praesumpta suspicione aut favore in Pisonem pronior, diversi interpretabantur.

74. Consultatum inde inter legatos quique alii senatorum aderant, quisnam Suriae praeficeretur. et ceteris modice nisis, inter Vibium Marsum et Cn. Sentium diu quaesitum: dein Marsus

73. *formam*] The sentence is irregular: it wavers between the idea of comparing the form, age, &c., of Germanicus with those of Alexander, and that of comparing Germanicus with the Macedonian king in respect of his form, &c. The words 'ob propinquitatem etiam locorum' seem put in loosely, without exactly fitting the construction of the rest of the sentence: 'they compared his contour, age, &c., to those of Alexander, and all the more they were inclined to do this, on account of the vicinity of the locality where he died.'

adsecuturum] Sc. 'fuisse.' Cf. ii. 31, "iuravitque Tiberius petiturum se vitam;" iii. 22, "neque enim cessurum nisi damnandi officio;" iv. 18, "neque mansurum Tiberio imperium si iis quoque legionibus cupido novandi fuisset;" xi. 3, "se honestius periturum dixisset."

sepulturae] He was not actually buried there, for his ashes were placed in the tomb of Augustus at Rome (iii. 4). A cenotaph was erected to him at Antioch ("ubi crematus," ii. 83), and 'sepultura' here is equivalent to these last words.

veneficii signa] Cf. Suet. Calig. 1, "obiit non sine suspicione veneni. Nam praeter livores qui toto corpore erant, et spumas quae per os fluebant cremati quoque cor inter ossa incorruptum repertum est, cuius ea natura existimatur ut tinctum veneno igne confici nequeat."

74. *Vibium Marsum*] He was consul suffectus 17 A.D., proconsul of Africa, and legatus pro praetore of Syria (xi. 10) in 47 A.D. Cn. Sentius Saturninus was consul suffectus A.D. 4. Below, P. Vitellius was the uncle of A. Vitellius, after-

seniori et acrius tendenti Sentio concessit. isque infamem veneficiis ea in provincia et Plancinae percaram, nomine Martinam, in urbem misit, postulantibus Vitellio ac Veranio ceterisque qui crimina et accussationem tamquam adversus receptos iam reos instruebant.

75. At Agrippina, quamquam defessa luctu et corpore aegro, omnium tamen quae ultionem morarentur intolerans, ascendit classem cum cineribus Germanici et liberis, miserantibus cunctis, quod femina nobilitate princeps, pulcherrimo modo matrimonio inter venerantes gratantisque aspici solita, tunc feralis reliquias sinu ferret, incerta ultionis, anxia sui et infelici fecunditate fortunae totiens obnoxia. Pisonem interim aput Coum insulam nuntius adsequitur excessisse Germanicum. quo intemperanter accepto caedit victimas, adit templa, neque ipse gaudium moderans et magis insolescente Plancina, quae luctum amissae sororis tum primum laeto cultu mutavit.

76. Adfluebant centuriones monebantque prompta illi legionum studia: repeteret provinciam non iure ablatam et vacuam. igitur quid agendum consultanti M. Piso filius properandum in urbem censebat: nihil adhuc inexpiabile admissum, neque suspiciones inbecillas aut inania famae pertimescenda. discordiam erga Germanicum odio fortasse dignam, non poena; et ademptione provinciae satis factum inimicis. quod si regrederetur, obsistente Sentio civile bellum incipi; nec duraturos in partibus centuriones militesque, aput quos recens imperatoris sui memoria et penitus infixus in Caesares amor praevaleret.

wards emperor. He served in Germany (i. 70).

receptos iam reos] 'As though already officially entered on the list for trial.' Notice was given of intended prosecutions, and when they were officially allowed, the accused were said to be 'recepti rei.'

75. *infelici*] Unhappy under the circumstances, because her large family all the more exposed her to casualties: her children were the source of anxiety to the widowed mother.

aput Coum insulam] 'Cous' is generally an adjective, but cf. Liv. xxxvii. 16 for its use as a substantive. There are two forms in Greek Κῶς and Κόως. Below, 'excessisse' is put absolutely for 'to have died,' a use only found in late writers. Cf. i. 5., Suet. August. 5., Valerius Flaccus, i. 826., Plin. N. H. vii. 13.

luctum] See Lipsius' Excursus on this subject. If, as he says, women wore white robes in mourning, Plancina adopted, in sign of festivity, coloured garments, and her usual ornaments of gold, &c.

76. *consultanti*] The dative may depend on 'properandum,' or what is more likely, it is put loosely to express the person for whose benefit the advice of Piso (the son) was given. Cf. xi. 3, "consultanti . . . . liberum mortis arbitrium ei permisit:" to him, when consulting, he expressed an opinion that unrestricted choice of death should be allowed him. Orelli quotes Cic. ad Fam. ix. 2, 4, "tibi igitur hoc censeo." Cf. also Virg. Aen. i. 102.

praevaleret] Not 'would prevail,' but merely 'exerted a stronger influence,' the mood being due to the oratio obliqua.

77. Contra Domitius Celer, ex intima eius amicitia, disseruit utendum eventu: Pisonem, non Sentium Suriae praepositum; huic fasces et ius praetoris, huic legiones datas. si quid hostile ingruat, quem iustius arma oppositurum, *quam* qui legati auctoritatem et propria mandata acceperit? relinquendum etiam rumoribus tempus quo senescant: plerumque innocentes recenti invidiae inpares. at si teneat exercitum, augeat vires, multa, quae provideri non possint, fortuito in melius casura. 'an festinamus cum Germanici cineribus adpellere, ut te inauditum et indefensum planctus Agrippinae ac vulgus imperitum primo rumore rapiant? est tibi Augustae conscientia, est Caesaris favor, sed in occulto; et perisse Germanicum nulli iactantius maerent quam qui maxime laetantur.'

78. Haud magna mole Piso, promptus ferocibus, in sententiam trahitur missisque ad Tiberium epistulis incusat Germanicum luxus et superbiae; seque pulsum, ut locus rebus novis patefieret, curam exercitus eadem fide qua tenuerit repetivisse. simul Domitium inpositum triremi vitare litorum oram praeterque insulas lato mari pergere in Suriam iubet. concurrentes desertores per manipulos conponit, armat lixas traiectisque in continentem navibus vexillum tironum in Suriam euntium intercipit, regulis Cilicum ut se auxiliis iuvarent scribit, haud ignavo ad ministeria belli iuvene Pisone, quamquam suscipiendum bellum abnuisset.

79. Igitur oram Lyciae ac Pamphyliae praelegentes, obviis navibus quae Agrippinam vehebant, utrimque infensi arma primo expediere: dein mutua formidine non ultra iurgium processum est, Marsusque Vibius nuntiavit Pisoni Romam ad dicendam causam veniret. ille eludens respondit adfuturum, ubi praetor,

77. *propria mandata*] 'Special orders.' Tiberius had appointed Piso 'legatus,' and given him especial instructions.

rapiant] 'Sweep you away to ruin.' Below, 'Augustae conscientia' means 'the consciousness on the part of Augusta of implication' in the schemes against Agrippina and Germanicus. Cf. ii. 43, "Plancinam haud dubie Augusta monuit aemulatione muliebri Agrippinam insectandi."

nulli] Tacitus uses the plural 'nulli' substantively also in H. ii. 20, "modum fortunae a nullis magis exigere quam quos in aequo viderunt." It is of rare occurrence. Cf., however, Virg. Georg. ii. 10, "nullis hominum cogentibus." Hirt. B. G. viii. 45, "nullis adversus Romanos auxilia denegabant."

78. *lato mari*] 'Across the wide expanse of sea;' not close to the line of coast.

vexillum tironum] See note on i. 38. Below the 'reguli Cilicum' would be the native princes still left in possession of parts of Cilicia. There was a native dynasty at Olbe in the Taurus, and probably Cilicia Trachea remained under the power of the family of Archelaus after his death. There was also a king in the Amanus (ii. 42).

79. *eludens*] Piso treated the summons of Marsus as entirely unauthorized, and also affected to believe that the trial on the charge of poisoning Germanicus would go on in the customary manner. No doubt the friends of Germanicus expected a special trial, as he was connected with Tiberius; and in fact (iii. 12) "id

qui de veneficiis quaereret, reo atque accusatoribus diem prodixisset. interim Domitius Laodiciam urbem Suriae adpulsus cum hiberna sextae legionis peteret, quod eam maxime novis consiliis idoneam rebatur, a Pacuvio legato praevenitur. id Sentius Pisoni per litteras aperit monetque ne castra corruptoribus, ne provinciam bello temptet. quosque Germanici memores aut inimicis eius adversos cognoverat, contrahit, magnitudinem imperatoris identidem ingerens et rem publicam armis peti; ducitque validam manum et proelio paratam.

80. Nec Piso, quamquam coepta secus cadebant, omisit tutissima e praesentibus, sed castellum Ciliciae munitum admodum, cui nomen Celendris, occupat; nam admixtis desertoribus et tirone nuper intercepto suisque et Plancinae servitiis auxilia Cilicum, quae reguli miserant, in numerum legionis composuerat. Caesarisque se legatum testabatur provincia, quam is dedisset, arceri non a legionibus (earum quippe accitu venire), sed a Sentio privatum odium falsis criminibus tegente. consisterent in acie, non pugnaturis militibus, ubi Pisonem ab ipsis parentem quondam appellatum, si iure ageretur, potiorem, si armis, non invalidum vidissent. tum pro munimentis castelli manipulos explicat, colle arduo et derupto; nam cetera mari cinguntur. contra veterani ordinibus ac subsidiis instructi: hinc militum, inde locorum asperitas, sed non animus, non spes, ne tela quidem nisi agrestia aut subitum in usum properata. ut venere in manus, non ultra dubitatum quam dum Romanae cohortes in aequum eniterentur: vertunt terga Cilices seque castello claudunt.

81. Interim Piso classem haud procul opperientem adpugnare

Germanico super leges praestitit quod in curia potius quam in foro, aput senatum quam aput iudices de morte eius anquirebatur." When the praetor was officially informed of an intended accusation (nomen deferri) he fixed a time for the trial (often on the tenth day from that whereon he first received the information). This was 'diem prodicere:' cf. Liv. ii. 61.

imperatoris] This must be, I think, Tiberius, as no explanation is added to show that it is used in a restricted meaning, and the presence of the words 'rem publicam' naturally suggests the Emperor on the throne. Sentius wished to point out the atrocity of entering on a hostile demonstration against Tiberius and the state.

80. *admodum*] Tacitus sometimes put this adverb before the adjective (i. 3, iv. 13), and sometimes after (H. ii. 78, H. iv. 5). Celendris was on the coast. It is now 'Gulnar.'

in numerum legionis] 'To make up the number of men required for a legion.' In H. i. 87 'in numeros legionis' means, 'to form the various subdivisions of a legion.' Below for the case of 'ordinibus,' cf. iii. 28.

inde locorum asperitas] Piso's troops had all the advantage of position, being drawn up on a steep and rugged hill: but there was not much else in his favour, for his troops were raw: on the other side was a bristling line ('asperitas') of disciplined soldiers.

in aequum eniterentur] 'Struggled up to a level with the forces of Piso,' for they had to force their way up the hill on which their opponents stood.

frustra temptavit; regressusque et pro muris, modo semet adflictando, modo singulos nomine ciens, praemiis vocans, seditionem coeptabat, adeoque commoverat, ut signifer legionis sextae signum ad eum transtulerit. tum Sentius occanere cornua tubasque et peti aggerem, erigi scalas iussit, ac promptissimum quemque succedere, alios tormentis hastas saxa et faces ingerere. tandem victa pertinacia Piso oravit ut traditis armis maneret in castello, dum Caesar, cui Syriam permitteret, consulitur. non receptae condiciones, nec aliut quam naves et tutum in urbem iter concessum est.

82. At Romae, postquam Germanici valetudo percrebuit cunctaque ut ex longinquo aucta in deterius adferebantur, dolor ira, et erumpebant questus. ideo nimirum in extremas terras relegatum, ideo Pisoni permissam provinciam; hoc egisse secretos Augustae cum Plancina sermones. vera prorsus de Druso seniores locutos: displicere regnantibus civilia filiorum ingenia, neque ob aliut interceptos, quam quia populum Romanum aequo iure complecti reddita libertate agitaverint. hos vulgi sermones audita mors adeo incendit, ut ante edictum magistratuum, ante senatus consultum sumpto iustitio desererentur fora, clauderentur domus. passim silentia et gemitus, nihil compositum in ostentationem; et quamquam neque insignibus lugentium abstinerent, altius animis maerebant. forte negotiatores, vivente adhuc Germanico Suria egressi,

81. *pro muris*] In xiv. 25, "proelium pro muris ausi erant," the sense must be 'in front of the walls, and outside them.' In xiv. 30, "stabat pro litore diversa acies," the sense is 'on the edge of the shore.' Cf. xv. 3, "pro ripa." Here the meaning seems to be 'in front, on the walls,' standing on the edge of them. In the previous chapter, on the other hand, 'pro munimentis' seems to be 'in front of the outworks, and outside them.'

peti aggerem] Cf. i. 65. The sense is clearly, that earth was to be fetched to fill up the ditch, and so enable the stormers to cross it.

82. *percrebuit*] So. xii. 6., xv. 19: on the other hand 'percrebrui' vi. 20., H. ii. 26.

hoc egisse] 'This was the meaning, the aim of those private conferences.' Cf. Juv. v. 156, "hoc agit ut doleas."

vera prorsus] Cf. i. 33, and Suet. Claud. 1, "nec dissimulasse umquam pristinum se rei publicae statum quandoque posset restiturum; unde existimo nonnullos tradere ausos suspectum eum Augusto revocatumque ex provincia, et quia cunctaretur interceptum veneno."

neque insignibus] Here the sense is, I think, 'although they did not also withhold outward signs of grief, their sorrow was deeper than their outward manifestation necessarily implied.' They were genuinely sorry, and besides that, they did not abstain from showing it outwardly. 'Neque' is equal to 'et non,' and 'et' means 'also' with reference to something to be mentioned subsequently, but already in the writer's mind. Cf. iii. 17, "patris quippe iussa nec potuisse filium detrectare," where the sense is perhaps, 'the son, besides other reasons, might not,' &c., although it is possible that 'esse' may be understood after 'iussa,' and 'nec' merely connect 'potuisse' with it. So iii. 29, "sed neque tum fuisse dubitaverim qui inluderent," 'then as well as now.' H. iv. 34, "Vocula nec adventum hostium exploravit," Vocula too, on his part, &c.

laetiora de valetudine eius attulere. statim credita, statim vulgata sunt: ut quisque obvius, quamvis leviter audita in alios atque illi in plures cumulata gaudio transferunt. cursant per urbem, moliuntur templorum fores; iuvat credulitatem nox et promptior inter tenebras adfirmatio. nec obstitit falsis Tiberius, donec tempore ac spatio vanescerent: et populus quasi rursum ereptum acrius doluit.

83. Honores, ut quis amore in Germanicum aut ingenio validus, reperti decretique: ut nomen eius Saliari carmine caneretur; sedes curules sacerdotum Augustalium locis superque eas querceae coronae statuerentur; ludos circenses eburna effigies praeiret, neve quis flamen aut augur in locum Germanici nisi gentis Iuliae crearetur. arcus additi Romae et aput ripam Rheni et in monte Suriae Amano, cum inscriptione rerum gestarum ac mortem ob rem publicam obisse; sepulchrum Antiochiae, ubi crematus, tribunal Epidaphnae, quo in loco vitam finierat. statuarum locorumve in quis colerentur haud facile quis numerum inierit. cum censeretur clipeus auro et magnitudine insignis inter auctores eloquentiae, adse-

illi] The pronoun refers to 'alios,' 'and those others.' Tacitus naturally regards those to whom the news was first told, as remote, compared with those who told it; and with reference to this view, he uses 'illi.' This is the explanation of the fact that 'hic' and 'ille' are sometimes used for the remoter and nearer respectively, instead of *vice versa*, because the writer's mental view is the reverse of that conveyed by his actual words. Cf. Liv. xxx. 30, "melior tutiorque est certa pax quam sperata victoria: haec in tua, illa in deorum manu est," where 'haec' is used for the remoter 'pax,' because it is foremost in the writer's mind. Cf. also Liv. xxiv. 29, "et mittentibus et missis ea laeta expeditio fuit. Nam et illis (missis) quod iam diu cupiebant . . . et hi (mittentes)," &c.

83. *Saliari carmine*] Augustus seems first to have been honoured by the insertion of his name in the Carmen Saliare. Only a few lines and some detached words are preserved. See Dr. Donaldson's Varronianus, p. 197, and Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities.

querceae coronae] A curule chair with an oak garland over it was to be placed for Germanicus wherever the 'sacerdotes Augustales' met, as he belonged to their 'collegium.' An oak garland was given for the preservation of a citizen's life.

praeiret] The image of Germanicus was to be carried in procession amongst those of the gods, before the commencement of the games. Germanicus was flamen Augustalis, Lat. Inscript. n. 3064. His successor was his adopted brother Drusus (n. 211), and then Nero (n. 663).

in monte Suriae Amano] The Amanus was a range of hills stretching from the Taurus down the east side of the Gulf of Issus, and also extending from the same point of the Taurus eastward to the Euphrates.

obisse] This infinitive depends on 'inscriptione,' or some word supplied from it: 'with a record of his exploits, and a statement that he died,' &c.

tribunal Epidaphnae] Some kind of raised stand, with an inscription probably, enumerating his titles, honours, &c. Epidaphne was a suburb of Antioch.

clipeus] That is a shield, enclosing a portrait of Germanicus. Livy (xxv. 39) speaks of a silver shield, with a likeness of Hasdrubal embossed on it. For the practice, cf. Pliny, N. H. xxxv. 3. Orelli mentions that many representations of such 'clypei' are extant, and refers to Eckhel, vi. p. 103, for a coin of Augustus with one on it, and to Visconti, Iconog. Rom. Tab. xii., for a portrait of Cicero

veravit Tiberius solitum paremque ceteris dicaturum: neque enim eloquentiam fortuna discerni, et satis inlustre, si veteres inter scriptores haberetur. equester ordo cuneum Germanici appellavit qui iuniorum dicebatur, instituitque uti turmae idibus Iuliis imaginem eius sequerentur. pleraque manent: quaedam statim omissa sunt aut vetustas oblitteravit.

84. Ceterum recenti adhuc maestitia soror Germanici Livia, nupta Druso, duos virilis sexus simul enixa est. quod rarum laetumque etiam modicis penatibus tanto gaudio principem adfecit, ut non temperaverit quin iactaret aput patres, nulli ante Romanorum eiusdem fastigii viro geminam stirpem editam; nam cuncta, etiam fortuita, ad gloriam vertebat. sed populo tali in tempore id quoque dolorem tulit, tamquam auctus liberis Drusus domum Germanici magis urgueret.

85. Eodem anno gravibus senatus decretis libido feminarum coercita cautumque, ne quaestum corpore faceret cui avus aut pater aut maritus eques Romanus fuisset. nam Vistilia praetoria familia genita licentiam stupri aput aediles vulgaverat, more inter veteres recepto, qui satis poenarum adversum inpudicas in ipsa professione flagitii credebant. exacta et a Titidio Labeone Vistiliae marito, cur in uxore delicti manifesta ultionem legis omisisset.

enclosed in a shield. In this sense some of the grammarians say the word is neuter (clipeum), but this is clearly not so always. Below, for 'auctores eloquentiae, cf. ii. 37.

cuneum Germanici] This passage is not easy to understand. Some make the 'cuneus iuniorum' refer to the 'ludi Troici,' an interpretation refuted by the words 'equester ordo.' Draeger, if I comprehend his meaning, divides the 'equites' into two divisions, 'iuniores,' the younger men (all under 45, I suppose), and 'seniores' or elders. But I do not see any proof of the use of the word 'cuneus' to denote a division of the kind mentioned. But probably as Marquardt, Orelli, Nipperdey, and others suppose, the 'quattuordecim ordines' set apart for the Equites in the theatre formed two 'cunei,' one for the younger, and the other for the elder members of the body. Compare Suet. Dom. 4, "quinquagenas tesseras in singulos cuneos equestris ac senatorii ordinis pronuntiavit."

idibus Iuliis] The 'travectio' of the knights took place on the 15th of July every year. They marched, on horseback, from the Temple of Honour to the Capitol. The image of Germanicus served for a standard, followed by all the knights. Cf. v. 4, "quorum imagines pro vexillis secuti forent duces imperatoresque deligerent."

84. *duos virilis sexus*] Germanicus, who died A.D. 23 (iv. 15), and Tiberius, put to death by Caligula (Suet. Cal. 15, 23).

auctus liberis] Cf. Agric. 6, "auctus est ibi filia." Cic. ad Attic. i. 2, "filiolo me auctum scito."

85. *Vistilia praetoria familia*] Perhaps she was the daughter of the praetor Sex. Vestilius in vi. 9.

exacta] I do not see that this is necessarily wrong. It is clear that 'exactae sunt rationes ultionis omissae' would be right, and perhaps, especially as there might be several reasons, 'exacta cur omisisset' is only a varied expression of the same idea. At all events it does not seem more strange than the plural in such phrases as ἀδύνατά ἐστι in Greek.

ultionem legis] That is, of the Lex Iulia de Adulteriis, by which a husband was required to separate from the wife taken in adultery. He alone had the right to bring her to trial within sixty days.

atque illo praetendente sexaginta dies ad consultandum datos necdum praeterisse, satis visum de Vistilia statuere; eaque in insulam Seriphon abdita est. actum et de sacris Aegyptiis Iudaicisque pellendis factumque patrum consultum, ut quattuor milia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta, quis idonea aetas, in insulam Sardiniam veherentur, coercendis illic latrociniis et, si ob gravitatem caeli interissent, vile damnum; ceteri cederent Italia, nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exsuissent.

86. Post quae rettulit Caesar capiendam virginem in locum Occiae, quae septem et quinquaginta per annos summa sanctimonia Vestalibus sacris praesederat; egitque grates Fonteio Agrippae et Domitio Pollioni, quod offerendo filias de officio in rem publicam certarent. praelata est Pollionis filia, non ob aliut quam quod mater eius in eodem coniugio manebat; nam Agrippa discidio domum imminuerat. et Caesar quamvis posthabitam decies sestertii dote solatus est.

87. Saevitiam annonae incusante plebe statuit frumento pretium, quod emptor penderet, binosque nummos se additurum negotiatoribus in singulos modios. neque tamen ob ea parentis patriae delatum et antea vocabulum adsumpsit, acerbeque increpuit eos, qui divinas occupationes ipsumque dominum dixerant.

necdum] Perhaps 'datos' is put for 'datos esse,' and then 'necdum' is correctly used. Others take 'necdum' for 'nondum,' and compare H. i. 31, "incipiens adhuc et necdum adulta;" and possibly this may be the right explanation, in a writer of the silver age.

de sacris Aegyptiis] The worship of Isis. Her temples were notoriously the haunts of vice. Cf. Juv. vi. 489, "aut apud Isiacae potius sacraria lenae;" also Juv. ix. 22, Ovid's Art. Amat. i. 77.

86. *capiendam*] 'Capere' is the technical word for the appointment of a vestal virgin. Cf. xv. 22, and Aul. Gell. i. 12. 13, "capi virgo propterea dici videtur, quia pontificis maximi manu prensa ab eo parente in cuius potestate est, veluti bello capta abducitur."

Pollionis filia] According to Lachmann, when a long vowel is followed by 'll,' one 'l' is omitted before an 'i' (not being the mark of a case); so mille, milia; stilla, stilicidium. Consequently 'Polionis,' the reading of the Cod. Med. here would be correct. The Greek form is Πωλίων, but nevertheless as a matter of fact 'Pollio' seems to have prevailed over the other form 'Polio.' At all events it is found in Mommsen's Inscript. regni Neapolitani 26 times, and in the Fasti Capitol. Triumph. See the note in Professor Munro's Lucret. i. 313.

87. *binosque nummos*] In 73 A.C. the price of the 'modius' or 2 gallons of wheat was fixed at 4 sesterces, or 10 ases, a peck. ("Ex senatus consulto et ex lege Terentia et Cassia frumentaria pretium constitutum frumento imperato in modios singulos, H.S. iiii. Cic. Verr. iii. 70). About the same number of years after our Lord, in the elder Pliny's time (N. H. xviii. 10), fine wheaten bread flour was 48 ases a modius, or 3 denarii (for the denarius then was equivalent to 16 ases). At this date therefore a peck of flour cost about 2 shillings, a bushel 8, and a quarter 64 shillings. Assuming the price of wheat to be ⅝ that of flour (see Elliott's Horae Apocalypt. part i. ch. 3), wheat would be in Pliny's time about 40 shillings a quarter. In the scarcity of the second Punic war, Polybius says wheat was 15 denarii a 'medimnus,' or 6 modii, or 2½ denarii a peck, or about 53 shillings a quarter.

dominum] The correlative of 'dominus' was 'servus,' the latter being the

unde angusta et lubrica oratio sub principe, qui libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat.

88. Reperio aput scriptores senatoresque eorundem temporum Adgandestrii principis Chattorum lectas in senatu litteras, quibus mortem Arminii promittebat, si patrandae neci venenum mitteretur; responsumque esse non fraude neque occultis, sed palam et armatum populum Romanum hostes suos ulcisci. qua gloria aequabat se Tiberius priscis imperatoribus, qui venenum in Pyrrum regem vetuerant prodiderantque. ceterum Arminius abscedentibus Romanis et pulso Maroboduo regnum adfectans libertatem popularium adversam habuit, petitusque armis cum varia fortuna certaret, dolo propinquorum cecidit: liberator hau dubie Germaniae et qui non primordia populi Romani, sicut alii reges ducesque, sed florentissimum imperium lacessierit, proeliis ambiguus, bello non victus. septem et triginta annos vitae, duodecim potentiae explevit, caniturque adhuc barbaras aput gentes, Graecorum annalibus ignotus, qui sua tantum mirantur, Romanis haud perinde celebris, dum vetera extollimus recentium incuriosi.

absolute property of his master, who possessed the ownership as though the slave were a chattel. The corresponding Greek term was δεσπότης. Cf. Eur. Hippol. 88, ἄναξ, θεοὺς γὰρ δεσπότας καλεῖν χρεών.

88. *scriptores senatoresque*] 'Certain writers, and those senators,' who might therefore be likely to be well informed.

priscis imperatoribus] The allusion seems to be to C. Fabricius, consul 287 A. C.

haud perinde celebris] 'Not so famous as he should be.' So Germ. 5, "possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur." Agric. 10, "mare ne ventis quidem perinde adtolli." For the masculine form 'celebris' cf. xiii. 47., xiv. 19. So 'acris,' 'equestris.' 'salubris' are found.

CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER III.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. 1. Progress of Agrippina towards Rome. 2. Her reception in Italy. 3. Absence of Tiberius, Antonia, and Augusta from the funeral procession. 4. Grief in the city on the day of the burial of Germanicus. 5. Remarks of the populace on the absence of pomp at the ceremony. 6. Notice issued by Tiberius on the subject. 7. Drusus visits the Illyrican legions. 8. Piso visits Drusus, 9. and returns to Rome. 10, 11. Impeachment of Piso. 12. Speech of Tiberius thereupon. 13. Statement of charge against Piso. 14. Weakness of the defence. 15. Plancina abandons her husband. Death of Piso. 16. His letter to Tiberius. 17, 18. Acquittal of Piso's son, and of Plancina. Proposals for disgracing Piso's memory. 19. Bestowal of priestly offices on Vitellius and others. Ovation of Drusus. Death of Vipsania. 20. Renewal of hostilities by Tacfarinas. 21. His defeat by Apronius. 22, 23. Impeachment of Lepida, and her condemnation. 24. Silanus allowed to return to Rome. 25. Lex Papia Poppaea. Increase of 'delatores.' 26—28. Digression on the subject of laws. 29. Marriage of Nero and Julia. 30. Death of L. Volusius and Sallustius Crispus. 31. Corbulo's complaint of want of respect shown him by the young L. Sulla. 32. Disturbances raised by Tacfarinas. Lepidus proconsul of Asia. 33. Caecina proposes to forbid the rulers of provinces taking their wives. 34. V. Messalinus opposes it. 35. Blaesus proconsul of Africa. 36. Repression of an abuse in the matter of the imperial statues. 37. Condemnation of Aequus and Cursor. 38. Impeachment of Cordus. Disturbances in Thrace, 39. repressed by Velleius. 40. Rising in Gaul. 41. The Andecavi and Turoni crushed by Aviola. 42. Death of Florus. 43. Disturbances amongst the Aedui raised by Sacrovir. 44. Exaggerated rumours at Rome in consequence. 45, 46. Operations of Silius. Death of Sacrovir. 47. Tiberius talks of visiting Gaul. 48. Death of Quirinus. 49—51. Impeachment and death of Lutorius. 52. Proposal by the Aediles to restrain the spread of luxury. 53, 54. Letter of Tiberius thereon to the Senate. 55. Remarks on the rise of luxury. 56, 57. Bestowal of the 'tribunicia potestas' on Drusus.

58. The Flamen Dialis claims a province. 59. The question deferred by Tiberius. Offence at the pride of Drusus. 60—63. Examination of the claims of Grecian states to establish 'asyla.' 64. Sickness of Augusta. 65. Prevailing sycophancy of the times. 66—68. Impeachment and condemnation of Silanus. 69. Flattery of Dolabella. 70. Impeachment of Cordus and others. 71. Discussion on Fortuna Equestris. Settlement of the claim of the Flamen Dialis. 72. The embellishment of the Basilica Pauli. Promised rebuilding of the Theatre of Pompeius by Tiberius. 73. Arrogance of Tacfarinas. 74. Operations of Blaesus against him. 75. Deaths of Saloninus and others. 76. Death of Junia and her funeral.

1. Nihil intermissa navigatione hiberni maris Agrippina Corcyram insulam advehitur, litora Calabriae contra sitam. illic paucos dies conponendo animo insumit, violenta luctu et nescia tolerandi. interim adventu eius audito intimus quisque amicorum et plerique militares, ut quique sub Germanico stipendia fecerant, multique etiam ignoti vicinis e municipiis, pars officium in principem rati, plures illos secuti, ruere ad oppidum Brundisium, quod naviganti celerrimum fidissimumque adpulsu erat. atque ubi primum ex alto visa classis, complentur non modo portus et proxima maris, sed moenia ac tecta, quaque longissime prospectari poterat, mae-

1. *litora Calabriae contra sitam*] For the position of the preposition after its substantive followed by a dependent genitive, cf. xiii. 15, "cubiculum Caesaris iuxta," and xiv. 9, "viam Miseni propter." Sometimes the preposition comes between the two substantives instead of after both, as iii. 72, "ornatum ad urbis;" iv. 5, "initio ab Suriae." This seems a poetical usage. Cf. Virg. Aen. vii. 234, "fata per Aeneae." The preposition is also placed by Tacitus after two coordinate substantives, as i. 60, "quantumque Amisiam et Lupiam amnes inter vastatum," and iv. 8, "disque et patria coram." This is also poetical. Cf. Virg. Aen. iii. 75, "oras et litora circum," and Georg. ii. 344, "frigusque caloremque inter." Also the preposition is found between two substantives, where the second is in apposition to the first, as ii. 60, "oppido a Canopo;" iv. 43, "montem apud Erycum." This is poetical. Cf. Virg. Aen. viii. 292, "rege sub Evandro." Ovid, Met. xi. 156, "iudice sub Tmolo." Again, the preposition is found between a substantive and an attributive adjective, as iii. 10, "iudice ab uno;" xii. 56, "lacu in ipso." Also between two coordinate substantives, as iv. 5, "Misenum apud et Ravennam," and H. iii. 19, "cumulos super et recentia caede vestigia." And lastly, after a simple substantive, as i. 65, "umentia ultra;" iv. 48, "lucem intra;" and xii. 21, "rostra iuxta." The last three forms are found in prose writers, Livy, Caesar, Cicero, Suetonius, &c., but not so frequently as in Tacitus.

plerique] 'Many,' not 'most,' as the word generally means. Tacitus often uses it in the former sense. Cf. iv. 9, "plerisque additis ut ferme amat posterior adulatio." Also xiii. 25, "milites sibi et plerosque gladiatores circumdedit." This sense of the word seems chiefly to occur in writers of the silver age. The next word, 'militaris,' is used substantively, as also in xiv. 33, "omissis castellis praesidiisque militarium." In H. ii. 75 the full phrase occurs, "robur notum viro militari." This use of 'militaris' is only found in the silver age.

proxima maris] This might of course mean 'the nearest portions of the sea,' as in iii. 73, "intima Africae" is 'the interior of Africa;' and in H. iii. 42 "proxima litorum" is 'the nearer portions of the shores.' Here, however, the sense is probably 'the parts of the land adjacent to the sea,' so that 'proxima' is used substantively for 'neighbourhood.' Cf. H. v. 16, "propiora fluminis."

rentium turba et rogitantium inter se, silentione an voce aliqua egredientem exciperent. neque satis constabat quid pro tempore foret, cum classis paulatim successit, non alacri, ut adsolet, remigio, sed cunctis ad tristitiam compositis. postquam duobus cum liberis, feralem urnam tenens, egressa navi defixit oculos, idem omnium gemitus; neque discerneres proximos alienos, virorum feminarumve planctus, nisi quod comitatum Agrippinae longo maerore fessum obvii et recentes in dolore anteibant.

2. Miserat duas praetorias cohortes Caesar, addito ut magistratus Calabriae Apulique et Campani suprema erga memoriam filii sui munera fungerentur. igitur tribunorum centurionumque umeris cineres portabantur; praecedebant incompta signa, versi fasces; atque ubi colonias transgrederentur, atrata plebes, trabeati equites pro opibus loci vestem odores aliaque funerum sollemnia cremabant. etiam quorum diversa oppida, tamen obvii et victimas atque aras dis manibus statuentes lacrimis et conclamationibus dolorem testabantur. Drusus Tarracinam progressus est cum Claudio fratre liberisque Germanici, qui in urbe fuerant. consules M. Valerius et M. Aurelius (iam enim magistratum occeperant) et

duobus cum liberis] Agrippina had given birth to a daughter at Lesbos (ii. 54) after her departure from Rome. The other child was Caius, afterwards Emperor (Suet. Calig. 10). The rest of Agrippina's family had remained in the city.

defixit oculos] This is a little obscure. The sense can hardly be 'fixed the gaze (of all) on herself,' in the absence of any genitive ('omnium,' 'civium,' or the like). The usual interpretation is the best: 'fixed her eyes on the ground,' although as far as I can find, 'in terram' or 'solo' is always added.

in dolore] These words, I think, are to be constructed with 'recentes,' so that 'recentes in dolore' answers to 'longo maerore fessum.' The distinctive force of the two words 'maeror' and 'dolor' is conveyed by Cicero, ad Attic. xii. 28, "maerorem minui, dolorem nec potui nec si possem vellem." Tacitus has elsewhere 'recens' without a preposition, as i. 41, "recens dolore et ira;" but the sense is perhaps rather 'fresh, untired, in the midst of their grief,' instead of 'in the fresh impulse of grief.'

2. *munera*] Tacitus generally uses 'munia' in the nominative and accusative plural when the sense is that of 'duties,' 'functions,' and 'munera' when it is that of 'gifts,' 'offerings.' But the distinction is not observed in H. iii. 13, "ceteris per militiae munera dispersis," and may be disregarded here. Or perhaps 'munera' is used designedly, because 'munia' would possibly seem to imply that this duty was usually allotted to the magistrates of Calabria, as one of their regular functions, which of course was not the case. The accusative after 'fungi' is not peculiar to Tacitus: it occurs in Terence, Plautus, Suetonius, and even Cicero.

incompta signa] These were the standards of the praetorian cohorts, not burnished up as usual, but in slovenly guise. The 'fasces' were no doubt those of the late Germanicus carried in reversed position.

ubi] For the mood after 'ubi' cf. Agric. 9, "ubi conventus ac iudicia poscerent." The subjunctive of course answers here to the Greek optative of indefinite frequency.

trabeati] Not, as Lipsius correctly observes, because the 'trabea' was a mourning dress, for it was not; but simply because it was the state dress of the knights, and they were to appear in full uniform. Below 'diversa oppida' is 'towns distant from, out of the route.' Cf. ii. 60, "diversum ad mare." iii. 59, "diverso terrarum."

senatus ac magna pars populi viam conplevere, disiecti et ut cuique libitum flentes; aberat quippe adulatio, gnaris omnibus laetam Tiberio Germanici mortem male dissimulari.

3. Tiberius atque Augusta publico abstinuere, inferius maiestate sua rati, si palam lamentarentur, an ne omnium oculis vultum eorum scrutantibus falsi intellegerentur. matrem Antoniam non aput auctores rerum, non diurna actorum scriptura reperio ullo insigni officio functam, cum super Agrippinam et Drusum et Claudium ceteri quoque consanguinei nominatim perscripti sint, seu valetudine praepediebatur, seu victus luctu animus magnitudinem mali perferre visu non toleravit. facilius crediderim Tiberio et Augusta, qui domo non excedebant, cohibitam, ut par maeror et matris exemplo avia quoque et patruus attineri viderentur.

4. Dies, quo reliquiae tumulo Augusti inferebantur, modo per silentium vastus, modo ploratibus inquies; plena urbis itinera, conlucentes per campum Martis faces. illic miles cum armis, sine insignibus magistratus, populus per tribus concidisse rem publicam, nihil spei reliquum clamitabant, promptius apertiusque quam ut meminisse imperitantium crederes. nihil tamen Tiberium magis penetravit quam studia hominum accensa in Agrippinam, cum decus patriae, solum Augusti sanguinem, unicum antiquitatis specimen appellarent versique ad caelum ac deos integram illi subolem ac superstitem iniquorum precarentur.

3. *diurna actorum scriptura*] These publications are spoken of as 'diurna urbis acta' (xiii. 31), and 'diurna populi Romani' (xvi. 22). They contained the news of the day, particulars of new buildings recently erected (xiii. 31), the doings of prominent citizens (xvi. 22), births, deaths, marriages, proceedings in the law courts, and similar intelligence.

par maeror] Either 'videretur' can be supplied, or 'esset,' in accordance with the principle spoken of in a previous note. See in c. 2 the note on 'postquam.'

4. *vastus*] 'Dreary.' Cf. Liv. v. 53, "res ipsa cogit vastam incendiis ruinisque relinquere urbem," and xxviii. 11, "agrum vastum ac desertum habere." Cf. also Sall. Jug. 52, "mons vastus ab natura et humano cultu." From the notion of size connected with desolate, waste places, the word is used for 'huge,' 'vast' in our sense. Cf. Phaedrus i. 5, "cervus vasti corporis." Ovid, Fast. ii. 322, "ut possit vastas exseruisse manus." It is often used of the sea, apparently with the combined idea of size and waste. Cf. Caes. B. G. iii. 12, "vasto et aperto mari." Cf. Agric. 10, and ii. 24.

populus per tribus] Every Roman citizen, whether patrician or plebeian, was included in some one of the thirty-five local tribes. The whole population therefore, it would seem, was marshalled in order by their several tribes to attend the funeral of Germanicus. The words can scarcely mean only that the whole people attended, so as to make up the full tale of tribes, without any regard to arrangement or order.

antiquitatis] 'Of the old-fashioned excellence.' Cf. Cic. pro Rabir. 10, "P. Rutilius qui documentum fuit hominibus nostris virtutis, antiquitatis, prudentiae." Below, 'iniquorum' is masculine: 'their enemies.' Cf. xiv. 3, "quem adeo iniquum," &c.; xiv. 52, "oblectamentis principis palam iniquum;" xii. 21, "iniquus Thraseae."

5. Fuere qui publici funeris pompam requirerent compararentque quae in Drusum patrem Germanici honora et magnifica Augustus fecisset. ipsum quippe asperrimo hiemis Ticinum usque progressum neque abscedentem a corpore simul urbem intravisse; circumfusas lecto Claudiorum Iuliorumque imagines; defletum in foro, laudatum pro rostris, cuncta a maioribus reperta aut quae posteri invenerint cumulata: at Germanico ne solitos quidem et cuicumque nobili debitos honores contigisse. sane corpus ob longinquitatem itinerum externis terris quoquo modo crematum: sed tanto plura decora mox tribui par fuisse, quanto prima fors negavisset. non fratrem, nisi unius diei via, non patruum saltem porta tenus obvium. ubi illa veterum instituta, praepositam toro effigiem, meditata ad memoriam virtutis carmina et laudationes, et lacrimas vel doloris imitamenta?

6. Gnarum id Tiberio fuit; utque premeret vulgi sermones, monuit edicto multos inlustrium Romanorum ob rem publicam obisse, neminem tam flagranti desiderio celebratum. idque et sibi et cunctis egregium, si modus adiceretur. non enim eadem decora principibus viris et imperatori populo, quae modicis domibus aut civitatibus. convenisse recenti dolori luctum et ex maerore solacia; sed referendum iam animum ad firmitudinem, ut quondam divus Iulius amissa unica filia, ut divus Augustus ereptis nepoti-

5. *asperrimo hiemis*] Cf. vi. 27, "extremo anni;" H. v. 18, "extremo paludis;" iii. 59, "diverso terrarum." Sometimes a preposition is added. Cf. i. 53, "in prominenti litoris;" iv. 74, "in proximo Campaniae." According to Draeger this last is unclassical, and rare even in the silver age.

Iuliorumque] Ernesti wants to substitute 'Liviorumque'—but this is emendation running mad—on the ground that Drusus was not a member of the 'Iulia gens' even by adoption. But (iii. 76) at the funeral of Junia, wife of C. Cassius, the images of twenty illustrious families were carried in procession; so that probably a very small amount of connexion furnished an excuse for a large display of images. As Augustus was connected with the 'Claudia gens,' it is most likely that he would send the images of his own 'gens' to do honour to Drusus.

laudatum] The technical word used for a funeral eulogium was 'laudatio.' This was delivered as the funeral procession stopped in its route before the 'rostra' in the Forum. Cf. Cic. de Orat. ii. 84, "nostrae laudationes quibus in foro utimur." The Greek funeral speeches were rather panegyrics on the state to which the dead belonged than personal eulogiums on individuals.

fratrem] That is, Drusus, the son of Tiberius, the adopted father of Germanicus. The uncle was Tiberius himself, who is sometimes called 'patruus,' and sometimes (as ii. 71) 'pater' of Germanicus.

praepositam] This was an image of wax, placed on the top of the funeral bier, the corpse being of course concealed below. This seems to have been first done at the funeral of Augustus. Cf. Dio lvi. 34, *ἐν αὐτῇ* (a couch) *τὸ μὲν σῶμα κάτω που ἐν θήκῃ συνεκέκρυπτο· εἰκὼν δὲ δή τις αὐτοῦ κηρίνη ἐν ἐπινικίᾳ στολῇ ἐξεφαίνετο.*

6. *Gnarum*] Cf. i. 51.

unica filia] This was Julia, married to C. Pompeius, to cement the political union formed between him and her father. She died in childbirth, to the intense regret of her husband (Plutarch, Pompeius), and her father also. Cicero speaks of this, Ad Q. Fr. iii. 1. 9, "ad eas ego se litteras

bus abstruserint tristitiam. nil opus vetustioribus exemplis, quotiens populus Romanus clades exercituum, interitum ducum, funditus amissas nobiles familias constanter tulerit. principes mortales, rem publicam aeternam esse. proin repeterent sollemnia, et quia ludorum Megalesium spectaculum suberat, etiam voluptates resumerent.

7. Tum exsuto iustitio reditum ad munia, et Drusus Illyricos ad exercitus profectus est, erectis omnium animis petendae e Pisone ultionis et crebro questu, quod vagus interim per amoena Asiae atque Achaiae adroganti et subdola mora scelerum probationes subverteret. nam vulgatum erat missam, ut dixi, a Cn. Sentio famosam veneficiis Martinam subita morte Brundisii extinctam, venenumque nodo crinium eius occultatum, nec ulla in corpore signa sumpti exitii reperta.

8. At Piso praemisso in urbem filio datisque mandatis per quae principem molliret ad Drusum pergit, quem haud fratris interitu trucem quam remoto aemulo aequiorem sibi sperabat. Tiberius quo integrum iudicium ostentaret, exceptum comiter iuvenem sueta erga filios familiarum nobiles liberalitate auget. Drusus Pisoni, si vera forent quae iacerentur, praecipuum in dolore suum locum respondit: sed malle falsa et inania nec cuiquam mortem Germanici exitiosam esse. haec palam et vitato omni secreto; neque dubitabantur praescripta ei a Tiberio, cum incallidus alioqui et facilis iuventa senilibus tum artibus uteretur.

9. Piso Delmatico mari tramisso relictisque aput Anconam navibus per Picenum ac mox Flaminiam viam adsequitur legionem, quae e Pannonia in urbem, dein praesidio Africae ducebatur: eaque res agitata rumoribus, ut in agmine atque itinere crebro se

nihil rescripsi ne gratulandi quidem causa, propter eius luctum." Orelli quotes Senec. de Consolat. ad Marciam xiv. 3, "C. Caesar cum Britanniam peragraret . . audiit decessisse filiam publica secum fata ducentem . . . tamen intra tertium diem imperatoria obiit munia et tam cito dolorem vicit quam omnia solebat." Cf. also Suet. Aug. 65, "aliquanto patientius mortem quam dedecora suorum tulit."

Megalesium spectaculum suberat] Livy (xxix. 14) says the Megalesia were fixed for the 12th of April (prid. idus). Ovid (Fasti iv. 179) tells us they were celebrated on the 4th of April. No doubt their celebration had been put forward to the earlier date. See Dr. Smith's Dict. of Antiquities.

7. *petendae e Pisone ultionis*] Cf. ii. 59.

8. *haud fratris interitu trucem*] For the omission of 'tam' cf. v. 6, "ne memoriam nostri per maerorem quam laeti retineatis." Orelli quotes Liv. xxvi. 31, "non quid ego fecerim in disquisitionem venit quam quid isti pati debuerint."

dubitabantur] For the personal use of the verb, instead of the more natural impersonal construction, cf. i. 61, "accisae iam reliquiae consedisse intellegebantur;" and xv. 6, "adventare Caesennius Paetus audiebatur."

9. *ut*] 'How.' Cf. H. i. 79, "mirum dictu ut sit omnis Sarmatarum virtus velut extra ipsos;" also i. 61, "referebant . . . utque signis et aquilis per superbiam illuserit;" H. i. 37, "auditisne

militibus ostentavisset. ab Narnia, vitandae suspicionis an quia pavidis consilia in incerto sunt, Nare ac mox Tiberi devectus auxit vulgi iras, quia navem tumulo Caesarum adpulerat dieque et ripa frequenti, magno clientium agmine ipse, feminarum comitatu Plancina et vultu alacres incessere. fuit inter inritamenta invidiae domus foro imminens festa ornatu conviviumque et epulae et celebritate loci nihil occultum.

10. Postera die Fulcinius Trio Pisonem aput consules postulavit. contra Vitellius ac Veranius ceterique Germanicum comitati tendebant, nullas esse partis Trioni; neque se accussatores, sed rerum indices et testes mandata Germanici perlaturos. ille dimissa eius causae delatione, ut priorem vitam accusaret obtinuit, petitumque est a principe cognitionem exciperet. quod ne reus quidem abnuebat, studia populi et patrum metuens: contra Tiberium spernendis rumoribus validum et conscientiae matris innexum esse; veraque aut in deterius credita iudice ab uno facilius discerni, odium et invidiam apud multos valere. haud fallebat Tiberium moles cognitionis quaque ipse fama distraheretur. igitur paucis familiarium adhibitis minas accusantium et hinc preces audit integramque causam ad senatum remittit.

11. Atque interim Drusus rediens Illyrico, quamquam patres censuissent ob receptum Maroboduum et res priore aestate gestas ut ovans iniret, prolato honore urbem intravit. post quae reo L. Arruntium, P. Vinicium, Asinium Gallum, Aeserninum Marcellum,

ut postulentur." In other writers it is more usually found after 'videre,' until the silver age.

tumulo Caesarum] This was the mausoleum built by Augustus, 27 A.C., in the middle of the Campus Martius, between the Pincian Hill and the river.

dieque et ripa frequenti] 'Both in broad daylight, and when the bank was crowded.' I do not see any force in Walther's objection that in this sense 'frequenti ripa' would have been the order. He translates it, 'at an hour of the day when the bank was usually crowded,' so that the adjective qualifies both substantives, which of course it may easily do; but it is awkward, I think, to combine 'dies frequens,' in the sense of 'the usually crowded period of the day,' and 'ripa frequens,' 'an actually crowded bank;' for the mention of the last fact makes the notice of the first superfluous. Below, 'nihil occultum' is equivalent to 'quod nihil occultum erat;' cf. xii. 35, and the note there.

10. *distraheretur*] Cf. i. 4, "dominos variis rumoribus differebant;" and iii. 12, "differrique etiam per externos tamquam veneno interceptus esset." The sense appears therefore to be, 'with what various interpretations his own conduct was being discussed on all sides.'

11. *Illyrico*] For the case, cf. ii. 69, and the note there on 'Aegypto.' Below, L. Arruntius was consul A.D. 6, and son of L. Arruntius, consul 22 A.C. According to Dio (lviii. 27) he killed himself in the year A.D. 37.

P. Vinicium] The MS. has 'fulnicium,' from which Nipperdey elicits 'P. Vinicius.' There is a L. Vinicius amongst the various readings in Suet. Aug. 64. There is a M. Vinicius in vi. 15, but P. Vinicius is nearer to 'fulnicius.' The 'gens Vinicia' was an illustrious one. It sprang from Cales (vi. 15), the founder of the family being a Roman knight. M. Vinicius had two sons, Publius Vinicius and

Sex. Pompeium patronos petenti iisque diversa excusantibus M'. Lepidus et L. Piso et Livineius Regulus adfuere, adrecta omni civitate, quanta fides amicis Germanici, quae fiducia reo; satin cohiberet ac premeret sensus suos Tiberius. haud alias intentior populus plus sibi in principem occultae vocis aut suspicacis silentii permisit.

12. Die senatus Caesar orationem habuit meditato temperamento. patris sui legatum atque amicum Pisonem fuisse adiutoremque Germanico datum a se auctore senatu rebus aput orientem administrandis. illic contumacia et certaminibus asperasset iuvenem exituque eius laetatus esset, an scelere extinxisset, integris animis diiudicandum. 'nam si legatus officii terminos, obsequium erga imperatorem exsuit eiusdemque morte et luctu meo laetatus est, odero seponamque a domo mea et privatas inimicitias non vi principis ulciscar: sin facinus in cuiuscumque mortalium nece vindicandum detegitur, vos vero et liberos Germanici et nos parentes iustis solaciis adficite. simulque illud reputate, turbide et seditiose tractaverit exercitus Piso, quaesita sint per ambitionem studia militum, armis repetita provincia, an falsa haec in maius vulgaverint accusatores, quorum ego nimiis studiis iure suscenseo. nam quo pertinuit nudare corpus et contrectandum vulgi oculis permittere differrique etiam per externos tamquam veneno interceptus esset, si incerta adhuc ista et scrutanda sunt? defleo equidem filium meum semperque deflebo: sed neque reum prohibeo quo minus cuncta proferat, quibus innocentia eius sublevari aut, si qua fuit iniquitas Germanici, coargui possit, vosque oro ne, quia dolori meo causa conexa est, obiecta crimina pro adprobatis accipiatis. si quos propinquus sanguis aut fides sua patronos dedit, quantum

L. Vinicius, consul suffectus 33 A.C. The son of the former was M. Vinicius, consul suffectus 19 A.C.; his grandson P. Vinicius, consul A.D. 2; and his great-grandson M. Vinicius, consul A.D. 30 and 45 (vi. 15). L. Vinicius had a son L. Vinicius, consul suffectus 5 A.C. The question lies here between P. Vinicius (consul A.D. 2), or L. Vinicius (consul 5 A.C.), and in the absence of any decisive argument I have printed 'P. Vinicium' as nearer in form to 'fulnicium' than 'L. Vinicium.' I take this note from Nipperdey.—Aeserninus Marcellus was son of M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus, consul 22 A.C., and a daughter of Asinius Pollio (Suet. Aug. 43). Sextus Pompeius (i. 7) was consul A.D. 14, and perhaps son of Sextus Pompeius, consul in the year 35 A.C.

excusantibus] This combination of participles in different cases is not common, although it is found in other writers as well. Cf. H. i. 45, "vinciri iussum et maiores poenas daturum adfirmans praesenti exitio subtraxit;" ii. 23, "quo levarentur alvei manantes per latera et fluctu superurgente." Nipperdey quotes Sall. Jug. 98, "ipse paulatim dispersos milites neque minus hostibus conturbatis in unum contrahit."

12. *legatum*] He had been governor of Hispania Citerior after his consulate. Cf. iii. 13, "ambitiose avareque habitam Hispaniam." Hispania Ulterior was not an imperial province.

quisque eloquentia et cura valet, iuvate periclitantem: ad eundem laborem, eandem constantiam accusatores hortor. id solum Germanico super leges praestiterimus, quod in curia potius quam in foro, aput senatum quam aput iudices de morte eius anquiritur: cetera pari modestia tractentur. nemo Drusi lacrimas, nemo maestitiam meam spectet, nec si qua in nos adversa finguntur.'

13. Exim biduum criminibus obiciendis statuitur utque sex dierum spatio interiecto reus per triduum defenderetur. tum Fulcinius vetera et inania orditur, ambitiose avareque habitam Hispaniam; quod neque convictum noxae reo, si recentia purgaret, neque defensum absolutioni erat, si teneretur maioribus flagitiis. post quem Servaeus et Veranius et Vitellius consimili studio, et

super leges] The duty of trying persons accused of murder or poisoning would devolve in ordinary cases on the proper court, that of the 'quaestores parricidii,' appointed for the trial of such offences. These 'quaestiones perpetuae' were held in one of the basilicas adjoining the Forum.

pari modestia] The trial of Piso would be conducted pretty nearly as if Germanicus had been a private citizen: no alteration, or trifling ones only, would be made in the usual routine observed in similar cases. The moderation displayed in all other particulars would match ('pari') that displayed already in refusing to make any alteration in the arrangements for the trial, except in the locality.

13. *utque sex dierum spatio*, &c.] For the combination here of the forms 'biduum statuitur criminibus obiciendis' and 'ut . . . defenderetur,' cf. iii. 63, "figere aera sacrandam ad memoriam neu specie religionis in ambitionem delaberentur;" iv. 9, "de reddenda re publica utque consules seu quis alius regimen susciperent." Cf. Liv. xxi. 18, "legatos in Africam mittunt ad percunctandos Carthaginienses . . . et si faterentur ut indicerent populo Carthaginiensi bellum." The period mentioned here as allowed to the accusers and accused, was, I imagine, specially fixed by the Senate for the occasion. Originally a trial seems to have been prolonged as long as those who were concerned in it found necessary. So at least Tacitus, or the author of the work De Oratoribus, asserts: "transeo ad formam et consuetudinem veterum iudiciorum, quae etsi nunc aptior exstiterit, eloquentiam tamen illud forum magis exercebat, in quo nemo intra paucissimas horas perorare cogebatur et liberae comperendinationes erant, et modum dicendi sibi quisque sumebat et numerus neque dierum neque patronorum finiebatur" (c. 38). Cn. Pompeius however, when sole consul, 52 A.C., in the law 'de ambitu' abridged this licence, and enacted that the examination of witnesses should last not longer than three days, and that then the accuser and accused should make their speeches on the fourth day, two hours being allowed for the former, and three for the latter. From the language of Tacitus in the Dialogue, probably the same restrictions were introduced into other trials than those 'de ambitu,' as he says "primus tertio consulatu Cn. Pompeius astrinxit, imposuitque veluti fraenos eloquentiae," which words certainly seem to imply more than an arrangement confined to one species of trial. Pliny the younger however speaks of a different amount of time allowed, for he says (Epist. iv. 9), "nam cum ex lege accusator sex horas, novem reus accepisset," and "lege cautum . . . ut sex horae accusatori novem vero reo darentur." As the time granted to Piso and his accuser was so exceptionally long, I suppose it to have been so arranged in consequence of the importance of the trial. Below, 'quod neque convictum,' &c., is 'which, if proved, would involve the accused in no guilt; and if answered, would not lead to his acquittal.'

Servaeus] Q. Servaeus had been praetor (vi. 7), legatus pro praetore of Commagene (ii. 56), and once was on the staff of Germanicus ('comes,' vi. 7). He was rewarded for his zeal in behalf of Germanicus with the 'sacerdotium' (iii. 19).

multa eloquentia Vitellius, obiecere odio Germanici et rerum novarum studio Pisonem vulgus militum per licentiam et sociorum iniurias eo usque conrupisse, ut parens legionum a deterrimis appellaretur; contra in optimum quemque, maxime in comites et amicos Germanici saevisse; postremo ipsum devotionibus et veneno peremisse; sacra hinc et immolationes nefandas ipsius atque Plancinae, petitam armis rem publicam, utque reus agi posset, acie victum.

14. Defensio in ceteris trepidavit; nam neque ambitionem militarem neque provinciam pessimo cuique obnoxiam, ne contumelias quidem adversum imperatorem infitiari poterat: solum veneni crimen visus est diluisse, quod ne accusatores quidem satis firmabant, in convivio Germanici, cum super eum Piso discumberet, infectos manibus eius cibos arguentes. quippe absurdum videbatur inter aliena servitia et tot adstantium visu, ipso Germanico coram, id ausum; offerebatque familiam reus et ministros in tormenta flagitabat. sed iudices per diversa inplacabiles erant, Caesar ob bellum provinciae inlatum, senatus numquam satis credito sine fraude Germanicum interisse. * * scripsissent expostulantes, quod haud minus Tiberius quam Piso abnuere. simul populi ante curiam voces audiebantur: non temperaturos manibus, si patrum sententias evasisset. effigiesque Pisonis traxerant in Gemonias ac divellebant, ni iussu principis protectae repositaeque forent. igitur

He was afterwards accused of complicity with Sejanus (vi. 7). Veranius was legatus of Cappadocia (ii. 56), consul in A.D. 49, legatus of Britain (Agric. 14), and died within a year of his appointment. Vitellius (Publius) served under Germanicus in his German campaigns (i. 70), like his two partners in the accusation of Piso received the 'sacerdotium' in recognition of his services, and put an end to his life by suicide, when accused of giving up the keys of the treasury of which he was in charge, to further the schemes of Sejanus (v. 8).

petitam armis] Cf. ii. 80.

14. *obnoxiam*] Cf. ii. 75, "fortunae toties obnoxia," and xiv. 40, "orbitate et pecunia insidiis obnoxius." The idea of course is originally that of being liable to punishment for some offence. Cf. Plaut. Trucul. iv. 3. 61, "ego me tibi obnoxium esse fateor, culpae compotem." The word easily passes from this sense to the meaning it has in the above passages: 'given up to,' 'exposed to.'

tot adstantium visu] 'Under the eyes of so many bystanders.' For some remarks on the use of the ablative case by Tacitus, see the notes on iii. 24 and 28. Below, 'offerebatque familiam reus' is 'the accused offered his slaves for examination under torture.' In return for this, he demanded to have the attendants of Germanicus similarly examined.

scripsissent] The passage is hopelessly corrupt. Below, 'manibus' is the dative. Cf. Liv. xxviii. 44, "temperando linguae juvenis senem vicero;" Tac. xiii. 3, "nemo temperare risui;" with a different construction, "ab excidio civitatis temperavere" (H. i. 63).

divellebant] This is the reading of the MS., and is no doubt correct. The people had dragged off Piso's statue, and were on the point of chopping it in pieces, when they were prevented from carrying out their purpose. 'Devellebant' would mean that the people dragged the statue from the pedestal; but this would not suit after 'traxerant,' as it must have preceded that operation. For this demo-

inditus lecticae et a tribuno praetoriae cohortis deductus est, vario rumore, custos saluti an mortis exactor sequeretur.

15. Eadem Plancinae invidia, maior gratia; eoque ambiguum habebatur quantum Caesari in eam liceret. atque ipsa, donec mediae Pisoni spes, sociam se cuiuscumque fortunae et, si ita ferret, comitem exitii promittebat: ut secretis Augustae precibus veniam obtinuit, paulatim segregari a marito, dividere defensionem coepit. quod reus postquam sibi exitiabile intellegit, an adhuc experiretur dubitans, hortantibus filiis durat mentem senatumque rursum ingreditur; redintegratamque accusationem, infensas patrum voces, adversa et saeva cuncta perpessus, nullo magis exterritus est quam quod Tiberium sine miseratione, sine ira, obstinatum clausumque vidit, ne quo adfectu perrumperetur. relatus domum, tamquam defensionem in posterum meditaretur, pauca conscribit obsignatque et liberto tradit; tum solita curando corpori exsequitur. dein multam post noctem, egressa cubiculo uxore, operiri fores iussit; et coepta luce perfosso iugulo, iacente humi gladio, repertus est.

16. Audire me memini ex senioribus visum saepius inter manus Pisonis libellum, quem ipse non vulgaverit; sed amicos eius dictitavisse, literas Tiberii et mandata in Germanicum contineri, ac destinatum promere aput patres principemque arguere, ni elusus a Seiano per vana promissa foret; nec illum sponte extinctum, verum inmisso percussore. quorum neutrum adseveraverim: neque

lition of a statue, cf. Juv. x. 58, "descendunt statuae restemque sequuntur: Ipsas deinde rotas bigarum impacta securis Caedit et immeritis franguntur crura caballis."

custos saluti] Cf. i. 3, "subsidia dominationi," and i. 24, "rector iuveni."

15. *donec mediae Pisoni spes*] Whilst Piso's expectations were evenly balanced: whilst he fluctuated between hopes and fears.

si ita ferret] For the same impersonal use, cf. H. ii. 44, "hos certe nondum victos et, si ita ferret, honestius in acie perituros." The full phrase would be 'res,' 'occasio,' or the like. Cf. Cic. ad Fam. x. 21, "nec depugnare si occasio tulerit paratior fuit quisquam."

nullo] This use of 'nullo' for 'nulla re' is quite late. It occurs in Seneca (cf. De Benef. ii. 25. 1, "nullo magis Caesarem Augustum demeruit") and Quintilian (cf. ii. 16. 12, "deus nullo magis hominem separavit a ceteris animalibus quam dicendi facultate").

curando corpori] Cf. Hor. Epist. i. 4. 15, "me pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute vises;" and ibid. 2. 29, "in cute curanda plus aequo operata iuventa."

16. *Audire me memini*] This use of the present infinitive after 'memini' is usual, and seems to me a result of the fact that the Latin infinitive is, like the Greek, a verbal noun, and is so far regarded as such as to lose, in the present expression, all trace of time. Unless this were so, 'audivisse' would have been the right tense to point out time anterior to that of the principal verb 'memini.' As it is, the meaning is 'I remember (the) hearing.' This fact that the infinitive is a verbal noun of course explains why the latter of two verbs is in the infinitive mood; the verb in that particular inflection being virtually a substantive, can be made (in the accusative case) the object of the first verb: thus 'video te esse,' 'I see your existence.' Cf. the note on i. 39, under 'pergere.'

tamen occulere debui narratum ab iis qui nostram ad iuventam duraverunt. Caesar flexo in maestitiam ore suam invidiam tali morte quaesitam aput senatum * * crebrisque interrogationibus exquirit, qualem Piso diem supremum noctemque exegisset. atque illo pleraque sapienter, quaedam inconsultius respondente, recitat codicillos a Pisone in hunc ferme modum compositos: 'conspiratione inimicorum et invidia falsi criminis oppressus, quatenus veritati et innocentiae meae nusquam locus est, deos inmortales testor vixisse me, Caesar, cum fide adversum te, neque alia in matrem tuam pietate; vosque oro liberis meis consulatis, ex quibus Cn. Piso qualicumque fortunae meae non est adiunctus, cum omne hoc tempus in urbe egerit, M. Piso repetere Syriam dehortatus est. atque utinam ego potius filio iuveni quam ille patri seni cessisset. eo inpensius precor ne meae pravitatis poenas innoxius luat. per quinque et quadraginta annorum obsequium, per collegium consulatus quondam divo Augusto parenti tuo probatus et tibi amicus nec quicquam post haec rogaturus salutem infelicis filii rogo.' de Plancina nihil addidit.

17. Post quae Tiberius adulescentem crimine civilis belli purgavit, patris quippe iussa nec potuisse filium detrectare, simul nobilitatem domus, etiam ipsius quoquo modo meriti gravem casum miseratus. pro Plancina cum pudore et flagitio disseruit, matris preces obtendens, in quam optimi cuiusque secreti questus magis ardescebant. id ergo fas aviae, interfectricem nepotis adspicere, adloqui, eripere senatui. quod pro omnibus civibus leges obtineant, uni Germanico non contigisse. Vitellii et Veranii voce defletum Caesarem, ab imperatore et Augusta defensam Plancinam. proinde venena et artes tam feliciter expertas verteret in

nostram ad iuventam] Piso's death took place A.D. 20. Tacitus was born about A.D. 53. There was therefore an interval of about thirty years between the two events. Suppose any one was twenty years old at the former date, he would be about fifty at the birth of Tacitus; and if Tacitus heard the circumstance told when he was twenty, the narrator would be only seventy.

exquirit] These questions were asked, some suggest, of Piso's son; but the text is incomplete, and nothing is certain.

per collegium consulatus] He was consul 7 A.C. with Tiberius.

17. *nec potuisse*] This does not seem to be put for 'ne potuisse quidem.' The construction may be 'patris quippe iussa esse, nec potuisse,' &c., or 'nec' is equivalent to 'et non,' and the sense will be, 'the son, besides other possible reasons, had not been able.' The first explanation, I think, is the best. See note on ii. 82, under 'neque insignibus.'

cum pudore et flagitio] Tiberius felt shame personally: he was conscious of doing a disgraceful act, and the act was thought disgraceful by those before whom it was done, and really was so: 'with a sense of shame, and real disgrace.'

proinde] 'Accordingly, as a fitting conclusion, she had better turn.' The MS. has 'perinde,' 'equally.' 'Proinde' is used in the sense of 'equally' in Lucret. iv. 999, "proinde quasi ignotas facies atque ora tuantur," and Plautus,

Agrippinam, in liberos eius, egregiamque aviam ac patruum sanguine miserrimae domus exsatiaret. biduum super hac imagine cognitionis absumptum, urguente Tiberio liberos Pisonis matrem uti tuerentur. et cum accusatores ac testes certatim perorarent respondente nullo, miseratio quam invidia augebatur. primus sententiam rogatus Aurelius Cotta consul (nam referente Caesare magistratus eo etiam munere fungebantur) nomen Pisonis radendum fastis censuit, partem bonorum publicandam, pars ut Cn. Pisoni filio concederetur isque praenomen mutaret; M. Piso exsuta dignitate et accepto quinquagies sestertio in decem annos relegaretur, concessa Plancinae incolumitate ob preces Augustae.

18. Multa ex ea sententia mitigata sunt a principe: ne nomen Pisonis fastis eximeretur, quando M. Antonii, qui bellum patriae fecisset, Iuli Antonii, qui domum Augusti violasset, manerent. et M. Pisonem ignominiae exemit concessitque ei paterna bona, satis firmus, ut saepe memoravi, adversum pecuniam et tum pudore absolutae Plancinae placabilior. atque idem, cum Valerius Messalinus signum aureum in aede Martis Ultoris, Caecina Severus

Trin. iii. 2. 33, "ubi proinde ac merere summas habeo gratias." Cf. also Sall. Jug. 4. But Tacitus generally uses 'perinde' in this sense: xiii. 49, "cetera per omnes imperii partes perinde egregia quam si," &c.; but 'proinde' in the sense of 'accordingly:' cf. i. 11, "proinde non ad unum omnia deferrent;" ii. 65, "proinde tradito Cotye veniret." I have therefore altered 'perinde' into 'proinde' in the text.

super hac imagine] This is probably the true reading, but 'super haec' seems to have been first written in the MS., and then to have been corrected. Generally in Tacitus 'super' with an accusative means 'besides,' or 'beyond,' or 'above' (cf. iii. 14, "super eum discumberet"), and 'super' with an ablative, 'concerning,' 'about.' But Suet., Jul. 87, has 'super cenam' in the sense of 'over supper,' as we should say; and possibly the sense might be here a sort of local one: 'the time was wasted over these proceedings.'

miseratio quam invidia] Cf. iii. 32, "honori quam ignominiae." Walther says the sense is not the same as if 'potius' were inserted, for the words mean that it was not the odium that was increased, but rather compassion; whereas with 'potius' it would imply that both were increased, but compassion the more of the two. This is hardly the case, and a better explanation would be that 'augebatur' itself has the force of a comparative. Cf. i. 58, "pacem quam bellum probabam."

eo etiam munere] The opportunity of giving their opinion, when asked, which the consuls did not enjoy when they had themselves to introduce the measure to be discussed. The consuls seem, as a rule, to have asked the 'consules designati' first; but I should be inclined to suppose that no magistrate actually holding office was asked his opinion (Cic. ad Quintum Fratrem, ii. 1, 2. Tacit. H. iv. 41). Under the Empire, when the 'Princeps' introduced the measure, the magistrates were asked their opinions, as this passage seems to prove.

pars ut concederetur] Cf. note on i. 14, under 'appellandam.' This Piso seems to have assumed the praenomen of Lucius in the place of his original one. He was consul A.D. 27, and proconsul of Africa under Claudius (Dio lix. 20).

18. *domum Augusti*] Iulus Antonius was the son of M. Antonius. He married Marcella, daughter of Octavia (Plutarch, Anton. 87), and was guilty of adultery with Julia, the daughter of Augustus, on which account he was put to death (iv. 44).

aram ultioni statuendam censuissent, prohibuit, ob externas ea victorias sacrari dictitans, domestica mala tristitia operienda. addiderat Messalinus Tiberio et Augustae et Antoniae et Agrippinae Drusoque ob vindictam Germanici grates agendas omiseratque Claudii mentionem. et Messalinum quidem L. Asprenas senatu coram percontatus est an prudens praeterisset; ac tum demum nomen Claudii adscriptum est. mihi, quanto plura recentium seu veterum revolvo, tanto magis ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obversantur. quippe fama spe veneratione potius omnes destinabantur imperio quam quem futurum principem fortuna in occulto tenebat.

19. Paucis post diebus Caesar auctor senatui fuit Vitellio atque Veranio et Servaeo sacerdotia tribuendi: Fulcinio suffragium ad honores pollicitus monuit ne facundiam violentia praecipitaret. is finis fuit ulciscenda Germanici morte, non modo apud illos homines qui tum agebant, etiam secutis temporibus vario rumore iactata. adeo maxima quaeque ambigua sunt, dum alii quoquo modo audita pro conpertis habent, alii vera in contrarium vertunt, et gliscit utrumque posteritate. at Drusus urbe egressus repetendis aus-

ultioni] The genitive would be perhaps more usual here, as i. 14, "aram adoptionis;" but cf. ii. 7, "aram Druso sitam," for the dative: so that 'ultioni' is the dative of the indirect object after 'statuendam.'

Claudius] The brother of Germanicus, afterwards Emperor. He was the victim of a complication of diseases, and the butt of his family (Suet. Claud. 3). Tacitus does not seem to have been able to decide whether fate or chance determined the course of human affairs. Cf. vi. 22, "mihi haec ac talia audienti in incerto iudicium est, fatone res mortalium et necessitate immutabili an forte volvantur." In iv. 20, "unde dubitare cogor, fato et sorte nascendi, ut cetera, ita principum inclinatio in hos, offensio in illos, an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis," &c., he seems to incline to a belief in the existence of a limited amount of free will in human agency.

19. *suffragium*] Cf. i. 15.

ulciscenda Germanici morte] Cf. xiv. 4, "sive explenda simulatione, seu periturae matris supremus aspectus quamvis ferum animum retinebat." One would rather suppose these passages to be constructed on the same principle. In the latter sentence the ablative is clearly, I think, an instrumental one. Nero's conduct, just detailed, was caused by the necessity of carrying out to the full his hypocrisy. Perhaps the passage in the text is to be similarly explained. This was the limit of the proceedings rendered necessary by the desire to avenge the death of Germanicus. This was the end assigned to the proceedings by the course of vengeance for his death which had been entered on.

etiam] For the omission of 'sed,' cf. iv. 35, "quorum non modo libertas, etiam libido impunita." H. ii. 27, "nec solum apud Caecinam, Fabii quoque Valentis copiae."

repetendis auspiciis] Drusus, on his return from Illyricum, instead of remaining outside the walls of Rome, entered the city on account of his brother's death. This deprived him of the 'imperium' (cf. Liv. xxvi. 9, quoted by Lipsius, "Q. Fulvio ne minueretur imperium si in urbem venisset, decernit senatus"); consequently of the power of celebrating the ovation voted to him by the Senate. To recover the 'imperium' he retook the auspices. The exact day is fixed by an inscription (Inscript. Lat. n. 6443), "M. Valerius Messala M. Aur(elius) V. K. Iun. Drusus triumphavit ex Ill(yrico)."

piciis, mox ovans introiit. paucosque post dies Vipsania mater eius excessit, una omnium Agrippae liberorum miti obitu. nam ceteros manifestum ferro vel creditum est veneno aut fame extinctos.

20. Eodem anno Tacfarinas, quem priore aestate pulsum a Camillo memoravi, bellum in Africa renovat, vagis primum populationibus et ob pernicitatem inultis, dein vicos exscindere, trahere graves praedas; postremo haud procul Pagyda flumine cohortem Romanam circumsedit. praeerat castello Decrius impiger manu, exercitus militia et illam obsidionem flagitii ratus. is cohortatus milites ut copiam pugnae in aperto facerent, aciem pro castris instruit. primoque impetu pulsa cohorte promptus inter tela occursat fugientibus, increpat signiferos quod inconditis aut desertoribus miles Romanus terga daret; simul excepta vulnera et quamquam transfosso oculo adversum os in hostem intendit, neque proelium omisit, donec desertus suis caderet.

21. Quae postquam L. Apronio (nam Camillo successerat) comperta, magis dedecore suorum quam gloria hostis anxius, raro ea tempestate et e vetere memoria facinore decumum quemque ignominiosae cohortis sorte ductos fusti necat. tantumque severitate profectum, ut vexillum veteranorum, non amplius quingenti numero, easdem Tacfarinatis copias praesidium cui Thala nomen adgressas fuderint. quo proelio Rufus Helvius gregarius miles servati civis decus rettulit donatusque est ab Apronio torquibus et hasta. Caesar addidit civicam coronam, quod non eam quoque Apronius iure proconsulis tribuisset, questus magis quam offensus.

ceteros] Vipsania was daughter of M. Agrippa, by his first wife Pomponia, daughter of Pomponius Atticus. His other children by Julia were Gaius and Lucius Agrippa (i. 3), Postumus (i. 6), Agrippina (vi. 25), and Julia (iv. 71). Julia is spoken of as having simply died in exile, but probably her end was hastened by sorrow and privation. At all events, her end was such as to justify Tacitus in speaking of her as dying "non miti obitu."

20. *flagitii ratus*] Draeger quotes from Livy (xxi. 41) a similar construction, "tutelae nostrae duximus."

excepta vulnera] This seems to depend on 'intendit:' 'he turns in the direction of the enemy the wounds he had received, and his full face, although his eye was pierced.'

suis] This may be either the dative, a construction not unusual with Tacitus, as has been remarked before, or the ablative with the preposition omitted: an omission often occurring in our author, and not unknown elsewhere. Draeger quotes Caesar, B. C. i. 15, "magna parte militum deseritur."

21. *L. Apronio*] He was one of the generals under Germanicus in his German campaigns (i. 29), and received in recognition of his services the 'insignia triumphalia' (i. 72). He was proconsul of Africa (as here stated). He is mentioned again iii. 64, iv. 13, 22, and vi. 30.

vexillum veteranorum] See note on i. 17. The site of 'Thala' mentioned below is unknown. It is described by Sallust as a large and opulent town, where Jugurtha's treasures were stored, and his children educated (Jug. 75).

iure proconsulis] Originally the civic

sed Tacfarinas perculsis Numidis et obsidia aspernantibus spargit bellum, ubi instaretur, cedens ac rursum in terga remeans. et dum ea ratio barbaro fuit, inritum fessumque Romanum impune ludificabatur: postquam deflexit ad maritimos locos, inligatus praeda stativis castris adhaerebat, missu patris Apronius Caesianus cum equite et cohortibus auxiliariis, quis velocissimos legionum addiderat, prosperam adversum Numidas pugnam facit pellitque in deserta.

22. At Romae Lepida, cui super Aemiliorum decus L. Sulla et Cn. Pompeius proavi erant, defertur simulavisse partum ex P. Quirinio divite atque orbo. adiciebantur adulteria, venena quaesitumque per Chaldaeos in domum Caesaris, defendente ream Manio Lepido fratre. Quirinius post dictum repudium adhuc infensus quamvis infami ac nocenti miserationem addiderat. haud facile quis dispexerit illa in cognitione mentem principis: adeo vertit ac miscuit irae et clementiae signa. deprecatus primo senatum ne maiestatis crimina tractarentur, mox M. Servilium e consularibus aliosque testes inlexit ad proferenda quae velut reicere voluerat. idemque servos Lepidae, cum militari custodia haberentur, transtulit ad consules neque per tormenta interrogari passus est de iis

crown was given by the citizen whose life had been preserved, after due verification of the claim. Under the empire, however, it was bestowed by the Emperor or his delegate. Cf. xv. 12, "si servati civis corona imperatoria manu tribueretur." Tiberius professed to dislike a reference to himself in the matter. Cf. Suet. Tiber. 32, "corripuit consulares praepositos exercitibus quod non de rebus gestis senatui scriberent quodque de tribuendis quibusdam militaribus donis ad se referrent, quasi non omnium tribuendorum ipsi ius haberent." This Rufus Helvius seems to have been surnamed Civica from this gift of the 'civica corona.' There is an inscription found near Tivoli (Murat. 476. 11), "M. Helvius M. f. Cam. (Camilia tribu) Rufus Civica prim(us) pil(us) balneum municipibus et incolis dedit." The 'hasta' mentioned above is the 'hasta pura,' a spear without a head.

missu patris] Here the apodosis begins, for 'adhaerebat' depends as well as 'deflexit' on 'postquam,' although the connecting particle is omitted. This L. Apronius Caesianus was subsequently legatus pro praetore of Germania Inferior (iv. 73), and consul A.D. 39.

22. *Lepida*] Lepida was granddaughter of Faustus Sulla, and Pompeia, the son and daughter respectively of the Dictator Sulla and Pompeius Magnus. Her mother Cornelia married an Aemilius Lepidus.

vertit] 'Vertere' is used intransitively in vi. 6, 46, xi. 28, 37, Germ. 31; but here, I think, it is taken actively, and governs 'signa:' 'he shifted about and combined the outward symptoms of anger and clemency:' at one time he seemed angry, at another disposed to clemency.

velut reicere voluerat] 'He had wished, as he pretended, to reject.' Cf. i. 10 for a nearly similar use of 'velut:' "quae velut excusando exprobraret."

militari custodia] In the praetorian camp, probably. St. Paul was similarly guarded, being chained to a soldier to whose care he was committed.

ad consules] To be kept in the city prison apparently. The meaning can hardly be that the consuls were to keep the men in their own houses, as in vi. 3, "Gallius custoditur domibus magistratuum," for that was reserved for criminals of eminence.

quae ad domum suam pertinerent. exemit etiam Drusum consulem designatum dicendae primo loco sententiae; quod alii civile rebantur, ne ceteris adsentiendi necessitas fieret, quidam ad saevitiam trahebant: neque enim cessurum nisi damnandi officio.

23. Lepida ludorum diebus, qui cognitionem intervenerant, theatrum cum claris feminis ingressa, lamentatione flebili maiores suos ciens ipsumque Pompeium, cuius ea monimenta et adstantes imagines visebantur, tantum misericordiae permovit, ut effusi in lacrimas saeva et detestanda Quirinio clamitarent, cuius senectae atque orbitati et obscurissimae domui destinata quondam uxor L. Caesari ac divo Augusto nurus dederetur. dein tormentis servorum patefacta sunt flagitia itumque in sententiam Rubelli Blandi, a quo aqua adque igni arcebatur. huic Drusus adsensit, quamquam alii mitius censuissent. mox Scauro, qui filiam ex ea genuerat, datum ne bona publicarentur. tum demum aperuit Tiberius conpertum sibi etiam ex P. Quirinii servis veneno eum a Lepida petitum.

24. Inlustrium domuum adversa (etenim haud multum distanti tempore Calpurnii Pisonem, Aemilii Lepidam amiserant) solacio adfecit D. Silanus Iuniae familiae redditus. casum eius paucis repetam. ut valida divo Augusto in rem publicam fortuna, ita domi inprospera fuit ob inpudicitiam filiae ac neptis, quas urbe depulit adulterosque earum morte aut fuga punivit. nam culpam inter viros ac feminas vulgatam gravi nomine laesarum religionum

neque enim] The meaning is, that if Tiberius had wished for an acquittal, he would have taken good care to appropriate all the credit to be gained by Drusus voting for it. His refusal to allow Drusus to give his opinion first, could only arise from his not liking to expose Drusus or himself to the odium of being the first to propose a sentence of condemnation. For the omission of 'fuisse,' cf. ii. 31, "iuravitque Tiberius petiturum se vitam quamvis nocenti."

23. *ea monimenta*] This was the stone theatre built by Cn. Pompeius, 55 A.C., in the Campus Martius, holding about 40,000 spectators. For the use of 'monimenta' for public buildings, cf. Hor. Carm. i. 2. 15, "monimenta regis templaque Vestae."

nurus] Augustus had adopted Lucius Caesar (i. 3), and therefore Lepida would have been his daughter-in-law.

Rubelli Blandi] Blandus was the grandson of Blandus, a Roman knight of Tibur (vi. 27) who gave instruction in rhetoric at Rome, and son of C. Rubellius Blandus, 'triumvir monetalis' under Augustus. He was quaestor, tribunus plebis, praetor, consul (suffectus in the latter half of the year 20 A.D.), proconsul, and pontifex. See Nipperdey's note. Tacitus speaks of him as 'consularis' in iii. 51. He married Julia, the daughter of Drusus, and formerly wife of Nero, one of the children of Germanicus (vi. 27), and is spoken of as one of the 'progeneri' of Tiberius, vi. 45. His son was the Rubellius Plautus mentioned in xiii. 19. Below, 'adque' is for 'atque.' This form is not unusual in writers of the age of Tacitus, and is found in Lucretius and Virgil. See Munro, Lucret. ii. 881.

24. *in rem publicam*] 'Strong against the republic,' as contrasted with the imperial fortunes. Cf. i. 8, "provisis etiam heredum in rem publicam opibus."

ac violatae maiestatis appellando clementiam maiorum suasque ipse leges egrediebatur. sed aliorum exitus, simul cetera illius aetatis memorabo, si effectis in quae tendi plures ad curas vitam produxero. D. Silanus in nepti Augusti adulter, quamquam non ultra foret saevitum quam ut amicitia Caesaris prohiberetur, exilium sibi demonstrari intellexit, nec nisi Tiberio imperitante deprecari senatum ac principem ausus est M. Silani fratris potentia, qui per insignem nobilitatem et eloquentiam praecellebat. sed Tiberius gratis agenti Silano patribus coram respondit se quoque laetari, quod frater eius e peregrinatione longinqua revertisset idque iure licitum, quia non senatus consulto, non lege pulsus

suasque ipse leges] The Lex Iulia, passed in B.C. 17, 'de adulteriis coercendis,' enacted that an adulteress should lose half her marriage portion, and one-third of her property, and be banished to some island. There was no penalty of death attached to the crime until the time of Constantine apparently.

tendi] So the MS., without any reduplication. In Propert. iii. 8. 37, "tendisti retia lecto" is the reading of many MSS. for the usual 'nexisti.' Below, 'nepti Augusti' is Julia the younger, daughter of Julia the elder and M. Agrippa. The Marcus Silanus subsequently mentioned, was consul, A.D. 19 (ii. 59), father-in-law of Caligula (vi. 20), and under that Emperor proconsul of Africa (H. iv. 48).

potentia] This is virtually an instrumental ablative; not exactly a direct one, but rather one expressing the state of things under which, or in consequence of the existence of which, something is done. There is really a distinction between these two varieties of the instrumental ablative. To take a simple instance: 'interfectus est gladio' implies that the sword was the direct instrument of death. But when Tacitus says (i. 70) "mox inpulsu aquilonis simul sidere aequinoctii, rapi agique agmen," it is clear that, although in the first clause the north wind was the direct instrument of the disaster spoken of, the second clause only describes a state of things under which the disaster arose, or in consequence of the existence of which the disaster was able to ensue, or was aggravated: at all events the instrumentality is much less direct in the second case than in the first. So in ii. 75, "pulcherrimo matrimonio inter venerantes gratantisque aspici solita." Cf. xii. 10, "non se foederis ignaros nec defectione a familia Arsacidarum venire;" xiv. 30, "dein cohortationibus ducis et se ipsi stimulantes . . . inferunt signa." I have taken these instances from Nipperdey, although I do not know what his explanation is. He quotes from Sall. Cat. 6, "vel aetate vel curae similitudine patres appellabantur."

quia non senatus consulto] Agrippa Postumus underwent 'exilium' because Augustus induced the Senate to pass a 'senatus consultum' inflicting that penalty upon him (i. 6). Or again, any one might undergo 'exilium' as the result of his condemnation for some offence for which that was the penalty. Or the Princeps by his own authority removed an obnoxious citizen to a distance ('relegatio' or 'deportatio'). Lipsius quotes Ovid (Trist. ii. 131) to illustrate these various methods: "Nec mea decreto damnasti facta senatus, Nec mea selecto iudice iussa fuga est. Tristibus invectus verbis, ita principe dignum, Ultus es offensas ut decet ipse tuas." But there is a point I am not clear about. In xiii. 44 Octavius Sagitta is condemned "sententia patrum et lege de sicariis," and in H. iv. 44 is spoken of "gravi senatus consulto damnatus." There would be no difficulty, if, on the condemnation of any senator by his fellow-senators for an offence against any specific law, such as the Lex Cornelia de Sicariis, a formal 'senatus consultum' was required to embody the result and enforce the penalty; but as this is improbable, one must suppose the Lex Cornelia de Sicariis to have been modified in some way by a 'senatus consultum' subsequently passed. However this may be, Silanus had not been driven from Rome by a 'senatus consultum,' or any 'lex.' I should

foret: sibi tamen adversus eum integras parentis sui offensiones, neque reditu Silani dissoluta quae Augustus voluisset. fuit posthac in urbe neque honores adeptus est.

25. Relatum deinde de moderanda Papia Poppaea, quam senior Augustus post Iulias rogationes incitandis caelibum poenis et augendo aerario sanxerat. nec ideo coniugia et educationes liberum frequentabantur, praevalida orbitate: ceterum multitudo periclitantium gliscebat, cum omnis domus delatorum interpretationibus subverteretur, utque antehac flagitiis, ita tunc legibus laborabatur. ea res admonet ut de principiis iuris, et quibus modis ad hanc multitudinem infinitam ac varietatem legum perventum sit, altius disseram.

26. Vetustissimi mortalium, nulla adhuc mala libidine, sine probro, scelere eoque sine poena aut coercitionibus agebant. neque praemiis opus erat, cum honesta suopte ingenio peterentur; et ubi nihil contra morem cuperent, nihil per metum vetabantur. at postquam exsui aequalitas et pro modestia ac pudore ambitio et vis incedebat, provenere dominationes multosque aput populos aeternum mansere. quidam statim, aut postquam regum pertaesum, leges maluerunt. eae primo rudi-

gather from i. 6, that a person might be banished by a 'senatus consultum' without any specific criminal act being alleged against him, but the matter is doubtful.

25. *incitandis caelibum poenis*] 'For giving more vigour to the infliction of penalties on the unmarried, and enriching the treasury.' Cf. iii. 28, and the note there.

delatorum interpretationibus] 'By the interpretations put on the clauses of the law by the informers.' It is almost impossible apparently to frame a law the clauses of which shall not be open to a variety of meanings. This judges are continually lamenting; but any one who tries will soon find how difficult it is to make even a short sentence which shall mean one thing only beyond doubt, especially when minds of great acumen are bent, if possible, on finding two meanings in the words.

26. *suopte ingenio*] 'Things honourable in their own nature.' 'Ingenium' here must be a description of the aims sought after, not of the seekers, as if the sense were, 'were sought by a natural tendency on the part of the searchers:' that would require, I think, 'peterent.' Tacitus forgets to tell us exactly when these bright ages were, or what proof there is of their having ever existed. For this use of 'ingenium,' cf. vi. 41, "locorumque ingenio;" xii. 30, "suone an servitii ingenio;" xvi. 20, "noctium suarum ingenia." Cicero and Caesar do not seem to use the word in this sense.

aeternum] Used adverbially, as in xii. 28, "cum quis aeternum discordant." So 'immensum,' iii. 30; 'falsum,' iv. 60. Cf. Virg. Aen. vi. 617, "sedet aeternumque sedebit."

leges] 'A constitutional government,' as opposed to the arbitrary rule of the kings. Cf. below, "Romulus ut libitum imperitaverat," and Juv. viii. 268, "legum prima securis." The passage below, just quoted, "Romulus ut libitum imperitaverat," can hardly be taken quite as absolutely as it is written. Of course at first, on the founding of Rome, or any new community, there would be, as a rule, no code of laws ready made to start with, but as need arose, laws would be passed to meet the emergency, and these would grow into a body of laws more or less complete. Cf. Pomponius de Orig. Iuris Digest. i. 2. 1, "initio civitatis nostrae populus sine lege certa, sine iure

bus hominum animis simplices erant; maximeque fama celebravit Cretensium, quas Minos, Spartanorum, quas Lycurgus, ac mox Atheniensibus quaesitiores iam et plures Solo perscripsit. nobis Romulus, ut libitum, imperitaverat: dein Numa religionibus et divino iure populum devinxit, repertaque quaedam a Tullo et Anco. sed praecipuus Servius Tullius sanctor legum fuit, quis etiam reges obtemperarent.

27. Pulso Tarquinio adversum patrum factiones multa populus paravit tuendae libertatis et firmandae concordiae; creatique decemviri et accitis quae usquam egregia compositae duodecim tabulae, finis aequi iuris. nam secutae leges etsi aliquando in maleficos ex delicto, saepius tamen dissensione ordinum et apiscendi inlicitos honores aut pellendi claros viros aliaque ob prava per vim latae sunt. hinc Gracchi et Saturnini turbatores plebis, nec minor largitor nomine senatus Drusus; corrupti spe aut inlusi

certo primum agere instituit, omniaque manu a regibus gubernabantur. Postea . . . Romulus leges quasdam et ipse curiatas ad populum tulit, tulerunt et sequentes reges." These laws passed by the kings, 'regiae leges,' formed the 'ius civile Papinianum,' edited by Granius Flaccus about the time of Augustus. There is an allusion to these in xii. 8, "addidit Claudius sacra ex legibus Tulli regis."

27. *finis aequi iuris*] Ernesti makes this to be the crowning-point, the perfect development of all impartial law. But from the following words, 'nam secutae,' &c., 'finis' would more probably refer to some epoch of time. The Twelve Tables were the last effort of impartial legislation: after that, the motives for the enactment of the various laws passed were not those arising from a desire to meet the wants and improve the condition of the different orders in the state, but were of a less pure character, prompted by a wish of one order to secure advantages for itself at the expense of another. For the genitive in 'tuendae libertatis,' and 'apiscendi' a little below, cf. ii. 59.

latae sunt] The Agrarian laws would be instances of enactments passed 'dissensione ordinum,' and the Lex Valeria Horatia, 449 A.C. (Liv. iii. 55), by which it was ordained that the whole body of the people should be bound by the 'scita' of the Comitia Tributa. The Lex Sextia Licinia, 366 A.C., for throwing open the consulate to the 'plebs' would be an instance of a law passed 'apiscendi inlicitos honores.' By the words 'pellendi claros viros' Tacitus cannot, I think, mean that laws were passed for the express purpose of banishing any citizen by name, for otherwise he could hardly have added just below, 'iamque non modo in commune,' &c., clearly implying that no instance had occurred of this until after Pompeius' law to restore to the tribunes their powers. He means, I suppose, that laws were passed in the hope of driving illustrious citizens into voluntary banishment, in anger and disgust. The instances quoted by the commentators of 'pellendi claros viros' are Camillus, Metellus Numidicus, &c.: but I cannot find that the words 'leges latae sunt' are applicable in these cases.

corrupti spe] The hope of obtaining the franchise, which the Lex Livia of Drusus, 91 A.C., proposed to confer on the allies. The only way of baffling the plans of ambitious tribunes was by gaining over one of their colleagues to interpose his veto, and so prevent the success of the measure proposed. This Drusus was a great boon-giver: he gave (in conjunction with the Equites), the 'iudicia' to the Senate, and gave the senatorial dignity to 300 of the Equites: to the allies he proposed to give the 'civitas,' to the needy citizens of Rome a share in the 'ager publicus.' Cf. Liv. Epit. 70, "senatus cum impotentiam equestris ordinis in iudiciis exercendis ferre nollet, omni vi eniti coepit ut ad se iudicia transferret, sustinente causam eius M. Livio Druso tribuno plebis qui ut

per intercessionem socii. ac ne bello quidem Italico, mox civili omissum quin multa et diversa sciscerentur, donec L. Sulla dictator abolitis vel conversis prioribus, cum plura addidisset, otium eius rei haud in longum paravit, statim turbidis Lepidi rogationibus, neque multo post tribunis reddita licentia quoquo vellent populum agitandi. iamque non modo in commune, sed in singulos homines latae quaestiones, et corruptissima re publica plurimae leges.

28. Tum Cn. Pompeius tertium consul corrigendis moribus delectus et gravior remediis quam delicta erant suarumque legum auctor idem ac subversor, quae armis tuebatur, armis amisit. exin continua per viginti annos discordia, non mos, non ius; deterrima quaeque inpune ac multa honesta exitio fuere. sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, potentiae securus, quae triumviratu iusserat

vires sibi acquireret perniciosa spe largitionum plebem concitavit," and ibid. 71, "socios et Italicos populos spe civitatis Romanae sollicitavit, iisque adiuvantibus per vim legibus agrariis frumentariisque latis iudiciariam quoque pertulit ut aequa parte iudicia penes senatum et equestrem ordinem essent." There is a remark of Drusus himself extant, that he had given so much away that there was nothing left for any one else to bestow, unless it were 'caenum aut caelum.'

Lepidi] This was Aemilius Lepidus, who was consul 78 A.C. He endeavoured to prevent Sulla's burial with public honours, and proposed to repeal all the Dictator's laws. He proclaimed the restoration of the powers of the Tribunate, greatly curtailed by Sulla, who deprived the tribunes of the right to propose measures in the Comitia Tributa, and of their old veto on the legislation of the Curiae. The powers of the office were entirely restored by Cn. Pompeius (Liv. Epit. 97).

in singulos] These would not be 'leges' in the proper sense, but 'privilegia,' enactments having reference to single individuals only. These were forbidden by the Twelve Tables. Cf. Cic. de Domo sua 17, "vetant leges sacratae, vetant XII. tabulae leges privatis hominibus irrogari, id est enim privilegium."

28. *subversor*] Cn. Pompeius, amongst his judicial reforms, forbade addresses to be made, or evidence to character to be given by any person during a trial, in favour of the accused. In the trial of T. Munatius Plancus he endeavoured to do this before the jury, and so broke his own law. Also after renewing and confirming an enactment passed at the instance of the consuls, 53 A.C., which prevented a curule magistrate from taking the command of a province until the expiration of five years from the close of his office, he retained his own proconsular appointment, and had it prolonged for five years more (Dio xl. 56).

triumviratu] 'In his triumvirate.' So 'proconsulatu' (H. i. 48), 'Galbae principatu' (iv. 6). The usual form would have been 'in triumviratu,' &c. It is quite true that Tacitus often omits a preposition where other writers insert one: for instance, 'insultare,' 'accurrere,' 'adventare' are so constructed. But although this is true, it is not an explanation of the fact: he would not probably omit a preposition, unless he did so in accordance with some principle of grammar, which he applied correctly or incorrectly to the case in point. Clearly, I think, with the verbs mentioned above he omitted a preposition because he believed one superfluous, seeing that it already existed in the compound verb, and it seemed to him that 'incurrere' was equivalent in itself to 'currere in,' and he therefore at once wrote a simple accusative after the verb, governing it by the preposition inherent therein. Similarly I imagine him to have omitted the preposition, and to have written 'principatu,' because he believed the case alone to have the same force as 'in principatu.' In a note on 'potentia' in iii. 24, I have shown that Tacitus pushed for-

abolevit deditque iura, quis pace et principe uteremur. acriora ex eo vincla, inditi custodes, et lege Papia Poppaea praemiis inducti, ut, si a privilegiis parentum cessaretur, velut parens omnium populus vacantia teneret. sed altius penetrabant urbemque et Italiam et quod usquam civium corripuerant, multorumque excisi status. et terror omnibus intentabatur, ni Tiberius statuendo remedio quinque consularium, quinque e praetoriis, totidem e cetero senatu sorte duxisset, aput quos exsoluti plerique legis nexus modicum in praesens levamentum fuere.

29. Per idem tempus Neronem e liberis Germanici, iam in-

ward the lines of the instrumental ablative, and extended it from cases of the direct instrument to cases of an indirect instrument, until it was used to express all those circumstances the existence of which enabled the result specified to follow. In the same way, I believe, being something of a philosophical grammarian, he considered such words as 'principatus,' 'proconsulatus,' 'triumviratus' to be expressions of 'time,' and accordingly constructed them in the simple ablative, as he would have written 'proximo die,' 'superiore nocte,' and the like. Similarly Livy, i. 3, has 'morte Aeneae.' But there are other instances of ablatives used by Tacitus without a preposition, which do not come within this class: such as 'catervis' (iv. 51), 'in troops;' 'veterani ordinibus ac subsidiis instructi' (ii. 80), 'catervis et cuneis concurrebant' (H. ii. 42). Now these appear to me instances of a 'modal' ablative: 'catervis' is equivalent clearly to 'catervatim;' so 'cuneis' is for 'cuneatim.' These ablatives then are used to express the particular mode of the action spoken of. In other authors in this modal ablative the substantive is very generally accompanied by an adjective: cf. such common instances as 'magno clamore irruit,' &c. Tacitus adopted the same form of expression without the addition of any adjective. It may be a question how far these last varieties, I mean an ablative of time and one of mode, are really different. I am inclined to think that 'time when' is put in the ablative because it expresses a certain mode, and that this temporal ablative is only a subdivision of the larger 'modal' ablative. It may occur to the reader that an ablative of 'place where' is also a modal one; but that ablative appears to be really different in kind. In Latin, as in Sanskrit, there was once a locative case, ending in 'i;' and in process of time this was confounded with the genitive of the first declension (compare the old form 'aulai' for 'aulae') and the second, and with the ablative of the third. One would suppose that as the instrument in the enlarged sense I have given it in iii. 24, and the time or temporal mode of an action are sometimes very near akin to each other, in many cases the ablative might be viewed as an instrumental one or a modal one of time at pleasure, and it may therefore be often hard to determine under which head to rank it. And this is actually the case. In H. ii. 5, "exitu demum Neronis positis odiis in medium consuluere," 'exitu' may either be an ablative of time, like 'triumviratu,' or one of the indirect instrument, like 'potentia' in iii. 24; either meaning 'on the death of Nero,' or 'in consequence of the death of Nero.'

pace et principe] This is an ablative absolute: 'while there was peace and a princeps.'

vacantia teneret] Bachelors were placed by the Lex Papia et Poppaea on an unfavourable footing compared with the rest of the citizens. They could not take an 'hereditas' or 'legatum' (unless they married within a hundred days). The gift became 'caducum,' and in case of no other claimant appearing, lapsed to the 'aerarium.' For a discussion on the enactments of the Lex Papia et Poppaea, see the excursus of Lipsius on iii. 25.

exsoluti plerique] The informers, by straining the meaning of the various clauses of the law, had brought many under its grasp who were never intended to be touched by its enactments. The commissioners, by fixing the real meaning of these clauses, remedied the mischief which had arisen.

gressum iuventam, commendavit patribus, utque munere capessendi vigintiviratus solveretur et quinquennio maturius quam per leges quaesturam peteret, non sine inrisu audientium postulavit. praetendebat sibi atque fratri decreta eadem petente Augusto. sed neque tum fuisse dubitaverim, qui eius modi preces occulti inluderent: ac tamen initia fastigii Caesaribus erant magisque in oculis vetus mos, et privignis cum vitrico levior necessitudo quam avo adversum nepotem. additur pontificatus et quo primum die forum ingressus est congiarium plebi admodum laetae, quod Germanici stirpem iam puberem aspiciebat. auctum dehinc gaudium nuptiis Neronis et Iuliae Drusi filiae. utque haec secundo rumore, ita adversis animis acceptum, quod filio Claudii socer Seianus destinaretur. polluisse nobilitatem familiae videbatur suspectumque iam nimiae spei Seianum ultra extulisse.

30. Fine anni concessere vita insignes viri L. Volusius et Sallustius Crispus. Volusio vetus familia neque tamen praeturam egressa: ipse consulatum intulit, censoria etiam potestate legendis equitum decuriis functus, opumque, quis domus illa inmensum viguit, primus adcumulator. Crispum equestri ortum loco G. Sallustius, rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor, sororis nepotem in nomen adscivit. atque ille, quamquam prompto ad

29. *maturius*] The age at which any one might become a candidate for the quaestorship was twenty-four. Nero was to be allowed to obtain the office at the age of nineteen. At this time the whole movement was premature, for Nero was probably somewhere about fourteen years old. About this age the Roman boy usually assumed the 'toga virilis,' and on the occasion of doing so he was escorted to the Forum by his friends in procession, to celebrate his entry into public life. Suetonius (Calig. 1) calls this ceremony 'tirocinium fori.' A place amongst the 'vigintiviri' was generally a preliminary to the enjoyment of the greater offices (Dio lx. 5). See Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities sub voce.

pontificatus] There is an inscription (Orell. Lat. Inscrip. n. 2366), "Neroni Caesari Germanici Caesaris . . . flamini Augustali, sodali Augustali, sodali Titio, fratri Arvali fetiali." These honours of course are not 'pontificatus,' and I do not suppose that Tacitus confounded them.

quo primum die] This, from an inscription still remaining (Inscript. Lat. n. 6443), was the seventh day before the Ides of June: "VII. Idus Iun. Nero to-(gam) sumpsit, cong. d." The Julia mentioned below was the daughter of Drusus, the son of Tiberius. There was another Julia, daughter of Germanicus, and sister of Nero.

ultra extulisse] 'To have carried beyond reasonable limits.' There is certainly no reason for reading 'ultro' here, as some of the editors do, in the sense of 'to have taken the initiative in raising' Sejanus, who was already on his own side inclined to aspire too high.

30. *ipse consulatum intulit*] Q. Volusius Saturninus was consul suffectus 12 A.C., proconsul of Africa subsequently, and legatus pro praetore of Syria. His son is mentioned in xii. 22, xiii. 30, xiv. 56.

decuriis] The Roman Equites were divided into 'turmae,' and each of these into three decuries. The censors held an inspection of the whole body in the Forum, and each knight was summoned by name. If the censors thought the knight unworthy of his position, they struck his name off the roll (Liv. xxxix. 44).

inmensum] Cf. iii. 26, iv. 27.

capessendos honores aditu, Maecenatem aemulatus sine dignitate senatoria multos triumphalium consulariumque potentia anteiit, diversus a veterum instituto per cultum et munditias copiaque et affluentia luxu propior. suberat tamen vigor animi ingentibus negotiis par, eo acrior, quo somnum et inertiam magis ostentabat. igitur incolumi Maecenate proximus, mox praecipuus cui secreta imperatorum inniterentur et interficiendi Postumi Agrippae conscius, aetate provecta speciem magis in amicitia principis quam vim tenuit. idque et Maecenati acciderat, fato potentiae raro sempiternae, an satias capit aut illos, cum omnia tribuerunt, aut hos, cum iam nihil reliquum est quod cupiant.

31. Sequitur Tiberi quartus, Drusi secundus consulatus, patris atque filii collegio insignis. nam biennio ante Germanici cum Tiberio idem honor neque patruo laetus neque natura tam conexus fuerat. eius anni principio Tiberius quasi firmandae valetudini in Campaniam concessit, longam et continuam absentiam paulatim meditans, sive ut amoto patre Drusus munia consulatus solus impleret. ac forte parva res magnum ad certamen progressa praebuit iuveni materiem apiscendi favoris. Domitius Corbulo praetura functus de L. Sulla nobili iuvene questus est aput senatum, quod sibi inter spectacula gladiatorum loco non decessisset. pro Corbulone aetas, patrius mos, studia seniorum erant: contra Mamercus Scaurus et L. Arruntius aliique Sullae propinqui nitebantur. certabantque orationibus et memorabantur exempla maiorum, qui iuventutis inreverentiam gravibus decretis notavissent, donec Drusus apta temperandis animis disseruit; et satisfactum Corbuloni per Mamercum, qui patruus simul ac vitricus

luxu propior] Cf. Agric. 6, "uti longe a luxuria, ita famae propior." 'Luxu' is the old dative, for other instances of which see i. 10, iii. 20, 33, vi. 23, xii. 5, &c.

31. *biennio*] Tiberius was consul with Germanicus A.D. 18, and with Drusus A.D. 21. Perhaps Tacitus may have used 'biennium' as expressing the time which elapsed between the last day of the former and the first day of the latter consulship, which would be exactly two years.

natura] The meaning apparently is that the tie of uncle and nephew, or father and adopted son (the bond between Tiberius and Germanicus), is not so close as that between a father and his son, the relationship existing between Tiberius and Drusus.

Domitius Corbulo] Not apparently the same as the Corbulo who occupied a prominent position at a later date, and was put to death by Nero. Cf. xi. 18, H. ii. 76. The Corbulo mentioned here had been praetor, and was therefore no longer young, and the death of the younger Corbulo was nearly fifty years later.

loco] 'Had not given up his seat' to Corbulo, as the elder in years and an ex-magistrate. Cf. Juv. xiii. 54, "Credebant hoc grande nefas et morte piandum, Si iuvenis vetulo non assurrexerat et si Barbato cuicumque puer."

patruus] M. Scaurus and L. Cornelius Sulla (the father of the young Sulla here, and consul, 5 A.C.), were half-brothers on

Sullae et oratorum *ea* aetate uberrimus erat. idem Corbulo plurima per Italiam itinera fraude mancipum et incuria magistratuum interrupta et inpervia clamitando, exsecutionem eius negotii libens suscepit; quod haud perinde publice usui habitum quam exitiosum multis, quorum in pecuniam atque famam damnationibus et hasta saeviebat.

32. Neque multo post missis ad senatum litteris Tiberius motam rursum Africam incursu Tacfarinatis docuit, iudicioque patrum deligendum pro consule gnarum militiae, corpore validum et bello suffecturum. quod initium Sex. Pompeius agitandi adversus Marcum Lepidum odii nanctus, ut socordem, inopem et maioribus suis dedecorum eoque etiam Asiae sorte depellendum incusavit, adverso senatu, qui Lepidum mitem magis quam ignavum, paternas ei angustias et nobilitatem sine probro actam honori quam ignominiae habendam ducebat. igitur missus in Asiam, et de Africa decretum ut Caesar legeret cui mandanda foret.

33. Inter quae Severus Caecina censuit ne quem magistratum, cui provincia obvenisset, uxor comitaretur, multum ante repetito concordem sibi coniugem et sex partus enixam, seque quae in publicum statueret domi servavisse, cohibita intra Italiam, quamquam ipse pluris per provincias quadraginta stipendia explevisset. haut enim frustra placitum olim ne feminae in socios aut gentes externas traherentur: inesse mulierum comitatui quae pacem luxu, bellum formidine morentur et Romanum agmen ad similitudinem barbari incessus convertant. non inbecillum tantum et inparem

the mother's side, and Scaurus seems to have married Sextia (vi. 29), the widow of Sulla.

fraude mancipum] 'Manceps' was any one who farmed any portion of the taxes, or undertook any work for the public. These men, no doubt, contracted for the repair of the roads, and receiving the public money, put it into their pockets, and failed to carry out their contract honestly. Similar knavery is not unknown in modern times.

quorum in pecuniam] The knavish contractors were forced to disgorge their ill-gotten gains, and their property was sold by auction to enable them to pay; also, the magistratus, or curatores viarum (Suet. August. 37), who had received money from the treasury for road repairs, and not applied it properly, had to refund (Dio lix. 15). If they became 'infames,' as they probably did, they would lose the suffragium and honores.

32. *Marcum Lepidum*] See note on i. 13 for the praenomen of Lepidus.

Asiae sorte] The provinces of Asia and Africa were usually assigned by lot to the two oldest consulars. As Africa was to be especially arranged for, Lepidus would naturally, as senior consular, have obtained Asia as a matter of course. 'Sors' is used here for the province itself, although there was in this case no allotment in the proper sense of the word. Cicero uses 'sors' for the province itself, although in that particular case there had been a previous allotment in the usual way. Cf. Pro Planc. 27, "numquam ex urbe abfuit nisi sorte."

33. *multum ante repetito*] 'Having previously stated at great length.' Just below, 'domi servavisse' is 'to have kept in his own case.' Cf. Ter. Adelphi iii. 60, "domi habuit unde disceret;" also Eurip. Troad. 648, τὸν δὲ νοῦν διδάσκαλον οἴκοθεν ἔχουσα χρηστὸν ἐξήρκουν ἐμοί.

laboribus sexum, sed si licentia adsit, saevum, ambitiosum, potestatis avidum; incedere inter milites, habere ad manum centuriones; praesedisse nuper feminam exercitio cohortium, decursu legionum. cogitarent ipsi, quotiens repetundarum aliqui arguerentur, plura uxoribus obiectari; his statim adhaerescere deterrimum quemque provincialium, ab his negotia suscipi, transigi; duorum egressus coli, duo esse praetoria, pervicacibus magis et inpotentibus mulierum iussis, quae Oppiis quondam aliisque legibus constrictae, nunc vinclis exsolutis domos, fora, iam et exercitus regerent.

34. Paucorum haec adsensu audita: plures obturbabant, neque relatum de negotio neque Caecinam dignum tantae rei censorem. mox Valerius Messalinus, cui parens Messalla ineratque imago paternae facundiae, respondit multa duritiae veterum melius et laetius mutata; neque enim, ut olim, adsidere urbem bellis aut provincias hostilis esse. et pauca feminarum necessitatibus concedi, quae ne coniugum quidem penates, adeo socios non onerent; cetera promisca cum marito, nec ullum in eo pacis impedimentum. bella plane accinctis obeunda: sed revertentibus post laborem quod honestius quam uxorium levamentum? at quasdam in ambitionem aut avaritiam prolapsas. quid? ipsorum magistratuum nonne plerosque variis libidinibus obnoxios? non tamen ideo neminem in provinciam mitti. corruptos saepe pravitatibus uxorum

nuper feminam] Cf. ii. 55. For the dative 'decursu' cf. iii. 30, under 'luxu.'

duo esse praetoria] There was a double government-house. Praetorium, from meaning a general's tent in the field, naturally passes into the sense of a governor's residence or establishment. For 'inpotentibus' cf. v. 1, and xiv. 31.

Oppiis] There seems to have been only one Lex Oppia, passed 215 A.C. by C. Oppius, tribune of the plebs (Liv. xxxiv. 1), forbidding any woman to have more than half an ounce of gold, or wear a dress of different colours, or drive in a carriage in the city or any town except for sacrificial purposes. Perhaps the plural is used, although there is only one law, because, as Draeger suggests, there were often several paragraphs in each law. Cf. xii. 60, xv. 20.

34. *neque relatum*] Sc. 'esse,' for 'obturbabant' is equivalent to 'obturbantes clamitabant.' For the practice here presupposed cf. ii. 38, xiii. 49.

Valerius Messalinus] He is the same man who is spoken of in i. 8 as Messalla. In the index to book lv. of Dio Cassius he is described as M. Οὐαλέριος M. υἱὸς Μεσσαλᾶς ἢ Μεσσαλῖνος. He bore these names indiscriminately, generally however being called Messala or Messalla in the inscriptions, but Messalinus in the Mar. Ancyr. (iii. 29.) See also iii. 18. He was son of Messala Corvinus the orator, and consul 3 A.C.

duritiae] This is the genitive. Cf. iii. 55, "nostra quoque aetas multa laudis et artium imitanda posteris tulit." Below, for 'melius' see note on xiv. 43.

quod honestius] That is, 'quod levamentum honestius.' Cf. xiii. 31, "quod aliud ludicrum ederet."

at quasdam] 'At' is used here, like 'at enim,' to introduce an adversary's objection: 'but you will say.' Cf. Cic. ad Fam. ix. 6, "at in perturbata re publica vivimus: quis negat? Sed hoc viderint ii qui nulla sibi subsidia ad omnes vitae casus paraverunt." For 'at enim' cf. iv. 40, "at enim Augustus filiam suam equiti Romano tradere meditatus est: mirum hercule," &c.

maritos: num ergo omnis caelibes integros? placuisse quondam Oppias leges, sic temporibus rei publicae postulantibus: remissum aliquit postea et mitigatum, quia expedierit. frustra nostram ignaviam alia ad vocabula transferri: nam viri in eo culpam, si femina modum excedat. porro ob unius aut alterius inbecillum animum male eripi maritis consortia rerum secundarum adversarumque. simul sexum natura invalidum deseri et exponi suo luxu, cupidinibus alienis. vix praesenti custodia manere inlaesa coniugia: quid fore, si per plures annos in modum discidii oblitterentur? sic obviam irent iis quae alibi peccarentur, ut flagitiorum urbis meminissent. addidit pauca Drusus de matrimonio suo; nam principibus adeunda saepius longinqua imperii. quotiens divum Augustum in occidentem atque orientem meavisse comite Livia! se quoque in Illyricum profectum et, si ita conducat, alias ad gentes iturum, haud semper aequo animo, si ab uxore carissima et tot communium liberorum parente divelleretur. sic Caecinae sententia elusa.

35. Et proximi senatus die Tiberius per litteras, castigatis oblique patribus quod cuncta curarum ad principem reicerent, M'. Lepidum et Iunium Blaesum nominavit, ex quis pro consule Africae legeretur. tum audita amborum verba, intentius excusante se Lepido, cum valetudinem corporis, aetatem liberum, nubilem filiam obtenderet, intellegereturque etiam quod silebat, avunculum esse Seiani Blaesum atque eo praevalidum. respondit Blaesus specie recusantis, sed neque eadem adseveratione, et consensu adulantium haut iutus est.

36. Exim promptum quod multorum intimis questibus tegebatur. incedebat enim deterrimo cuique licentia impune probra et invidiam in bonos excitandi arrepta imagine Caesaris; libertique etiam ac servi patrono vel domino, cum voces, cum manus intentarent, ultro metuebantur. igitur C. Cestius senator disseruit

nostram ignaviam] The real fault lay in the indolence of the men; they were too slothful to restrain the vagaries of their wives. It was idle in them to shift the blame to women, and call it by some other name.

sic obviam irent] While they remedied offences elsewhere, they must not forget the enormities at home. 'Sic,' or 'ita,' and 'ut' are often used in this restrictive sense. Cf. Cic. ad Fam. xvi. 1, "nos ita te desideramus ut amemus, amor ut valentem videamus hortatur; desiderium ut quam primum."

35. *cuncta curarum*] Cf. xiv. 60, "cuncta scelerum;" H. v. 10, "cuncta camporum."

M'. Lepidum] Cf. i. 13 for the praenomen. Q. Junius Blaesus was legatus pro praetore of Pannonia (i. 16), and consul suffectus with Ser. Cornelius Lentulus Maluginensis. Cf. also iii. 72, 74.

consensu adulantium] Blaesus was not supported by the unanimous voice of his flatterers, as he would have been, if he had really meant the refusal he professed to give.

36. *C. Cestius*] Caius Cestius Gallus (Dio lviii. 25) was consul A.D. 35 (vi. 31),

principes quidem instar deorum esse, sed neque a dis nisi iustas supplicum preces audiri, neque quemquam in Capitolium aliave urbis templa perfugere, ut eo subsidio ad flagitia utatur. abolitas leges et funditus versas, ubi in foro, in limine curiae ab Annia Rufilla, quam fraudis sub iudice damnavisset, probra sibi et minae intendantur, neque ipse audeat ius experiri ob effigiem imperatoris oppositam. hau dissimilia alii et quidam atrociora circumstrepebant, precabanturque Drusum daret ultionis exemplum, donec accitam convictamque attineri publica custodia iussit.

37. Et Considius Aequus et Caelius Cursor equites Romani, quod fictis maiestatis criminibus Magium Caecilianum praetorem petivissent, auctore principe ac decreto senatus puniti. utrumque in laudem Drusi trahebatur: ab eo in urbe, inter coetus et sermones hominum obversante, secreta patris mitigari. neque luxus in iuvene adeo displicebat: huc potius intenderet, diem aedificationibus, noctem conviviis trahere, quam solus et nullis voluptatibus avocatus maestam vigilantiam et malas curas exerceret.

38. Non enim Tiberius, non accusatores fatiscebant. et Ancharius Priscus Caesium Cordum pro consule Cretae postulaverat repetundis, addito maiestatis crimine, quod tum omnium accusationum complementum erat. Caesar Antistium Veterem e primoribus Macedoniae, absolutum adulterii, increpitis iudicibus ad dicendam maiestatis causam retraxit, ut turbidum et Rhescuporidis consiliis permixtum, qua tempestate Cotye [fratre] inter-

and afterwards legatus pro praetore of Syria (H. v. 10, xv. 25).

damnavisset] 'Whose condemnation he had effected on the charge he brought against her.' The commentators quote Cic. Div. in Caecil. § 30, "ego hoc uno crimine illum condemnem necesse est," and Suet. Tib. 8, "Fannium . . . reum maiestatis apud iudices fecit et condemnavit." Below, 'ius experiri' means 'to endeavour to put his right into force,' to carry out the sentence of the court; and 'convictam' does not mean 'convicted of fraud,' for *that* she was already, but convicted of abuse and threats against Cestius. This was the foreshadowing of the rights of sanctuary, used in after ages for the perversion of justice no doubt in many cases, but also often, as Hallam remarks ("Middle Ages" ii. 366), as a shield for innocence.

37. *trahere*] This can only be a kind of epexegetical infinitive, added loosely to explain the meaning of 'huc intenderet.' The word is of course suited exactly only to the latter clause, 'trahere noctem,' and 'insumere' or a similar word is to be supplied with 'diem aedificationibus.' If Drusus was a great builder, he was unlike his father, who "modicus privatis aedificationibus ne publice quidem nisi duo opera struxit" (vi. 45).

38. *repetundis*] This is an unusual construction, either the genitive, or the ablative with 'de,' being usual. But Suetonius (Otho 2) has 'damnatus repetundis,' and elsewhere 'postulari crimine' occurs. The ablative in this construction is an instrumental one: the offence mentioned was the handle for the accusation.

Antistium Veterem] This was apparently some Macedonian of rank, who had obtained the Roman citizenship, and adopted a Roman name in consequence.

fratre] From ii. 64 it seems that Cotys was the son of Rhoemetalces, and therefore nephew to Rhescuporis. Either 'fratre' is a gloss which has crept into the text, or the word is used loosely to

fecto bellum adversus nos volverat. igitur aqua et igni interdictum reo, adpositumque ut teneretur insula neque Macedoniae neque Threciae opportuna. nam Thraecia diviso imperio in Rhoemetalcen et liberos Cotyis, quis ob infantiam tutor erat Trebellienus Rufus, insolentia nostri discors agebat neque minus Rhoemetalcen quam Trebellienum incusans popularium iniurias inultas sinere. Coelaletae Odrusaeque et Dii, validae nationes, arma cepere, ducibus diversis et paribus inter se per ignobilitatem; quae causa fuit ne in bellum atrox coalescerent. pars turbant praesentia, alii montem Haemum transgrediuntur, ut remotos populos concirent; plurimi ac maxime compositi regem urbemque Philippopolim, a Macedone Philippo sitam, circumsidunt.

39. Quae ubi cognita P. Vellaeo (is proximum exercitum praesidebat), alarios equites ac levis cohortium mittit in eos qui praedabundi aut adsumendis auxiliis vagabantur, ipse robur peditum ad exsolvendum obsidium ducit. simulque cuncta prospere acta, caesis populatoribus et dissensione orta aput obsidentes regisque opportuna eruptione et adventu legionis. neque aciem aut proelium dici decuerit, in quo semermi ac palantes trucidati sunt sine nostro sanguine.

40. Eodem anno Galliarum civitates ob magnitudinem aeris alieni rebellionem coeptavere, cuius exstimulator acerrimus inter Treveros Iulius Florus, apud Aeduos Iulius Sacrovir. nobilitas ambobus et maiorum bona facta, eoque Romana civitas olim data,

express the relationship between nephew and uncle, just as it is employed to express that between cousins sometimes. In xi. 9 Gotarzes and Bardanes are described as 'fratres,' although it appears from Josephus (Antiq. i. 20) that they were nephew and uncle, although possibly *there* Tacitus was misinformed, while *here* the true connexion has been given previously. Below, 'insolentia nostri' is 'from want of habituation to our rule.' Cf. vi. 10.

incusans] The construction is 'agebat discors et incusans,' where 'discors' and 'incusans' correspond, and the latter word is followed by an infinitive as equivalent to 'inter accusandum dictitabat.' Below, 'Dii' is the emendation of Lipsius for 'alii.'

turbant praesentia] These words are opposed to 'montem transgrediuntur,' and mean therefore 'they harass the country in their immediate locality.'

39. *exercitum*] For a different case cf. i. 58, xii. 37, H. iv. 74. The army was that of Moesia, in the government of which P. Vellaeus had succeeded Pomponius Flaccus, as legatus pro praetore (ii. 66).

alarios equites ac levis cohortium] These were the cavalry (Liv. xl. 40) and infantry of the allies: 'robur peditum,' the legionary soldiers. Cf. xii. 31, "quamquam sine robore legionum sociales copias ducebat."

eruptione] An ablative of the instrument depending on 'prospere acta:' this eruption was one of the elements in the successful conduct of the campaign.

40. *aeris alieni*] The provincials, in order to pay the heavy tribute imposed on them, were driven to the necessity of borrowing from the Roman money-lenders: cf. Sall. Catil. 40. Dio Cassius (lxii. 2) speaks of a revolt in Britain as caused by a sudden calling in by Seneca of χιλίας μυριάδας drachmae.

cum id rarum nec nisi virtuti pretium esset. ii secretis conloquiis, ferocissimo quoque adsumpto aut quibus ob egestatem ac metum ex flagitiis maxima peccandi necessitudo, componunt Florus Belgas, Sacrovir propiores Gallos concire. igitur per conciliabula et coetus seditiosa disserebant de continuatione tributorum, gravitate faenoris, saevitia ac superbia praesidentium; et discordare militem audito Germanici exitio. egregium resumendae libertati tempus, si ipsi florentes, quam inops Italia, quam inbellis urbana plebes, nihil validum in exercitibus nisi quod externum, cogitarent.

41. Haut ferme ulla civitas intacta seminibus eius motus fuit: sed erupere primi Andecavi ac Turoni. quorum Andecavos Acilius Aviola legatus, excita cohorte quae Lugduni praesidium agitabat, coercuit. Turoni legionario milite, quem Visellius Varro inferioris Germaniae legatus miserat, oppressi eodem Aviola duce et quibusdam Galliarum primoribus, qui tulere auxilium, quo dissimularent defectionem magisque in tempore efferrent. spectatus et Sacrovir intecto capite pugnam pro Romanis ciens, ostentandae, ut ferebat, virtutis: sed captivi, ne incesseretur telis, adgnoscendum se praebuisse arguebant. consultus super eo Tiberius aspernatus est indicium aluitque dubitatione bellum.

42. Interim Florus insistere destinatis, pellicere alam equitum, quae conscripta e Treveris militia disciplinaque nostra habebatur, ut caesis negotiatoribus Romanis bellum inciperet; paucique

componunt] 'They arrange.' Cf. Liv. xl. 40, "cum summa concordia quos dimitterent quosque retinerent milites composuerunt."

conciliabula] Cf. Liv. vii. 15, "nundinas et conciliabula obire soliti erant." As 'stabulum' comes from 'stare,' so 'conciliabulum' comes from 'conciliare,' and would be 'a place for uniting people, schemes,' &c.

nisi quod externum] This is not intended to imply that the only soldiers worth any thing in the legions were those of foreign extraction. The legions, especially when long stationed at the same post, as many of them were, were recruited, I imagine, in the first instance and as far as possible, with men of Roman origin, whose families had settled in the particular locality, and then with provincials carefully selected. Cf. xiii. 7, "iuventutem proximas per provincias quaesitam supplendis orientis legionibus." The praetorian cohorts were recruited from Etruria, Umbria, Latium, and the old Roman colonies (iv. 5). The auxiliary troops of the allies were not legionary troops, although sometimes drilled and armed like legionary soldiers. Cf. iii. 42, "alam equitum," &c.

41. *Acilius Aviola*] Legatus pro praetore of Gallia Lugdunensis. He was perhaps the father of the M'. Acilius Aviola who was consul in A.D. 54 (xii. 64). He was proconsul of Asia A.D. 38. There were no legions stationed in Gallia Lugdunensis, but the legions of the Rhine were sufficient for its protection (cf. iv. 5, "praecipuum robur Rhenum iuxta commune in Germanos Gallosque subsidium, octo legiones erant"). A cohort only was stationed here and there, at Lugdunum, for instance (cf. H. i. 64).

efferrent] 'Bring it out openly.' Cf. vi. 9, "qui efferret quae omnes animo agitabant."

42. *negotiatoribus*] The Roman money-lenders penetrated every where, and in

equitum corrupti, plures in officio mansere. aliut vulgus obaeratorum aut clientium arma cepit; petebantque saltus quibus nomen Arduenna, cum legiones utroque ab exercitu, quas Visellius et C. Silius adversis itineribus obiecerant, arcuerunt. praemissusque cum delecta manu Iulius Indus e civitate eadem, discors Floro et ob id navandae operae avidior, inconditam multitudinem adhuc disiecit. Florus incertis latebris victores frustratus, postremo visis militibus qui effugia insederant, sua manu cecidit. isque Treverici tumultus finis.

43. Aput Aeduos maior moles exorta, quanto civitas opulentior et comprimendi procul praesidium. Augustodunum caput gentis armatis cohortibus Sacrovir occupaverat *et* nobilissimam Galliarum subolem, liberalibus studiis ibi operatam, ut eo pignore parentes propinquosque eorum adiungeret; simul arma occulte fabricata iuventuti dispertit. quadraginta milia fuere, quinta sui parte legionariis armis, ceteri cum venabulis et cultris quaeque alia venantibus tela sunt. adduntur e servitiis gladiaturae destinati, quibus more gentico continuum ferri tegimen: cruppellarios vocant, inferendis ictibus inhabiles, accipiendis inpenetrabiles. augebantur eae copiae vicinarum civitatum ut nondum aperta consensione, ita viritim promptis studiis, et certamine ducum Romanorum, quos inter ambigebatur utroque bellum sibi poscente. mox Varro invalidus senecta vigenti Silio concessit.

Gaul found a large scope for their trade. To kill them would, of course, be an easy way of getting rid of the debt.

aliut vulgus] 'The rest, forming the common herd,' not of course implying that those previously mentioned were of the same character, for they were not, but, on the contrary, leading men. Cf. H. iv. 56, "legatis tantum legionum interfectis, ceterum vulgus facile accessurum."

obaeratorum] Amongst the Gauls a debtor was often compelled to render his creditor bodily service. Orgetorix (Caesar, B. G. i. 4) was attended to the court of justice by his clients and debtors, and by their aid secured himself against trial.

43. *Augustodunum*] This is the Bibracte of Caesar (B. G. i. 23), now 'Autun.' Below, the MS. has 'nobilissimarum,' which can hardly be correct, in the sense of 'the youthful members of the noblest families in Gaul.' It is of course often immaterial whether one speaks of a country personified, or the people inhabiting it; but the adjective here could only distinguish certain portions of Gaul from others less illustrious, which is not required here, as the illustrious families would not be confined to certain parts of the country, but be spread more or less thickly over the whole. For 'operatam' cf. Ovid, Art. Amat. iii. 411, "operataque doctis Cura vigil Musis nomen inertis habet."

cruppellarios] Thierry connects this word (Histoire des Gaulois iii. 275) with the Gaelic 'crup,' "reserrer et aussi rendre impotent; crupach et crioplach, perclus, manchot."

viritim] The various states did not as yet show their approval of the movement on foot, by sending troops, but any one who chose to volunteer aid was allowed to do so. The progress of the conspiracy was farther arrested by the rivalry between the two Roman generals, Varro on the Lower Rhine, and Silius on the Upper. Below, for 'ambigebatur' cf. iv. 55, H. i. 24.

44. At Romae non Treveros modo et Aeduos, sed quattuor et sexaginta Galliarum civitates descivisse, adsumptos in societatem Germanos, dubias Hispanias, cuncta, ut mos famae, in maius credita. optumus quisque rei publicae cura maerebat: multi odio praesentium et cupidine mutationis suis quoque periculis laetabantur, increpabantque Tiberium, quod in tanto rerum motu libellis accusatorum insumeret operam. an et Sacrovirum maiestatis crimine reum in senatu fore? extitisse tandem viros, qui cruentas epistulas armis cohiberent. miseram pacem vel bello bene mutari. tanto inpensius in securitatem conpositus, neque loco neque vultu mutato, sed ut solitum per illos dies egit, altitudine animi, an conpererat modica esse et vulgatis leviora.

45. Interim Silius cum legionibus duabus incedens, praemissa auxiliari manu vastat Sequanorum pagos, qui finium extremi et Aeduis contermini sociique in armis erant. mox Augustodunum petit propero agmine, certantibus inter se signiferis, fremente etiam gregario milite, ne suetam requiem, ne spatia noctium opperiretur: viderent modo adversos et aspicerentur; id satis ad victoriam. duodecimum apud lapidem Sacrovir copiaeque patentibus locis apparuere. in fronte statuerat ferratos, in cornibus cohortes, a tergo semermos. ipse inter primores equo insigni adire, memorare veteres Gallorum glorias quaeque Romanis adversa intulissent; quam decora victoribus libertas, quanto intolerantior servitus iterum victis.

46. Non diu haec nec apud laetos: etenim propinquabat legionum acies, inconditique ac militiae nescii oppidani neque oculis neque auribus satis conpetebant. contra Silius, etsi praesumpta

44. *cruentas epistulas*] These were apparently the letters written by Tiberius to the Senate, recommending the condemnation of those whom the informers assailed.

altitudine animi] Livy (iv. 6) joins 'altitudinem animi' with 'modestia' and 'aequitas,' in the sense of 'loftiness of mind.' Sallust however (Jugurtha 95) describes Sulla as 'callidus,' and possessing "ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis," where the sense is of course 'depth of mind,' 'impenetrability,' and this is no doubt the sense here. Cf. H. iv. 86, "simplicitatis ac modestiae imagine in altitudinem conditus."

45. *finium extremi*] 'Those cantons of the Sequani which lie at the edge of their lands;' only this portion of their territory was laid waste.

intolerantior] For this passive use of the word cf. xi. 10, "regreditur ingens gloria atque eo ferocior et subiectis intolerantior." Aul. Gell. xiii. 8, "nihil fieri posse indignius neque intolerantius." Suetonius, Tib. 51, "acerbitate et intolerantia morum." Elsewhere Tacitus uses the word actively. Cf. ii. 75, "omnium quae ultionem morarentur intolerans." Also H. iv. 80, and Cic. pro Cluent. 40, "quis eum cum illa superbia atque intolerantia ferre potuisset?"

46. *conpetebant*] Cf. H. iii. 73, "dux segnis non lingua, non auribus competere." So in a fragment of Sallust, quoted by Nonius, there is "neque animo neque auribus aut lingua competere." The townspeople had not the undisturbed use of their eyes or ears;

spes hortandi causas exemerat, clamitabat tamen, pudendum ipsis quod Germaniarum victores adversum Gallos tamquam in hostem ducerentur. 'una nuper cohors rebellem Turonum, una ala Treverum, paucae huius ipsius exercitus turmae profligavere Sequanos. quanto pecunia dites et voluptatibus opulentos, tanto magis inbelles Aeduos evincite et fugientibus consulite.' ingens ad ea clamor, et circumfudit eques frontemque pedites invasere; nec cunctatum apud latera. paulum morae attulere ferrati restantibus lamminis adversum pila et gladios; set miles correptis securibus et dolabris, ut si murum perrumperet, caedere tegmina et corpora; quidam trudibus aut furcis inertem molem prosternere, iacentesque nullo ad resurgendum nisu quasi exanimes linquebantur. Sacrovir primo Augustodunum, dein metu deditionis in villam propinquam cum fidissimis pergit. illic sua manu, reliqui mutuis ictibus occidere: incensa super villa omnes cremavit.

47. Tum demum Tiberius ortum patratumque bellum senatu scripsit; neque dempsit aut addidit vero, sed fide ac virtute legatos, se consiliis superfuisse. simul causas, cur non ipse, non Drusus profecti ad id bellum forent, adiunxit, magnitudinem imperii extollens, neque decorum principibus, si una alterave civitas turbet, omissa urbe, unde in omnia regimen; nunc quia non metu ducatur, iturum, ut praesentia spectaret componeretque. decrevere patres vota pro reditu eius supplicationesque et alia decora. solus Dolabella Cornelius, dum anteire ceteros parat, absurdam in adulationem progressus, censuit ut ovans e Campania urbem introiret. igitur secutae Caesaris litterae, quibus se non tam vacuum gloria praedicabat, ut post ferocissimas gentes perdomitas, tot receptos in iuventa aut spretos triumphos, iam senior peregrinationis suburbanae inane praemium peteret.

they could not bear the aspect of the legions undismayed, nor yet the sounds.

fugientibus consulite] Cf. H. iii. 82, "ne asperatus proelio miles non populo, non senatui consuleret." This would lead one to suppose the meaning to be 'spare the fugitives,' let them escape, as scarcely worth killing. The Aedui were to be utterly routed, and that would be enough, and it would then be more judicious to let them off with their lives. Still the advice seems a little unexpected after the previous sentence, 'inbelles Aeduos evincite.' Can the words be ironical, in the sense of 'give the fugitives a lift in their flight,' by pursuing them, and, as it were, pushing them on in their headlong course with your spears, &c.?

47. *superfuisse*] 'Had shown his superiority,' 'had excelled.' Cf. Agric. 44, "gratia oris supererat." A. Gellius (i. 22) quotes a passage from Cicero, "nec vero scientia iuris maioribus suis Q. Aelius Tubero defuit, doctrina etiam superfuit."

neque decorum] Sc. 'proficisci in bellum.' For C. Dolabella see iii. 69.

peregrinationis suburbanae] 'Of a mere jaunt in the neighbourhood of the city,' where 'suburbanus' is contrasted with regions at the extremity of the empire. Cf. xiii. 43, "brevius visum suburbana

48. Sub idem tempus, ut mors Sulpicii Quirini publicis exsequiis frequentaretur, petivit a senatu. nihil ad veterem et patriciam Sulpiciorum familiam Quirinius pertinuit, ortus aput municipium Lanuvium: sed impiger militiae et acribus ministeriis consulatum sub divo Augusto, mox expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis insignia triumphi adeptus, datusque rector Gaio Caesari Armeniam optinenti Tiberium quoque Rhodi agentem coluerat. quod tunc patefecit in senatu, laudatis in se officiis et incusato M. Lollio, quem auctorem Gaio Caesari pravitatis et discordiarum arguebat. sed ceteris haut laeta memoria Quirini erat ob intenta, ut memoravi, Lepidae pericula sordidamque et praepotentem senectam.

49. Fine anni C. Lutorium Priscum equitem Romanum, post celebre carmen, quo Germanici suprema defleverat, pecunia donatum a Caesare, corripuit delator, obiectans aegro Druso composuisse quod, si extinctus foret, maiore praemio vulgaretur. id Lutorius in domo P. Petronii, socru eius Vitellia coram multisque inlustribus feminis, per vaniloquentiam legerat. ut delator extitit, ceteris ad dicendum testimonium exterritis, sola Vitellia nihil se audivisse adseveravit. sed arguentibus ad permitiem plus fidei fuit, sententiaque Haterii Agrippae consulis designati indictum reo ultimum supplicium.

50. Contra M'. Lepidus in hunc modum exorsus est: 'si, patres conscripti, unum id spectamus, quam nefaria voce Lutorius Priscus mentem suam et aures hominum polluerit, neque carcer neque laqueus, ne serviles quidem cruciatus in eum suffecerint. sin flagitia et facinora sine modo sunt, suppliciis ac remediis principis moderatio maiorumque et vestra exempla temperant, et vana a scelestis, dicta a maleficiis differunt, est locus sententiae, per quam

crimina incipi," where 'suburbana' is opposed to 'provincia Asia,' although most of the editors read 'urbana.'

48. *Sulpicii Quirini*] This is the Cyrenius of St. Luke's Gospel (ch. ii.), who was legatus pro praetore of Syria. He was consul 12 A.C., and proconsul of Asia. The Homonadenses occupied a rugged and mountainous district of the Taurus in Cilicia (Strabo xii. 6).

M. Lollio] He was legatus pro praetore of Galatia, consul in the year 21 A.C., legatus pro praetore of Germany (i. 10). He was attached to Caius Caesar (grandson of Augustus) on his mission to the East (Suet. Tib. 12). His granddaughter was Lollia Paulina (xii. 1). He poisoned himself (Pliny ix. § 118).

49. *P. Petronii*] He was the father of P. Petronius Turpilianus (xiv. 29), and father of Petronia, the wife of Vitellius, afterwards emperor (H. ii. 64), and consul suffectus A.D. 19. He is said by Nipperdey, on the evidence, I believe, of coins, to have been proconsul of Asia, and legatus pro praetore of Syria 39—42 A.D.

50. *est locus*] These words begin the apodosis to the sentence, and 'sin' is to be repeated with 'temperant' and 'differunt:' 'but if, although enormities, yet the moderation of the prince . . . then

neque huic delictum impune sit et nos clementiae simul ac severitatis non paeniteat. saepe audivi principem nostrum conquerentem, si quis sumpta morte misericordiam eius praevenisset. vita Lutorii in integro est, qui neque servatus in periculum rei publicae neque interfectus in exemplum ibit. studia illi, ut plena vaecordiae, ita inania et fluxa sunt; nec quicquam grave ac serium ex eo metuas, qui suorum ipse flagitiorum proditor non virorum animis sed muliercularum adrepit. cedat tamen urbe et bonis amissis aqua et igni arceatur: quod perinde censeo ac si lege maiestatis teneretur.'

51. Solus Lepido Rubellius Blandus e consularibus adsensit: ceteri sententiam Agrippae secuti, ductusque in carcerem Priscus ac statim exanimatus. id Tiberius solitis sibi ambagibus apud senatum incusavit, cum extolleret pietatem quamvis modicas principis iniurias acriter ulciscentium, deprecaretur tam praecipitis verborum poenas; laudaret Lepidum, neque Agrippam argueret. igitur factum senatus consultum, ne decreta patrum ante *decumum* diem ad aerarium deferrentur idque vitae spatium damnatis prorogaretur. sed non senatui libertas ad paenitendum erat, neque Tiberius interiectu temporis mitigabatur.

52. C. Sulpicius D. Haterius consules sequuntur, inturbidus externis rebus annus, domi suspecta severitate adversum luxum, qui inmensum proruperat ad cuncta quis pecunia prodigitur. sed alia sumptuum, quamvis graviora, dissimulatis plerumque pretiis occultabantur; ventris et ganeae paratus adsiduis sermonibus vulgati fecerant curam, ne princeps antiquae parsimoniae durius

there is a place.' This would be more clearly conveyed in Greek by the use of μέν and δέ.

in integro est] Tiberius before had complained that his intended exercise of clemency had been prevented by the suicide of the individual concerned. *Now* this was not the case: the life of Lutorius was not yet taken.

quod perinde censeo] 'Which I think quite the same as bringing him under the Lex Maiestatis.' The effect would be the same as if a charge were brought under the Lex Maiestatis, where the penalty would be death.

51. *decreta patrum*] There is a distinction between the words used here for the enactments of the Senate. A 'decretum' seems to be a decision limited to a particular occasion and set of circumstances, whereas 'consulta,' even under the old constitution, were sometimes law, and under the emperors the main sources of law. All the decrees of the Senate were entered at the 'aerarium.' Cf. Liv. xxxix. 4, "quid ab eo posse quemquam aequi expectare qui per infrequentiam furtim factum senatus consultum ad aerarium detulerit?" For a similar practice in the case of fines imposed by the tribunes, cf. xiii. 28, "neve multam ab iis dictam quaestores aerarii in publicas tabulas ante quattuor menses referrent." The C. Sulpicius below, is C. Sulpicius Galba, the brother of the Emperor Galba (Suet. Galba 3).

52. *antiquae parsimoniae*] Cf. Suet. Tib. 34, "et ut parsimoniam publicam exemplo quoque iuvaret, solennibus ipse cenis pridiana saepe ac semesa obsonia apposuit, dimidiatumque aprum."

adverteret. nam incipiente C. Bibulo ceteri quoque aediles disseruerant, sperni sumptuariam legem vetitaque utensilium pretia augeri in dies, nec mediocribus remediis sisti posse. et consulti patres integrum id negotium ad principem distulerant. sed Tiberius saepe apud se pensitato, an coerceri tam profusae cupidines possent, num coercitio plus damni in rem publicam ferret, quam indecorum adtrectare quod non obtineret, vel retentum ignominiam et infamiam virorum inlustrium posceret, postremo litteras ad senatum composuit, quarum sententia in hunc modum fuit.

53. 'Ceteris forsitan in rebus, patres conscripti, magis expediat me coram interrogari et dicere quid e re publica censeam: in hac relatione subtrahi oculos meos melius fuit, ne denotantibus vobis ora ac metum singulorum, qui pudendi luxus arguerentur, ipse etiam viderem eos ac velut deprenderem. quod si mecum ante viri strenui, aediles, consilium habuissent, nescio an suasurus fuerim omittere potius praevalida et adulta vitia quam hoc adsequi, ut palam fieret quibus flagitiis impares essemus. sed illi quidem officio functi sunt, ut ceteros quoque magistratus sua munia implere velim: mihi autem neque honestum silere neque proloqui expeditum, quia non aedilis aut praetoris aut consulis partis sustineo. maius aliquid et excelsius a principe postulatur; et cum recte factorum sibi quisque gratiam trahant, unius invidia ab omnibus peccatur. quid enim primum prohibere et priscum ad morem recidere adgrediar? villarumne infinita spatia? familiarum numerum et nationes? argenti et auri pondus? aeris tabu-

adverteret] Tacitus uses this verb in the sense of 'animadvertere.' Cf. ii. 32, iv. 35.

sumptuariam legem] Aulus Gellius speaks of this (ii. 24. 14), "postremo lex Iulia ad populum pervenit, Caesare Augusto imperante qua profestis quidem diebus ducenti finiuntur: kalendis idubus nonis et aliis quibusdam festis trecenti, nuptiis autem et repotiis sestertii mille."

distulerant] 'Had put off until (the return of) the princeps.' So Livy xli. 8, "legati Sardorum qui ad novos magistratus dilati erant." 'Reicere' is also used in this sense.

53. *subtrahi*] Cf. Agric. 45, "Nero tamen subtraxit oculos, iussitque scelera non spectavit: praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus," &c.

quibus flagitiis] 'What enormities we were unable to repress,' 'no match for.' Cf. H. i. 18, "cui non iam pares sumus."

unius invidia] Every one claims the merit of what is done rightly, and so the Emperor gained no credit, and yet he was blamed exclusively if any thing went wrong.

infinita spatia] Horace satirized this mania for building huge piles, Od. ii. 15, "Iam pauca aratro iugera regiae Moles relinquent." Cf. also Juv. xiv. 86, "Aedificator erat Cetronius, et modo curvo Litore Caietae, summa nunc Tiburis arce, Nunc Praenestinis in montibus alta parabat Culmina villarum." Cf. Sall. Catil. 12, "villas in urbium modum exaedificatas."

familiarum] Cf. xiv. 44, "nationes in familiis habemus, quibus diversi ritus, externa sacra aut nulla sunt." Tacitus in xiv. 43 speaks of a man as having 400 slaves, and Pliny (xxxiii. § 135) gives some one above 4000, and in Athenaeus (vi. 104) we read of 10,000 or even 20,000

larumque miracula? promiscas viris et feminis vestes atque illa feminarum propria, quis lapidum causa pecuniae nostrae ad externas aut hostilis gentes transferuntur?

54. Nec ignoro in conviviis et circulis incusari ista et modum posci: set si quis legem sanciat, poenas indicat, îdem illi civitatem verti, splendidissimo cuique exitium parari, neminem criminis expertem clamitabunt. atqui ne corporis quidem morbos veteres et diu auctos nisi per dura et aspera coerceas: corruptus simul et corruptor, aeger et flagrans animus haut levioribus remediis restinguendus est quam libidinibus ardescit. tot a maioribus repertae leges, tot quas divus Augustus tulit, illae oblivione, hae, quod flagitiosius est, contemptu abolitae securiorem luxum fecere. nam si velis quod nondum vetitum est, timeas ne vetere: at si prohibita impune transcenderis, neque metus ultra neque pudor est. cur ergo olim parsimonia pollebat? quia sibi quisque moderabatur, quia unius urbis cives eramus; ne inritamenta quidem eadem intra Italiam dominantibus. externis victoriis aliena, civilibus etiam nostra consumere didicimus. quantulum istud est de quo aediles admonent! quam, si cetera respicias, in levi habendum! at hercule nemo refert, quod Italia externae opis indiget, quod vita populi Romani per incerta maris et tempestatum cotidie volvitur. ac nisi provinciarum copiae et dominis et servitiis et agris subvenerint, nostra nos scilicet nemora nostraeque villae tuebuntur. hanc, patres conscripti, curam sustinet princeps; haec omissa funditus rem publicam trahet. reliquis intra animum medendum est: nos pudor, pauperes necessitas, divites satias in melius mutet. aut si quis ex magistratibus tantam industriam ac severitatem pollicetur, ut ire obviam queat, hunc ego et laudo et exonerari laborum meorum partem fateor: sin accusare vitia

being possessed. For 'promiscas vestes' cf. ii. 33, "ne vestis serica viros foedaret."

54. *Augustus tulit*] There was a Lex Oppia (iii. 33), and besides, a Lex Orchia 181 A.C., forbidding more than a certain number of guests to be present at a feast; a Lex Fannia, 161 A.C., limiting the amount of money to be spent. The Lex Iulia of Augustus is mentioned in c. 52. These laws were disregarded, as sumptuary laws always are and will be: legislation is useless against the advancing luxury of a society ever growing wealthier and more eager to prove its wealth by outward show and ostentation.

externae opis] It had long been a complaint that the raising of corn in Italy was ceasing, nor is it hard to see the reason of this. Large tracts of public land had fallen into the hands of the more powerful citizens, and while the master lived at Rome in extravagance, the lands were tilled by slaves. Slave labour is not thrifty, and consequently large numbers of slaves were required, until the owners became alarmed, and to lessen their apprehension, and expense as well, large tracts were converted into pasture. Italy thus gradually became dependent on foreign countries for her corn supplies, and if any enemy could gain command of the seas, Rome was in danger of starvation.

volunt, dein, cum gloriam eius rei adepti sunt, simultates faciunt ac mihi relinquunt, credite, patres conscripti, me quoque non esse offensionum avidum; quas cum graves et plerumque iniquas pro re publica suscipiam, inanes et inritas neque mihi aut vobis usui futuras iure deprecor.'

55. Auditis Caesaris litteris remissa aedilibus talis cura; luxusque mensae, a fine Actiaci belli ad ea arma, quis Servius Galba rerum adeptus est, per annos centum profusis sumptibus exerciti paulatim exolevere. causas eius mutationis quaerere libet. dites olim familiae nobilium aut claritudine insignes studio magnificentiae prolabebantur. nam etiam tum plebem socios regna colere et coli licitum; ut quisque opibus domo paratu speciosus, per nomen et clientelas inlustrior habebatur. postquam caedibus saevitum et magnitudo famae exitio erat, ceteri ad sapientiora convertere. simul novi homines e municipiis et coloniis atque etiam provinciis in senatum crebro adsumpti domesticam parsimoniam intulerunt, et quamquam fortuna vel industria plerique pecuniosam ad senectam pervenirent, mansit tamen prior animus. sed praecipuus adstricti moris auctor Vespasianus fuit, antiquo ipse

55. *remissa*] The aediles were excused from this business, it was not required of them, they were allowed to drop the subject. Cf. H. iii. 5, "remissum id munus."

rerum] Cf. vi. 45, "nihil abnuentem dum dominationis apisceretur." The usual construction is with an accusative. Cf. i. 13, iii. 24.

per nomen] The sense is a little uncertain: 'in proportion to the show each man made, he was thought all the more famous by reason of the repute and clients he secured by it.' The man who made a show secured celebrity and clients by it, and then these still farther heightened his repute. This is one explanation. I do not know whether 'per nomen' might be 'throughout his gens,' as contrasted with the clients. The definition of a 'gens' is a body of persons of the same name (there were of course other requisites), and 'nomen Latinum,' &c., are common expressions.

quamquam . . . pervenirent] 'Quamquam' is followed by a subjunctive in i. 3, 4, 24, ii. 1, Germ. 35, 38, &c., and by the indicative in i. 55, &c. There is, theoretically at all events, a distinction in the meaning in the two cases. In i. 55, "quod quamquam in aestatem summa ope parabat," &c., the preparation is spoken of as a plain matter of fact. Here 'quamquam pervenirent' does not actually state quite so much. It does not have in view, as it were, any given individuals who reached old age, although it does not deny the existence of such, but it only states it in a hypothetical sort of way: 'in spite of the arrival' is an abstract proposition rather than an assertion about certain individuals clearly before the writer's mind. In the same way, pretty nearly, the several use of 'quamquam' and 'quamvis,' with an indicative and subjunctive mood respectively, might be explained. 'Quamvis' seems to put the exception introduced by it hypothetically, without reference to a distinctly viewed actual occurrence. 'Quamquam,' on the other hand, introduces an exception viewed as existing in fact, and not merely in the writer's thought. I do not mean to say that this distinction is observed always, for language is not as exact in practice as in theory, just as the actual use of 'quam' with a subjunctive does not always square with its theoretical force of causality, more or less remote. Few English writers are quite exact in their language, and probably Latin authors did not invariably keep close to orthodox usages any more than other people.

cultu victuque. obsequium inde in principem et aemulandi amor validior quam poena ex legibus et metus. nisi forte rebus cunctis inest quidam velut orbis, ut quem ad modum temporum vices, ita morum vertantur; nec omnia aput priores meliora, sed nostra quoque aetas multa laudis et artium imitanda posteris tulit. verum haec nobis *in* maiores certamina ex honesto maneant.

56. Tiberius fama moderationis parta, quod ingruentis accussatores represserat, mittit litteras ad senatum, quis potestatem tribuniciam Druso petebat. id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret ac tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperia praemineret. Marcum deinde Agrippam socium eius potestatis, quo defuncto Tiberium Neronem delegit, ne successor in incerto foret. sic cohiberi pravas aliorum spes rebatur; simul modestiae Neronis et suae magnitudini fidebat. quo tunc exemplo Tiberius Drusum summae rei admovit, cum incolumi Germanico integrum inter duos iudicium tenuisset. sed principio litterarum veneratus deos, ut consilia sua rei publicae prosperarent, modica de moribus adulescentis neque in falsum aucta rettulit. esse illi coniugem et tres liberos eamque aetatem, qua ipse quondam a divo Augusto ad capessendum hoc munus vocatus sit. neque nunc propere, sed per octo annos capto experimento, compressis seditionibus, compositis bellis, triumphalem et bis consulem noti laboris participem sumi.

57. Praeceperant animis orationem patres, quo quaesitior adu-

multa laudis] For the genitive cf. Hor. Od. iii. 9, "Multi Lydia nominis Romana vigui clarior Ilia;" and ibid. i. 36, "Neu multi Damalis meri Bassum Threicia vincat amystide." Cf. also Cic. ad Fam. ix. 26, "homo non multi cibi sed multi ioci."

verum haec] The reading of the MS., 'haec nobis maiores certamina,' seems unintelligible. I suggested 'in maiores,' as the preposition might easily slip out from the contiguity of the 'm' in the following word, and found that Lipsius had proposed this long since. For the sense of 'in' here, viz. 'with reference to,' cf. xii. 6, "nova nobis in fratrum filias coniugia;" and iv. 11, "insita in extraneos cunctatione."

56. *Augustus repperit*] Augustus, as Dr. Merivale observes (Hist. of Romans under the Empire, ch. xxxi.) could hardly have been elected tribune of the plebs, as he was a patrician, and that office was reserved for the plebeians, even if there had been no objection to making the plebs the instrument of government. Of course, with the 'potestas tribunicia,' the Emperor was able to interpose his veto on any measure distasteful to him, and he was invested with a kind of imaginary charm as the champion of the popular rights, and his person was inviolable. On any one who resisted him in the discharge of his duty he could inflict imprisonment, and even death (Liv. Epit. 48. 55. 59), and so the Emperor became virtually almost despotic, by holding this power.

eamque aetatem] Tiberius was born 42 A.C., and obtained the 'potestas tribunicia' 6 A.C.; consequently Drusus was in his thirty-sixth year.

57. *praeceperant*] The senators were not taken by surprise; they had foreseen the coming speech, and discussed beforehand the proper steps to take in conse-

latio fuit. nec tamen repertum nisi ut effigies principum, aras deum, templa et arcus aliaque solita censerent, nisi quod M. Silanus ex contumelia consulatus honorem principibus petivit dixitque pro sententia, ut publicis privatisve monimentis ad memoriam temporum non consulum nomina praescriberentur, sed eorum qui tribuniciam potestatem gererent. at Q. Haterius cum eius diei senatus consulta aureis litteris figenda in curia censuisset, deridiculo fuit senex foedissimae adulationis tantum infamia usurus.

58. Inter quae provincia Africa Iunio Blaeso prorogata, Servius Maluginensis flamen Dialis ut Asiam sorte haberet postulavit, frustra vulgatum dictitans non licere Dialibus egredi Italia, neque aliut ius suum quam Martialium Quirinaliumque flaminum: porro, si hi duxissent provincias, cur Dialibus id vetitum? nulla de eo populi scita, non in libris caerimoniarum reperiri. saepe pontifices Dialia sacra fecisse, si flamen valitudine aut munere publico impediretur. duobus et septuaginta annis post Cornelii Merulae caedem neminem suffectum, neque tamen cessavisse religiones. quod si per tot annos possit non creari nullo sacrorum damno, quanto facilius afuturum ad unius anni proconsulare imperium? privatis olim simultatibus effectum, ut a pontificibus maximis ire in provincias prohiberentur: nunc deum munere summum pontificum etiam summum hominum esse, non aemulatione, non odio aut privatis adfectionibus obnoxium.

59. Adversus quae cum augur Lentulus aliique varie dissere-

quence. The speech was read in the Senate by one of the quaestors. Cf. xvi. 27, "oratio principis per quaestorem eius audita est."

infamia usurus] The old man made himself ridiculous by his proposal, because his advanced age precluded the chance of his reaping any reward for his flattery. He was too old to reap any crop of honours to set off against the infamy of his flattery.

58. *Asiam sorte haberet*] See note on iii. 32, on 'Asiae sorte.'

duxissent provincias] Sc. 'sorte,' 'had drawn the provinces' by lot. This seems a better explanation than that which makes the sense to be 'had ruled provinces,' although Tacitus used the word elsewhere in much this meaning. Cf. Agric. 6, "ludos et inania honoris duxit."

Cornelii Merulae] Merula was chosen consul suffectus after Cinna's expulsion, and on the restoration of the Marian party killed himself 87 A.C. (Vellei ii. 22). The flamenship remained vacant until Servius Maluginensis (Dio liv. 36) was consecrated 11 A.C., and during the interval the duties were discharged by the Pontifex Maximus. Tacitus makes this interval only 72 years, and consequently some of the editors read 'quinque' (v) instead of 'duobus' (ii), but I have left the text as it is, supposing there may be some unknown explanation of the calculation.

aemulatione] In xv. 38 there is 'obnoxia urbe artis itineribus,' where 'obnoxia' is used absolutely, 'liable to damage or fire.' Perhaps the reading may be right here: 'not under undue influence, arising from a spirit of rivalry or hatred or individual partialities.' Of course, usually the dative follows 'obnoxius.' Cf. ii. 75, xvi. 6.

59. *augur Lentulus*] This is the Cn. Cornelius Lentulus who was consul in the year 14 A.C. He was remarkable for his wealth, avarice, and general feebleness of

rent, eo decursum est ut pontificis maximi sententiam opperirentur. Tiberius dilata notione de iure flaminis, decretas ob tribuniciam Drusi potestatem caerimonias temperavit, nominatim arguens insolentiam sententiae aureasque litteras contra patrium morem. recitatae et Drusi epistulae quamquam ad modestiam flexae pro superbissimis accipiuntur. huc decidisse cuncta, ut ne iuvenis quidem tanto honore accepto adiret urbis deos, ingrederetur senatum, auspicia saltem gentile aput solum inciperet. bellum scilicet aut diverso terrarum distineri, litora et lacus Campaniae cum maxime peragrantem. sic imbui rectorem generis humani, id primum e paternis consiliis discere. sane gravaretur aspectum civium senex imperator fessamque aetatem et actos labores praetenderet: Druso quod nisi ex adrogantia impedimentum?

60. Sed Tiberius, vim principatus sibi firmans, imaginem antiquitatis senatui praebebat, postulata provinciarum ad disquisitionem patrum mittendo. crebrescebat enim Graecas per urbes licentia atque inpunitas asyla statuendi; conplebantur templa pessimis servitiorum; eodem subsidio obaerati adversum creditores suspectique capitalium criminum receptabantur. nec ullum satis validum imperium erat coercendis seditionibus populi, flagitia hominum ut caerimonias deum protegentis. igitur placitum ut mitterent civitates iura atque legatos. et quaedam quod falso usurpaverant sponte omisere; multae vetustis superstitionibus aut meritis in populum Romanum fidebant. magnaque eius diei species fuit, quo senatus maiorum beneficia, sociorum pacta, regum etiam qui ante vim Romanum valuerant decreta ipsorumque

mind, and was very slow of utterance (Senec. de Benef. ii. 27). Suetonius says Tiberius drove him to commit suicide, that he might enjoy his enormous wealth (quater millies sestertium, or more than three millions sterling).

notione] Cf. vi. 12, "igitur tunc quoque notioni quindecemvirum is liber subicitur." Also Cic. ad Attic. xi. 20, "quod ipsum est suspectum notionem eius differri." So Tacitus uses 'noscere' for 'cognoscere' (xii. 60). 'Notio' is used especially of the scrutiny of the censors. Cf. Cic. pro Sest. 25, "censoria notio est gravissimum iudicium."

bellum scilicet] 'Esse' is to be supplied, 'surely there must be war somewhere.' 'Cum maxime,' is an elliptical expression, and the full expression would be: 'peragrantem cum maxime peragraret.' Cf. iv. 27, "Coeptantem cum maxime conjurationem disiecit." Also H. i. 29. For a very similar ellipse in Greek, cf. Thucyd. vi. 57, *ἀπερισκέπτως προσπεσόντες καὶ ὡς ἂν μάλιστα δι' ὀργῆς (προσπέσοιεν)*.

60. *postulata provinciarum*] It was the old privilege of the Senators to take cognizance of representations from the provinces (xiii. 4), and to give audience to embassies from them. Polybius mentions this vi. 13, *τῶν παραγενομένων εἰς Ῥώμην πρεσβειῶν ὡς δέον ἐστὶν ἑκάστοις χρῆσθαι καὶ ὡς δέον ἀποκριθῆναι, πάντα ταῦτα χειρίζεται διὰ τῆς συγκλήτου.*

iura] 'The grounds for the right claimed;' they were to send all documents, records, &c., on which they made their claims rest.

numinum religiones introspexit, libero, ut quondam, quid firmaret mutaretve.

61. Primi omnium Ephesii adiere, memorantes non, ut vulgus crederet, Dianam atque Apollinem Delo genitos: esse aput se Cenchreum amnem, lucum Ortygiam, ubi Latonam partu gravidam et oleae, quae tum etiam maneat, adnisam edidisse ea numina, deorumque monitu sacratum nemus. atque ipsum illic Apollinem post interfectos Cyclopas Iovis iram vitavisse. mox Liberum patrem, bello victorem, supplicibus Amazonum, quae aram insiderant, ignovisse. auctam hinc concessu Herculis, cum Lydia poteretur, caerimoniam templo, neque Persarum dicione deminutum ius; post Macedonas, dein nos servavisse.

62. Proximi hos Magnetes L. Scipionis et L. Sullae constitutis nitebantur, quorum ille Antiocho, hic Mithridate pulsis fidem atque virtutem Magnetum decoravere, uti Dianae Leucophryenae perfugium inviolabile foret. Aphrodisienses posthac et Stratoni-

61. *Dianam*] The Amazons are said to have dedicated a statue of Artemis on the shore at Ephesus (Callim. in Dian. 238). This Asiatic Artemis was dressed in an Amazonian costume, with many breasts, and is apparently not much connected with the Hellenic Artemis.

Delo] 'In Delos.' Cf. iv. 21, "Saxo Seripho;" xiv. 20, "theatro;" xvi. 5, "sedilibus;" H. v. 5, "templo;" O. 13, "tumulo." Sometimes two words are joined co-ordinately in this construction, iv. 74, "campo aut litore;" xiv. 61, "foro ac templis." Sometimes two in dependence, xiv. 10, "tumulo matris;" xv. 37, "crepidinibus stagni;" O. 37, "antiquariorum bibliothecis;" or a single word with a relative clause added, xii. 36, "campo qui castra praeiacet;" H. iv. 84, "loco cui nomen Phacotis." I have before pointed out that Tacitus is somewhat of a philosophical grammarian, extending a principle over instances not hitherto generally embraced by it. So here I believe the explanation of these ablatives to be that they are extensions of the usual ablative of locality. This ablative is usually confined to names of towns, islands, &c., but Tacitus, I imagine, saw no reason why the same principle should not just as well be made to embrace all localities, whether of proper names or not. As 'Athenis' meant 'at or in Athens,' so 'foro' could as well mean 'at or in the forum.' These ablatives are to be distinguished, I think, from others not dissimilar altogether at first sight, but really explicable in a different way. For instance i. 60, "equitem finibus Frisiorum ducit;" H. iii. 82, "porta Collina inruperant;" xiii. 54, "iuventutem saltibus aut paludibus inbellem aetatem per lacus admovere ripae." These all seem to be instances of the ablative of instrumentality, not so direct as in the sentence 'hostem gladio interfecit,' but still very distinctly instrumental ablatives. The cavalry was marched forward, and it was the district of the Frisii which furnished the route for the march (i. 60), and so in the other sentences. In iv. 5, "novem praetoriae cohortes Etruria ferme Umbriaque delectae," the ablative may be either due to this principle, or simply governed by the preposition in 'delectae,' 'chosen *from* Etruria.'

62. *Leucophryenae*] So called from Λευκόφρυς, near the Maeander. Strabo (xiv. 1. 40) speaks of this Magnesian temple as far superior to that of Ephesus in the skill and decoration lavished on the σηκός, although inferior to it in point of size.

Aphrodisienses, &c.] Aphrodisias was in Caria, now Geira or Dscheyra. Straticeia was a town of Caria (said now to be Eskihissar). There are inscriptions still extant which speak of the worship of Jupiter and Hecate in the last city. Corp. Inscr. Gr. n. 2715 [Διὸς τοῦ Π] ανημε (ρίου καὶ) Ἑκάτης, and 2770 τοῦ Πα [ναμερίου Διὸς καὶ] τῆς Ἑκάτης. There

censes dictatoris Caesaris ob vetusta in partis merita et recens divi Augusti decretum adtulere, laudati quod Parthorum inruptionem nihil mutata in populum Romanum constantia pertulissent. sed Aphrodisiensium civitas Veneris, Stratonicensium Iovis et Triviae religionem tuebantur. altius Hierocaesarienses exposuere, Persicam aput se Dianam, delubrum rege Cyro dicatum; et memorabantur Perpennae, Isaurici multaque alia imperatorum nomina, qui non modo templo sed duobus milibus passuum eandem sanctitatem tribuerant. exim Cyprii tribus delubris, quorum vetustissimum Paphiae Veneri auctor Aërias, post filius eius Amathus Veneri Amathusiae et Iovi Salaminio Teucer, Telamonis patris ira profugus, posuissent.

63. Auditae aliarum quoque civitatium legationes. quorum copia fessi patres, et quia studiis certabatur, consulibus permisere, ut perspecto iure, et si qua iniquitas involveretur, rem integram rursum ad senatum referrent. consules super eas civitates, quas memoravi, aput Pergamum Aesculapii conpertum asylum rettulerunt: ceteros obscuris ob vetustatem initiis niti. nam Zmyrnaeos oraculum Apollinis, cuius imperio Stratonicidi Veneri templum dicaverint, Tenios eiusdem carmen referre, quo sacrare Neptuni effigiem aedemque iussi sint. propiora Sardianos: Alexandri victoris id donum. neque minus Milesios Dareo rege niti; set

was also a temple to Jupiter under a different name, cf. Strabo, xiv. 2. 25, ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τοῦ Χρυσαορέως Διὸς κοινὸν πάντων Καρῶν. There is also an inscription (n. 2715), in which reference is made apparently to 'divi Augusti decretum:' ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ συνεχῶν κινδύνων σεσῶσθαι ὧν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἄσυλα καὶ ἱκέται καὶ ἱερὰ συγκλήτος δόγματι Σε [βαστοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ] τῆς τῶν κυρίων Ῥωμαίων αἰωνίου ἀρχῆς ἐποιήσαντο προφανεῖς ἐναργείας. There is also extant the decree of the Senate confirming the privileges granted by Caesar, the Dictator, to the people of Aphrodisias. (Corp. Inscript. Graec. n. 2737, found at Aphrodisias, at the beginning of the last century.)

quod Parthorum inruptionem] They had resisted with great pertinacity and final success a siege of their town by Labienus, the Parthian leader, who subdued Cilicia and the continental cities of Asia, except Stratoniceia, in the year 40 A.C. (Dio. xlviii. 26).

Perpennae, Isaurici] Marcus Perpenna was consul 130 A.C., and defeated Aristonicus at Stratoniceia (Eutrop. iv. 20). P. Servilius was consul in the year 48 A.C., and proconsul of Asia 46 A.C. (Cic. ad Fam. xiii. 68.) Hierocaesarea was a town of Lydia.

tribus delubris] The case depends on some phrase 'ius asyli postulaverunt,' or the like, easily supplied from the context. Below, for 'patris ira profugus,' cf. Hor. Carm. i. 7. 21, "Teucer Salamina patremque quum fugeret," &c.

63. *studiis certabatur*] This seems to mean that there were parties amongst the senators favourable or hostile to the claims of the various states; and so with all the intrigues and diverse interests it was impossible to arrive at any satisfactory settlement. The matter was therefore referred to the Senate.

Stratonicidi Veneri] Cf. Corp. Inscrip. Graec. n. 3137, ὁ βασιλεὺς Σελευκός . . . ἀξιώσας ἀποδέξασθαι τό τε ἱερὸν τῆς Στρατονίκιδος Ἀφροδίτης ἄσυλον εἶναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον. His mother's name was Στρατονίκη, and perhaps this may have suggested the erection of a temple to Aphrodite under this particular designation.

cultus numinum utrisque Dianam aut Apollinem venerandi, petere et Cretenses simulacro divi Augusti. factaque senatus consulta, quis multo cum honore modus tamen praescribebatur, iussique ipsis in templis figere aera sacrandam ad memoriam, neu specie religionis in ambitionem delaberentur.

64. Sub idem tempus Iuliae Augustae valitudo atrox necessitudinem principi fecit festinati in urbem reditus, sincera adhuc inter matrem filiumque concordia sive occultis odiis. neque enim multo ante, cum haud procul theatro Marcelli effigiem divo Augusto Iulia dicaret, Tiberi nomen suo postscripserat, idque ille credebatur ut inferius maiestate principis gravi et dissimulata offensione abdidisse. set tum supplicia dis ludique magni ab senatu decernuntur, quos pontifices et augures et quindecimviri septemviris simul et sodalibus Augustalibus ederent. censuerat L. Apronius ut fetialis quoque iis ludis praesiderent. contra dixit Caesar, distincto sacerdotiorum iure et repetitis exemplis: neque enim umquam fetialibus hoc maiestatis fuisse. ideo Augustales adiectos, quia proprium eius domus sacerdotium esset, pro qua vota persolverentur.

65. Exequi sententias haud institui nisi insignes per honestum aut notabili dedecore, quod praecipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et

cultus] 'But the worship of the deities in each case was (connected with the religious worship) of Diana or Apollo.' Cf. for the gerund ii. 47, "neque solitum in tali casu effigium subveniebat in aperta prorumpendi." The double genitive, of course, presents no difficulty.

neu] This depends on some word like 'moniti' repeated from 'iussi.'

64. *theatro Marcelli*] This theatre was in the lowest part of the Campus Martius, between the Capitoline and the Tiber, not very far distant from the Porta Carmentalis and the Forum Olitorium. The erection of the statue is mentioned in the Fasti Praenestini, under ix. Kal. Mai.

supplicia] In the sense of supplicationes. Cf. Sallust, Catil. 9, "in suppliciis deorum magnifici;" Jug. 55, "dis immortalibus supplicia decernere." Cf. also Liv. xxii. 57, "precibus suppliciis deos possent placare."

quindecimviri] These were the same as the 'decemviri sacris faciundis.' Their number had been increased from the original number two, to ten, and from ten to fifteen. Their main duty was to consult the Sibylline books (Liv. vii. 27), to celebrate the games of Apollo (Liv. x. 8), and the secular games (Tacit. Ann. xi. 11). The 'Septemviri,' or 'Epulones,' were originally three in number, appointed to manage for the pontifices the 'epulum Iovis' and the other banquets given in honour of the gods (Cic. de Orat. iii. 19), "pontifices tres viros epulones esse voluerunt cum essent ipsi a Numa ut etiam illud ludorum epulare sacrificium facerent instituti." Their number was increased to seven. The four bodies here mentioned, 'pontifices, augures, quindecimviri, septemviri,' formed the four great religious corporations at Rome (Dio liii. 1), τὰς τέσσαρας ἱερωσύνας, and Suet. Aug. 100, 'sacerdotes summorum collegiorum.' For the case of septemviris, cf. the note on iii. 66, under 'simul.'

65. *exequi*] Cf. iv. 4, "quod mihi quoque exequendum reor quae tunc Romana copia in armis." Also xii. 58, "vetera facunde executus."

infamia metus sit. ceterum tempora illa adeo infecta et adulatione sordida fuere, ut non modo primores civitatis, quibus claritudo sua obsequiis protegenda erat, sed omnes consulares, magna pars eorum qui praetura functi multique etiam pedarii senatores certatim exsurgerent foedaque et nimia censerent. memoriae proditur Tiberium, quotiens curia egrederetur, Graecis verbis in hunc modum eloqui solitum 'o homines ad servitutem paratos!' scilicet etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam proiectae servientium patientiae taedebat.

66. Paulatim dehinc ab indecoris ad infesta transgrediebantur. C. Silanum pro consule Asiae, repetundarum a sociis postulatum, Mamercus Scaurus e consularibus, Iunius Otho praetor, Bruttedius Niger aedilis simul corripiunt obiectantque violatum Augusti numen, spretam Tiberii maiestatem, Mamercus antiqua exempla iaciens, L. Cottam a Scipione Africano, Servium Galbam a Catone censorio, P. Rutilium a M. Scauro accusatos. videlicet Scipio et

pedarii senatores] Who these were seems to me difficult to ascertain, as the opinions not only of modern scholars, but even of the Romans themselves in later times differed. In Aulus Gellius iii. 18, Gaius Bassus defines them to be those who had not enjoyed a curule office, and gives as a reason that they went to the curia on foot (pedibus itare), whereas curule magistrates drove thither. The latter assertion I do not believe. Cicero (Epist. ad Att. i. 26. 5), says, "raptim in eam sententiam pedarii cucurrerunt;" and 'pedibus ire' is a usual phrase in the account of the proceedings of the Senate (xiv. 49). I think the words of Tacitus here favour the definition of Bassus, which distinguishes the 'pedarii senatores' from the 'consulares,' and 'praetura functi.' Probably these 'pedarii' were not asked to state their opinion, but merely voted silently by joining the party whose views they wished to support. Cicero ad Attic. i. 19. 7 seems to make a distinction, not unfavourable to this view, when he says, "Senatus consultum summa pedariorum voluntate, nullius nostrum auctoritate factum."

66. *C. Silanum*] C. Iunius Silanus, flamen martialis, was consul in the year 10 A.D. He was banished with his sister Torquata (iii. 69). Mamercus Scaurus is supposed to have been consul suffectus in the year A.D. 21, from an inscription (Lat. Inscrip. n. 7419) in conjunction with Cn. Tremellius. He was an eloquent pleader, but a profligate liver (vi. 29) and was accused twice of maiestas (vi. 9 and 29), and finally committed suicide, in company with his wife Sextia. Iunius Otho was probably the father of the Iunius Otho, 'tribunus plebis,' in vi. 47. L. Cotta was consul in the year 144 A.C., and accused by Scipio Africanus of repetundae (Cic. pro Mur. 28). Servius Sulpicius Galba was consul 144 A.C. with L. Cotta. He was a great orator ('temporum suorum eloquentissimus' Suet. Galba 3). He was accused of having put 30,000 of the Lusitani, when propraetor of Hispania, to death. P. Rutilius Rufus, while legatus to Q. Mucius Scaevola in Asia (94 A.C.), incurred the hostility of the Publicani, who were then not only the farmers of the revenue, but in their capacity of 'equites,' often no doubt 'iudices' in criminal trials. On his return he was accused and convicted of repetundae, and sent into banishment (Liv. Epit. 70). He had been consul in A.C. 105. M. Aemilius Scaurus was consul in the year 115 A.C., and censor in 109 A.C. Sallust describes him (Iug. 15) as "impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiae, honoris, divitiarum, ceterum vitia sua callide occultans."

simul] For the prepositional use of 'simul,' cf. iv. 55, "Laodicenis ac Magnetibus simul ac Sabino Calvisio." It is found elsewhere only in the poets as far as I know.

Cato talia ulciscebantur, aut ille Scaurus, quem proavum suum, obprobrium maiorum Mamercus infami opera dehonestabat. Iunio Othoni litterarium ludum exercere vetus ars fuit: mox Seiani potentia senator obscura initia impudentibus ausis propolluebat. Bruttedium artibus honestis copiosum et, si rectum iter pergeret, ad clarissima quaeque iturum festinatio exstimulabat, dum aequalis, dein superiores, postremo suasmet ipse spes anteire parat: quod multos etiam bonos pessum dedit, qui spretis quae tarda cum securitate, praematura vel cum exitio properant.

67. Auxere numerum accussatorum Gellius Publicola et M. Paconius, ille quaestor Silani, hic legatus. nec dubium habebatur saevitiae captarumque pecuniarum teneri reum: sed multa adgerebantur etiam insontibus periculosa, cum super tot senatores adversos facundissimis totius Asiae eoque ad accussandum delectis responderet solus et orandi nescius, proprio in metu, qui exercitam quoque eloquentiam debilitat, non temperante Tiberio quin premeret voce vultu, eo quod ipse creberrime interrogabat, neque refellere aut eludere dabatur, ac saepe etiam confitendum erat, ne frustra quaesivisset. Servos quoque Silani, ut tormentis interrogentur, actor publicus mancipio acceperat. et ne quis necessariorum iuvaret periclitantem, maiestatis crimina subdebantur, vinclum et necessitas silendi. igitur petito paucorum dierum interiectu defensionem sui deseruit, ausis ad Caesarem codicillis, quibus invidiam et preces miscuerat.

propolluebat] 'Disgraced even his obscure origin by shameless acts of effrontery.' His conduct was bad enough to bring shame even on one who had no pride of birth to maintain. Something similar is the use of 'provixisse' in vi. 25, "spe sustentatam provixisse reor," 'lived on and on, beyond the term one might have expected.' So 'propolluere' might be, I suppose, to go great lengths in polluting. He was forced to go great lengths, because no ordinary amount of villainy would have disgraced one who started in life so low down in the social scale.

67. *proprio in metu*] 'In fear which touched him personally.'

ne frustra quaesivisset] 'Lest Tiberius should appear to have put his questions to no purpose.' The Emperor showed his bias by his questions, and Silanus was afraid to assert his innocence, lest he should appear to thwart the manifest purpose of the questioner.

interrogentur] This is the reading of the MS., and I don't see that it need be altered into 'interrogarentur.' The historical writers are not always particular about the sequence of tenses, because it is usually possible to use a present tense in a narrative of past events for the sake of the picturesqueness, and the remainder of the sentence can always be modelled to suit either the actual present used, or the past tense, to which it is equivalent in force. Cf. Liv. i. 42, "ne . . . talis adversus se Tarquinii liberum esset, duas filias iuvenibus regiis iungit.' This fact is sufficient to explain a present tense in the dependent clause, as here, although the main verb is in the past tense.

actor publicus] Cf. ii. 30.

ausis] For the passive force, cf. Liv. xxxix. 8, "pleraque per vim audebantur." Virgil uses 'ausus' actively and passively in the same line (vi. 624) "Ausi omnes inmane nefas, ausoque potiti."

invidiam] 'Invidia' is used for 'reproach,' an attempt to make any one

68. Tiberius quae in Silanum parabat, quo excusatius sub exemplo acciperentur, libellos divi Augusti de Voleso Messala eiusdem Asiae pro consule factumque in eum senatus consultum recitari iubet. tum L. Pisonem sententiam rogat. ille multum de clementia principis praefatus aqua atque igni Silano interdicendum censuit ipsumque in insulam Gyarum relegandum. eadem ceteri, nisi quod Cn. Lentulus separanda Silani materna bona, quippe † alia parente geniti, reddendaque filio dixit, adnuente Tiberio.

69. At Cornelius Dolabella dum adulationem longius sequitur, increpitis C. Silani moribus addidit, ne quis vita probrosus et opertus infamia provinciam sortiretur, idque princeps diiudicaret. nam a legibus delicta puniri: quanto fore mitius in ipsos, melius in socios, provideri ne peccaretur? adversum quae disseruit Caesar: non quidem sibi ignara quae de Silano vulgabantur, sed non ex rumore statuendum. multos in provinciis contra quam spes aut metus de illis fuerit egisse: excitari quosdam ad meliora magnitudine rerum, hebescere alios. neque posse principem sua scientia cuncta complecti, neque expedire ut ambitione aliena trahatur. ideo leges in facta constitui, quia futura in incerto sint. sic a maioribus institutum, ut, si antissent delicta, poenae sequerentur. ne verterent sapienter reperta et semper placita: satis onerum principibus, satis etiam potentiae. minui iura, quotiens gliscat potestas, nec utendum imperio, ubi legibus agi possit. quanto rarior aput Tiberium popularitas,

odious. Cf. iv. 53, "invidiam et preces orditur;" xvi. 10, "immobilem se precibus et invidiae juxta ostendit." Cf. also xv. 19, xi. 34.

68. *Voleso Messala*] He was consul 5 A.D. Below, for 'Gyarum,' cf. Juv. i. 73, "aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum." It was one of the Cyclades, and a common place of banishment from Rome.

quippe alia parente geniti] These words seem unintelligible as they stand, but I have left them in the text, because there may be some explanation of them unknown to us. Walther takes 'alia' in the sense of 'dissimili' (cf. i. 43, "quorum alia nunc ora, alia pectora contueor"); but this is hardly likely, where the meaning would be so ambiguous. Perhaps Silanus, as some imagine, had a stepmother after the death or divorcement of his own true mother.

69. *Cornelius Dolabella*] He was consul A.D. 10. Cf. Lat. Inscrip. 2365, "P. Cornelio Dolabellae cos. vii viro epuloni Sodali Titiensi leg. pro pr. divi Augusti et Ti. Caesaris Augusti civitates superioris provinciae Illyrici." He was proconsul of Africa A.D. 24 (iv. 23).

a legibus] The proposition is, of course, unusual. Perhaps the laws are personified and regarded as agents, not mere instruments. Nipperdey quotes Senec. Contr. xxiv. 1, "ferrum a lege mihi traditum."

minui iura] 'Individual rights are encroached on whenever the power of one becomes overgrown.' Or, perhaps, 'the rules of law are weakened, whenever,' &c. There does not seem any distinction here between 'potestas' and 'imperium,' as there is generally when the words are used in juxtaposition; Tacitus is merely varying his language as much as he can.

tanto laetioribus animis accepta. atque ille prudens moderandi, si propria ira non impelleretur, addidit insulam Gyarum immitem et sine cultu hominum esse: darent Iuniae familiae et viro quondam ordinis eiusdem, ut Cythnum potius concederet. id sororem quoque Silani Torquatam, priscae sanctimoniae virginem, expetere. in hanc sententiam facta discessio.

70. Post auditi Cyrenenses, et accusante Anchario Prisco Caesius Cordus repetundarum damnatur. L. Ennium equitem Romanum, maiestatis postulatum quod effigiem principis promiscum ad usum argenti vertisset, recipi Caesar inter reos vetuit, palam aspernante Ateio Capitone quasi per libertatem. non enim debere eripi patribus vim statuendi neque tantum maleficium impune habendum. sane lentus in suo dolore esset: rei publicae iniurias ne largiretur. intellexit haec Tiberius, ut erant magis quam ut dicebantur, perstititque intercedere. Capito insignitior infamia fuit, quod humani divinique iuris sciens egregium publicum et bonas domi artes dehonestavisset.

71. Incessit dein religio, quonam in templo locandum foret donum, quod pro valetudine Augustae equites Romani voverant equestri Fortunae: nam etsi delubra eius deae multa in urbe, nullum tamen tali cognomento erat. repertum est aedem esse aput Antium quae sic nuncuparetur, cunctasque caerimonias Italicis in oppidis templaque et numinum effigies iuris atque imperii Romani esse. ita donum aput Antium statuitur. et quoniam de religionibus tractabatur, dilatum nuper responsum adversus Servium Maluginensem flaminem Dialem prompsit Caesar recitavitque decretum pontificum,

prudens] Cf. H. ii. 25, "doli prudens;" and Agric. 19, "animorum provinciae prudens."

ordinis eiusdem] 'Belonging to the same body as themselves.' 'Ordo' is used of the Senatorial body especially in provincial towns. Cf. xiii. 48, "quo ordo, plebs miserat." The Torquata mentioned below was a Vestal virgin. Orelli quotes an inscription (Gruter, p. 25. 10), "Iuniae C. Silani f. Torquatae sacerdoti Vestali annis lxiii.;" and p. 310. 3, where she is 'vir. Vest. maximae.'

70. *rei publicae*] This genitive depends on 'iniurias;' 'the wrongs done to the state.' He was not to make a present of to the doers; they were not to be allowed to get off scot free, after wronging the state.

egregium publicum] 'Egregium' is here used as a substantive. Cf. vi. 24, "verba centurio saevitiae plena tanquam egregium adiecerat." The sense here is 'public excellence' as opposed to private worth: Capito has been a good and distinguished citizen, as well as privately respectable. Similarly xiv. 38, "bonum publicum." Cf. Liv. ii. 1, "pessimo publico id facturus fuerit;" and in iv. 44, "malum publicum" is used.

71. *equestri Fortunae*] Livy says (xl. 40, xlii. 3) that Q. Fulvius, when proconsul in Spain, vowed a temple to Fortuna Equestris, and dedicated it 173 A.C. This, in the time of Tiberius, must have gone to ruin, for Tacitus says it was only at Antium that a temple of the kind was then existing. I do not, however, see that it follows that he did not even know of the existence of such a temple at Rome at some former period.

quotiens valitudo adversa flaminem Dialem incessisset ut pontificis maximi arbitrio plus quam binoctium abesset, dum ne diebus publici sacrificii neu saepius quam bis eundem in annum; quae principe Augusto constituta satis ostendebant annuam absentiam et provinciarum administrationem Dialibus non concedi. memorabaturque L. Metelli pontificis maximi exemplum, qui Aulum Postumium flaminem attinuisset. ita sors Asiae in eum qui consularium Maluginensi proximus erat conlata.

72. Isdem diebus Lepidus ab senatu petivit ut basilicam Pauli, Aemilia monimenta, propria pecunia firmaret ornaretque. erat etiam tum in more publica munificentia; nec Augustus arcuerat Taurum, Philippum, Balbum hostiles exsuvias aut exundantis opes ornatum ad urbis et posterum gloriam conferre. quo tum exemplo Lepidus, quamquam pecuniae modicus, avitum decus recoluit. at Pompei theatrum igne fortuito haustum Caesar extructurum pollicitus est, eo quod nemo e familia restaurando

incessisset] There seems no necessity to alter the text, as most of the editors do. The flamen dialis, if ill, and therefore desirous of remaining away more than the two nights he was permitted to be absent, must obtain special leave from the Pontifex Maximus. Under the ordinary circumstances, the flamen must return after two nights' absence; and this power of absenting himself was limited to twice in the year, and to times when no public sacrifices had to be offered. Walther objects that a flamen could not be prevented from being ill more than twice a year, which is true, but after all he would be better off than before, when he was not allowed to be away under any circumstances more than one night.

72. *basilicam Pauli*] This basilica was built (Liv. xl. 51) 179 A.C. by M. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior, the censors behind the novae argentariae, on the north-east side of the forum. Paulus Aemilius seems to have rebuilt it in Cicero's time (Cic. ad Attic. iv. 16). For the plural 'monimenta,' cf. iii. 23, iv. 7. The Lepidus here mentioned is probably the Marcus Aemilius Lepidus spoken of in ii. 48, iii. 32, vi. 40. His parentage will be seen from the following table:—

M. Aemilius Lepidus (consul 78 A.C.)
|
L. Aemilius Paulus (consul 50 A.C.)
|
L. Aemilius Paulus (consul 34 A.C.) m. Cornelia d. of P. Cornelius Scipio.
|
L. Aemilius Paulus m. Iulia, grand-dau. of Augustus. (consul A.D. 1).
M. Aemilius Lepidus (consul A.D. 6).

publica munificentia] Cf. Hor. Carm. ii. 15. 18, "oppida publico sumptu iubentes et deorum templa novo decorare saxo."

ornatum ad urbis] Cf. Suet. Aug. 29, "principes viros saepe hortatus est ut pro facultate quisque monumentis vel novis vel refectis et excultis urbem adornarent. Multaque a multis exstructa sunt, sicut a Marcio Philippo aedes Herculis et Musarum . . . a Cornelio Balbo theatrum, a Statilio Tauro amphitheatrum."

extructurum pollicitus est] This restoration was begun (iv. 7), but not carried out by Tiberius, but by Claudius: "ludos dedicationis Pompeiani theatri quod combustum restituerat commisit" (Suet. Claud. 21).

sufficeret, manente tamen nomine Pompei. simul laudibus Seianum extulit, tamquam labore vigilantiaque eius tanta vis unum intra damnum stetisset. et censuere patres effigiem Seiano, quae aput theatrum Pompei locaretur. neque multo post Caesar, cum Iunium Blaesum pro consule Africae triumphi insignibus attolleret, dare id se dixit honori Seiani, cuius ille avunculus erat. ac tamen res Blaesi dignae decore tali fuere.

73. Nam Tacfarinas, quamquam saepius depulsus, reparatis per intima Africae auxiliis huc adrogantiae venerat, ut legatos ad Tiberium mitteret sedemque ultro sibi atque exercitui suo postularet, aut bellum inexplicabile minitaretur. non alias magis sua populique Romani contumelia indoluisse Caesarem ferunt, quam quod desertor et praedo hostium more ageret. ne Spartaco quidem post tot consularium exercituum clades inultam Italiam urenti, quamquam Sertorii atque Mithridatis ingentibus bellis labaret res publica, datum ut pacto in fidem acciperetur; nedum pulcherrimo populi Romani fastigio latro Tacfarinas pace et concessione agrorum redimeretur. dat negotium Blaeso, ceteros quidem ad spem proliceret arma sine noxa ponendi, ipsius autem ducis quoquo modo poteretur. et recepti ea venia plerique. mox adversum artes Tacfarinatis haud dissimili modo belligeratum.

74. Nam quia ille robore exercitus inpar, furandi melior, pluris per globos incursaret eluderetque et insidias simul temptaret, tres incessus, totidem agmina parantur. ex quis Cornelius Scipio legatus praefuit qua praedatio in Leptitanos et suffugia Garamantum; alio latere, ne Cirtensium pagi impune traherentur, propriam manum Blaesus filius duxit. medio cum delectis, castella et munitiones idoneis locis inponens, dux ipse arta et infensa hostibus cuncta fecerat, quia, quoquo inclinarent, pars aliqua militis Romani in ore in latere et saepe a tergo erat; multique eo modo caesi aut circumventi. tunc tripertitum exercitum plures in manus dispergit praeponitque centuriones virtutis expertae. nec, ut mos fuerat, acta aestate retrahit copias aut in hibernaculis veteris pro-

74. *Cornelius Scipio*] P. Cornelius Lentulus Scipio was probably son of the P. Cornelius Lentulus Scipio, who was consul suffectus A.D. 2. He was himself consul suffectus, in some unknown year, praetor aerarii, legatus of the 9th legion, pontifex, and fetialis (so Borghesi). He is mentioned xi. 2, xii. 53. He may have been the father of the P. Scipio (xiii. 25) who was consul A.D. 56.

suffugia Garamantum] These predatory bands of Tacfarinas harried the lands of the Leptitani, the inhabitants of the lesser Leptis, and then took refuge amongst the Garamantes, who occupied what is now Fezzan, in the great Sahara. The 'old province' mentioned below is that formed out of the territory of Carthage, as distinguished from New Africa, the province erected out of Numidia after its conquest by C. Julius Caesar (Dio xliii. 9).

vinciae componit, sed ut in limine belli dispositis castellis per expeditos et solitudinum gnaros mutantem mapalia Tacfarinatem proturbabat, donec fratre eius capto regressus est, properantius tamen quam ex utilitate sociorum, relictis per quos resurgeret bellum. sed Tiberius pro confecto interpretatus id quoque Blaeso tribuit ut imperator a legionibus salutaretur prisco erga duces honore, qui bene gesta re publica gaudio et impetu victoris exercitus conclamabantur; erantque plures simul imperatores nec super ceterorum aequalitatem. concessit quibusdam et Augustus id vocabulum, ac tunc Tiberius Blaeso postremum.

75. Obiere eo anno viri inlustres Asinius Saloninus, Marco Agrippa et Pollione Asinio avis, fratre Druso insignis Caesarique progener destinatus, et Capito Ateius, de quo memoravi, principem in civitate locum studiis civilibus adsecutus, sed avo centurione Sullano, patre praetorio. consulatum ei adceleraverat Augustus, ut Labeonem Antistium isdem artibus praecellentem dignatione eius magistratus anteiret. namque illa aetas duo pacis decora simul tulit: sed Labeo incorrupta libertate, et ob id fama celebratior, Capitonis obsequium dominantibus magis probabatur. illi, quod praeturam intra stetit, commendatio ex iniuria, huic, quod consulatum adeptus est, odium ex invidia oriebatur.

76. Et Iunia sexagesimo quarto post Philippensem aciem anno

75. *fratre Druso*] Drusus, the son of Tiberius, by Vipsania. The relationship with her is seen from the subjoined table (from Lipsius):—

Asinius Pollio | M. Vipsanus Agrippa.
Asinius Gallus Saloninus (i. 12) m. Vipsania.
c. Asinius Pollio (iv. 1). | c. Asinius Saloninus (iii. 75).

Consequently Drusus and Asinius Saloninus were half-brothers.

consulatum] He was consul suffectus A.D. 5 with C. Vibius Postumus. He is mentioned as consul in an inscription, Grut. 897. 9.

Capitonis obsequium] It was Capito who, when some expression in a speech of Tiberius was found fault with by M. Pomponius Marcellus as ungrammatical, declared that it was perfectly good Latin, or would become so, in consequence of its use by Tiberius; whereupon Pomponius remarked that Tiberius could enfranchise a man but not a word. (Suet. de Illust. Gram. 22.)

76. *Iunia*] The table is subjoined:—

Servilia (sister of M. Cato) m. (1) D. Iunius Brutus.
M. Brutus.
And (2) D. Iunius Silanus (consul 62 A.C).
Iunia.

Consequently Iunia and M. Brutus were half-brothers and sisters, and niece and nephew of M. Cato.

supremum diem explevit, Catone avunculo genita, C. Cassii uxor, M. Bruti soror. testamentum eius multo apud vulgum rumore fuit, quia in magnis opibus, cum ferme cunctos proceres cum honore nominavisset, Caesarem omisit. quod civiliter acceptum, neque prohibuit quo minus laudatione pro rostris ceterisque sollemnibus funus cohonestaretur. viginti clarissimarum familiarum imagines antelatae sunt, Manlii, Quinctii aliaque eiusdem nobilitatis nomina. sed praefulgebant Cassius atque Brutus eo ipso, quod effigies eorum non visebantur.

Catone avunculo] This is equivalent to 'ita genita ut Cato avunculus esset.' Cf. xii. 64, "Lepida minore Antonia genita avunculo Augusto."

Manlii] Titus Manlius Torquatus transferred his son, by adoption, to D. Iunius Silanus, who married Servilia, as above shown. (Cic. de Fin. i. 7.)

CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER IV.

CONTENTS.

the erection of a temple to Tiberius. Selection of Smyrna. 57, 58. Withdrawal of Tiberius to Campania. 59. His life saved by Sejanus. 60. Sejanus schemes against Nero. 61. Death of Agrippa and Haterius. 62, 63. Fate of an amphitheatre at Fidenae. 64, 65. Destructive fire at Rome. 66. Varus accused. 67. Retirement of Tiberius to Capua. 68—70. Condemnation of Titius Sabinus. 71. Death of Julia. 72. Rising of the Frisii. 73. Want of skill in repressing it shown by Apronius. 74. Sycophancy of the Senate. 72. Marriage of Agrippina the younger to Cn. Domitius.

1. C. Asinio C. Antistio consulibus nonus Tiberio annus erat compositae rei publicae, florentis domus (nam Germanici mortem inter prospera ducebat), cum repente turbare fortuna coepit, saevire ipse aut saevientibus vires praebere. initium et causa penes Aelium Seianum cohortibus praetoriis praefectum, cuius de potentia supra memoravi: nunc originem, mores, et quo facinore dominationem raptum ierit, expediam. genitus Vulsiniis patre Seio Strabone equite Romano, et prima iuventa Caium Caesarem divi Augusti nepotem sectatus, non sine rumore Apicio diviti et prodigo stuprum veno dedisse, mox Tiberium variis artibus devinxit, adeo ut obscurum adversum alios sibi uni incautum intectumque efficeret, non tam sollertia (quippe isdem artibus victus est) quam deum ira in rem Romanam, cuius pari exitio viguit ceciditque. corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax sui obtegens, in alios criminator; iuxta adulatio et superbia; palam compositus pudor, intus summa apiscendi libido, eiusque causa modo largitio et luxus, saepius industria ac vigilantia, haud minus noxiae, quotiens parando regno finguntur.

2. Vim praefecturae modicam antea intendit, dispersas per

1. Asinius Pollio was son of Asinius Gallus (i. 12, 13, &c.), and after his consulship proconsul of Asia. Caius Antistius Vetus was son of Caius Antistius Vetus, who was consul 6 A.C., and brother of L. Antistius Vetus, who was consul suffectus A.D. 28. He was apparently father of the C. Antistius Vetus, consul A.D. 50 (xii. 25).

raptum ierit] This is a favourite form with Tacitus. He uses "perditum ire" (iv. 66); "illusum ire" (xiii. 17); "ultum ire" (iv. 73; vi. 36; xii. 45; xv. 1). Below, 'veno dare' only occurs in one other place (xiv. 15), "posito veno inritamenta luxus." 'Venum dare' is the usual form (xvi. 31).

Apicio] This is the famous glutton, Marcus Gavius Apicius, who committed suicide (Dio. lvii. 19), ὅτι διακόσιαι καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδες (*i.e.* £80,000) ἔτι περιεῖεν, from fear of possible starvation.

isdem artibus] Seianus, however wily, was at last no match for the superior wiliness of Tiberius. He was in fact hoist by his own petard. The rise and fall of Seianus were alike ruinous to the state: his rise, because he put out of his path whatever obstructed him; and his fall, because it left Tiberius without a minister and without restraint (vi. 51).

sui obtegens] The participle in Latin ceases to govern an accusative case, when it loses its own participial force, and acquires the meaning of an adjective. For instance, 'patiens' is either a true participle referring to one single act, or an adjective denoting the permanent possession of the quality indicated. So here 'obtegens' has passed into an adjective, 'fond of concealing,' and so governs a genitive case. In i. 76, it is followed by an accusative, "perinde divina humanaque obtegens."

urbem cohortes una in castra conducendo, ut simul imperia acciperent, numeroque et robore et visu inter se fiducia ipsis, in ceteros metus crearetur. praetendebat lascivire militem diductum; si quid subitum ingruat, maiore auxilio pariter subveniri; et severius acturos, si vallum statuatur procul urbis inlecebris. ut perfecta sunt castra, inrepere paulatim militares animos adeundo, appellando; simul centuriones ac tribunos ipse deligere. neque senatorio ambitu abstinebat clientes suos honoribus aut provinciis ornandi, facili Tiberio atque ita prono, ut socium laborum non modo in sermonibus, sed apud patres et populum celebraret colique per theatra et fora effigies eius interque principia legionum sineret.

3. Ceterum plena Caesarum domus, iuvenis filius, nepotes adulti moram cupitis adferebant; et quia vi tot simul corripere intutum, dolus intervalla scelerum poscebat; placuit tamen occultior via et a Druso incipere, in quem recenti ira ferebatur. nam Drusus inpatiens aemuli et animo commotior orto forte iurgio intenderat Seiano manus et contra tendentis os verberaverat. igitur cuncta temptanti promptissimum visum ad uxorem eius Liviam convertere, quae soror Germanici, formae initio aetatis indecorae, mox pulchritudine praecellebat. hanc ut amore incensus adulterio pellexit, et postquam primi flagitii potitus est (neque femina amissa

2. *crearetur*] I take this word as the nearest approach to the 'credetur,' or 'crederetur' of the MS. Of 'crederetur' I can see no probable interpretation whatever. For 'dispersas' cf. Suet. Aug. 49, "neque tamen umquam plures quam tres cohortes in urbe passus est easque sine castris." The rest were quartered in the neighbouring towns. Cf. Suet. Tiber. 37.

pariter] 'In conjunction.' Before, those only who were near the particular spot where help was wanted, could render it at once, and others farther off at successive intervals, so that the troops were frittered away into small detachments, arriving separately. The word 'procul' below does not express any great distance, for the Praetorian camp was near the Porta Nomentana, at the North East angle of the walls of Aurelianus (Suet. Nero. 48), or between the Porta Collina and Viminalis, outside the agger Servii Tullii.

senatorio ambitu] The genitive 'ornandi,' of course depends on 'ambitu,' the ambition connected with, shown by, the promotion of his partisans to honours. Sejanus endeavoured not only to make himself popular with the soldiers, but also amongst the Senators. Cf. Dio. lviii. 4, τῶν βουλευτῶν τὸ μὲν εὐεργεσίαις τὸ δὲ ἐλπίσι τὸ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ προσεποιήσατο.

interque principia] Cf. i. 61.

3. *plena Caesarum domus*] There was Drusus, the son of Tiberius (iuvenis filius), and the sons of Germanicus (adopted son of Tiberius), Nero, Drusus, Caligula (nepotes adulti), and Tiberius and Germanicus, sons of Drusus (the son of Tiberius) (ii. 84; vi. 46).

placuit tamen] Sejanus felt it to be unsafe to proceed openly, and to adopt treachery would be tedious, and require time. Still he chose this latter way as the least objectionable on the whole. 'Tamen' has reference to a clause not really expressed, but existing in the writer's mind; 'he felt doubt, was undecided at first which to adopt:' however, at last, he determined on the less open course.

adulterio pellexit] Not 'he beguiled her into an intrigue,' but 'he brought her over to his interests through the medium of an intrigue.' Cf. i. 2, "cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit." For the con-

pudicitia alia abnuerit), ad coniugii spem, consortium regni et necem mariti impulit. atque illa, cui avunculus Augustus, socer Tiberius, ex Druso liberi, seque ac maiores et posteros municipali adultero foedabat, ut pro honestis et praesentibus flagitiosa et incerta exspectaret. sumitur in conscientiam Eudemus, amicus ac medicus Liviae, specie artis frequens secretis. pellit domo Seianus uxorem Apicatam, ex qua tres liberos genuerat, ne paelici suspectaretur. sed magnitudo facinoris metum, prolationes, diversa interdum consilia adferebat.

4. Interim anni principio Drusus ex Germanici liberis togam virilem sumpsit, quaeque fratri eius Neroni decreverat senatus repetita. addidit orationem Caesar, multa cum laude filii sui, quod patria benivolentia in fratris liberos foret. nam Drusus, quamquam arduum sit eodem loci potentiam et concordiam esse, aequus adulescentibus aut certe non adversus habebatur. exin vetus et saepe simulatum proficiscendi in provincias consilium refertur. multitudinem veteranorum praetexebat imperator et dilectibus supplendos exercitus: nam voluntarium militem deesse, ac si suppeditet, non eadem virtute ac modestia agere, quia plerumque inopes ac vagi sponte militiam sumant. percensuitque cursim numerum legionum et quas provincias tutarentur. quod mihi quoque exequendum reor, quae tunc Romana copia in armis, qui socii reges, quanto sit angustius imperitatum.

5. Italiam utroque mari duae classes, Misenum aput et Ravennam, proximumque Galliae litus rostratae naves praesidebant, quas Actiaca victoria captas Augustus in oppidum Foroiuliense miserat valido cum remige. sed praecipuum robur Rhenum iuxta, com-

struction in the other meaning cf. xi. 19, "Chaucos ad deditionem pellicerent."

abnuerit] Is this the perfect subjunctive or the future perfect? The former I think, after the fashion of 'dixerim,' 'crediderim,' &c.

avunculus] That is great uncle: thus

Octavia minor, sister of Augustus, m. M. Antonius.
|
Antonia minor.
|
Livia.

paelici] This is probably the dative of the remote object, as 'suspectus' is often used with a dative. Cf. Cic. in Catil. i. 7, "si me meis civibus iniuria tam suspectum et graviter infensum viderem." It might of course be the dative after the passive participle instead of the ablative, a construction common in Tacitus.

4. *quaeque repetita*] Cf. iii. 29. He was also made 'pontifex' apparently. Cf. Corp. Inscrip. Graec. n. 3612, with Boeckh's note.

quanto sit angustius imperitatum] Tacitus no doubt compliments Trajan, who by his campaigns from A.D. 14, had enlarged the boundaries of the Roman Empire. He made Dacia a Roman province after defeating Decebalus (Dio. lxviii. 6—14), and in the East pushed forward the limits of the Empire to the Mare Rubrum. Cf. ii. 61.

mune in Germanos Gallosque subsidium, octo legiones erant. Hispaniae recens perdomitae tribus habebantur. Mauros Iuba rex acceperat donum populi Romani. cetera Africae per duas legiones parique numero Aegyptus, dehinc initio ab Suriae usque ad flumen Euphraten, quantum ingenti terrarum sinu ambitur, quattuor legionibus coercita, accolis Hibero Albanoque et aliis regibus, qui magnitudine nostra proteguntur adversum externa imperia. et Thraeciam Rhoemetalces ac liberi Cotyis, ripamque Danuvii legionum duae in Pannonia, duae in Moesia attinebant, totidem aput Delmatiam locatis, quae positu regionis a tergo illis, ac si repentinum auxilium Italia posceret, haud procul accirentur, quamquam insideret urbem proprius miles, tres urbanae, novem praetoriae cohortes, Etruria ferme Umbriaque delectae aut vetere Latio et coloniis antiquitus Romanis. et aput idonea provinciarum sociae triremes alaeque et auxilia cohortium, neque multo secus in iis virium: sed persequi incertum fuit, cum ex usu temporis huc illuc mearent, gliscerent numero et aliquando minuerentur.

5. *recens perdomitae*] The Hispani had been often defeated under Augustus, 25 A.C., and 24 A.C., but not completely subdued until 20 A.C. Cf. Liv. xxviii. 12, "prima Romanis inita provinciarum, quae quidem continentis sint, postrema omnium nostra demum aetate ductu auspicioque Augusti Caesaris perdomita est." Cf. also Hor. Carm. ii. 6, 2; iii. 18, 22; iv. 14, 4.

Iuba rex] He was son of the Juba, king of Mauretania, defeated by C. Julius Caesar (Suet. C. Julius Caesar, 25). His son Ptolemaeus, who succeeded him, was put to death by Caligula. (Suet. Calig. 26, 35).

per duas legiones] On the occasion of the war with Tacfarinas, a legion (the eighth) was transferred from Pannonia (hence 'duae in Pannonia,' instead of the usual three) to Africa. Cf. iii. 9. The legions here mentioned are 25 in number. Supposing them to be at their full complement, to contain 6100 foot soldiers, with a cavalry force of 776 attached to them, the total amount would be in round numbers 170,000 men. Besides these there were auxiliary troops stationed in the provinces, about equal in strength to the legionaries (neque multo secus in iis virium), so that the forces of the Roman Empire would be about 340,000 men.

vetere Latio] This means all towns which possessed the Ius Latii before the enactment of the Lex Iulia, 90 A.C. The old colonies mentioned directly afterwards, if the words are equivalent to coloniae civium Romanorum, would be those placed in conquered towns near Rome at an early period of her history; if they are equivalent to coloniae populi Romani, they might include all those colonies established after the conquest of Latium in different parts of Italy. Probably the latter are meant, as the former were very few in number. Orelli says these 'coloniae antiquitus Romanae' are distinguished from those towns of Gallia Transpadana, which obtained the Ius Latii by the Lex Pompeia, 89 A.C., and the military colonies established elsewhere in the provinces. I do not, however, suppose that the former could in any way be viewed as 'coloniae.' The number of the Praetorian and Urban cohorts here spoken of was afterwards increased; the former appear as sixteen in number, and the latter here spoken of as four under Vitellius (H. ii. 93). There were four also in the time of Tiberius, as although three only seem to have been stationed in the city, there was a fourth (or thirteenth) at Lugdunum (cf. iii. 41), as is, I believe, attested by inscriptions found at that place.

incertum fuit] In this kind of expression Tacitus generally uses 'fuerit.' Cf. iv. 32, "non tamen sine usu fuerit;" and 33, "haec conquiri tradique in rem fuerit." Also xiv. 56, and elsewhere.

6. Congruens crediderim recensere ceteras quoque rei publicae partes, quibus modis ad eam diem habitae sint, quoniam Tiberio mutati in deterius principatus initium ille annus attulit. iam primum publica negotia et privatorum maxima aput patres tractabantur, dabaturque primoribus disserere et in adulationem lapsos cohibebat ipse; mandabatque honores, nobilitatem maiorum, claritudinem militiae, inlustres domi artes spectando, ut satis constaret non alios potiores fuisse. sua consulibus, sua praetoribus species; minorum quoque magistratuum exercita potestas; legesque, si maiestatis quaestio eximeretur, bono in usu. at frumenta et pecuniae vectigales, cetera publicorum fructuum societatibus equitum Romanorum agitabantur. res suas Caesar spectatissimo cuique, quibusdam ignotis ex fama mandabat, semelque adsumpti tenebantur prorsus sine modo, cum plerique isdem negotiis insenescerent. plebes acri quidem annona fatigabatur, sed nulla in eo culpa ex principe: quin infecunditati terrarum aut asperis maris obviam iit, quantum impendio diligentiaque poterat. et ne provinciae novis oneribus turbarentur utque vetera sine avaritia aut crudelitate magistratuum tolerarent, providebat: corporum verbera, ademptiones bonorum aberant.

7. Rari per Italiam Caesaris agri, modesta servitia, intra paucos libertos domus; ac si quando cum privatis disceptaret, forum et ius. Quae cuncta non quidem comi via, sed horridus ac plerumque formidatus, retinebat tamen, donec morte Drusi verterentur: nam dum superfuit, mansere, quia Seianus incipiente adhuc potentia bonis consiliis notescere volebat, et ultor metuebatur non occultus odii, set crebro querens incolumi filio adiutorem imperii alium vocari. et quantum superesse ut collega dicatur? primas dominandi spes in arduo: ubi sis ingressus, adesse studia et ministros. exstructa iam sponte praefecti castra, datos in manum milites;

6. *frumenta, &c.*] The tithes of corn paid by those who occupied the ager publicus. The 'pecuniae vectigales' would be probably the scriptura, portorium, tributum levied on the 'census' of the provincials, and, in short, any tax paid in money; and 'cetera publicorum fructuum' would be income derived from mines, salt-works, and the like, belonging to the state. These were farmed by the companies of Equites, and 'agere' or 'agitare' was the word often employed to express this, as in Suet. Vesp. 1, "publicum quadragesimae in Asia egit."

res suas] The 'fiscus' of the Caesars in the Imperial provinces was managed by procuratores (corresponding to quaestors in the senatorial provinces), as well as their patrimonium. For the length of time during which Tiberius retained his officers in their posts, cf. i. 80. Below, for 'asperis maris' cf. ii. 26, "adversa maris."

7. *modesta servitia*] From the context this must, I think, refer not to the character of the slaves, as Ernesti and others suppose, but to their number, for 'rari' and 'paucos' both have reference to this: the sense is therefore 'slaves moderate in number.'

cerni effigiem eius in monimentis Cn. Pompei; communes illi cum familia Drusorum fore nepotes: precandam post haec modestiam, ut contentus esset. neque raro neque apud paucos talia iaciebat, et secreta quoque eius corrupta uxore prodebantur.

8. Igitur Seianus maturandum ratus deligit venenum, quo paulatim inrepente fortuitus morbus adsimularetur. Id Druso datum per Lygdum spadonem, ut octo post annos cognitum est. ceterum Tiberius per omnes valitudinis eius dies, nullo metu an ut firmitudinem animi ostentaret, etiam defuncto necdum sepulto, curiam ingressus est. consulesque sede vulgari per speciem maestitiae sedentes honoris locique admonuit, et effusum in lacrimas senatum victo gemitu simul oratione continua erexit: non quidem sibi ignarum posse argui, quod tam recenti dolore subierit oculos senatus: vix propinquorum adloquia tolerari, vix diem aspici a plerisque lugentium. neque illos inbecillitatis damnandos: se tamen fortiora solacia e complexu rei publicae petivisse. miseratusque Augustae extremam senectam, rudem adhuc nepotum et vergentem aetatem suam, ut Germanici liberi, unica praesentium malorum levamenta, inducerentur petivit. egressi consules firmatos adloquio adulescentulos deductosque ante Caesarem statuunt. quibus adprensis 'patres conscripti, hos' inquit 'orbatos parente tradidi patruo ipsorum precatusque sum, quamquam esset illi propria suboles, ne secus quam suum sanguinem foveret, attolleret, sibique et posteris conformaret. erepto Druso preces ad vos converto disque et patria coram obtestor: Augusti pronepotes, clarissimis maioribus genitos, suscipite, regite, vestram meamque vicem explete. hi vobis, Nero et Druse, parentum loco. ita nati estis, ut bona malaque vestra ad rem publicam pertineant.'

9. Magno ea fletu et mox precationibus faustis audita; ac si

cerni effigiem eius] His statue was to be placed in the theatre of Pompeius, then rebuilding. Cf. iii. 72.

communes] Cf. iii. 29, "adversis animis acceptum quod filio Claudii socer Seianus destinaretur;" and Suet. Claud. 27, "Drusum (filium Claudius) impuberem amisit cum ei ante paucos dies filiam Seiani despondisset."

precandam] 'Moderation on his part was all that was left to pray for.' Cf. xii. 65, "robur aetatis quam maturrimum precari." Others, comparing xv. 17, "optimam fortunam orandam," translate, 'moderation (as a kind of goddess) must be prayed to.' But this seems fanciful.

8. *sede vulgari*] The Consuls usually sat on an elevated seat in their curule chairs. Orelli quotes Lucan v. 15, "ut primum moestum tenuere silentia coetum, Lentulus e celsa sublimis sede profatur." Below, for 'rudem adhuc nepotum aetatem,' cf. iv. 3, the note on 'plena Caesarum domus.'

attolleret] Cf. iii. 72, "cum Iunium Blæsum triumphi insignibus attolleret;" and H. iv. 59, "ceteros praemiis attollite," the sense is therefore, 'advance them to honours.' Apparently, below, only Nero and Drusus are addressed (so Suet. Tib. 54), because Caligula was, I suppose, thought to have no chance of attaining the principatus.

modum orationi posuisset, misericordia sui gloriaque animos audientium impleverat: ad vana et totiens inrisa revolutus, de reddenda re publica utque consules seu quis alius regimen susciperent, vero quoque et honesto fidem dempsit. memoriae Drusi eadem quae in Germanicum decernuntur, plerisque additis, ut ferme amat posterior adulatio. funus imaginum pompa maxime inlustre fuit, cum origo Iuliae gentis Aeneas omnesque Albanorum reges et conditor urbis Romulus, post Sabina nobilitas, Attus Clausus ceteraeque Claudiorum effigies longo ordine spectarentur.

10. In tradenda morte Drusi quae plurimis maximeque fidis auctoribus memorata sunt rettuli: set non omiserim eorundem temporum rumorem, validum adeo ut nondum exolescat. corrupta ad scelus Livia Seianum Lygdi quoque spadonis animum stupro vinxisse, quod is Lygdus aetate atque forma carus domino interque primores ministros erat; deinde inter conscios ubi locus veneficii tempusque conposita sint, eo audaciae provectum, ut verteret et occulto indicio Drusum veneni in patrem arguens moneret Tiberium, vitandam potionem quae prima ei aput filium epulanti offerretur. ea fraude captum senem, postquam convivium inierat, exceptum poculum Druso tradidisse; atque illo ignaro et iuveniliter hauriente auctam suspicionem, tamquam metu et pudore sibimet inrogaret mortem quam patri struxerat.

11. Haec vulgo iactata, super id quod nullo auctore certo firmantur, prompte refutaveris. quis enim mediocri prudentia, nedum Tiberius tantis rebus exercitus, inaudito filio exitium offerret, idque sua manu et nullo ad paenitendum regressu? quin potius ministrum veneni excruciaret, auctorem exquireret, insita denique etiam in extraneos cunctatione et mora adversum unicum et nullius ante flagitii conpertum uteretur? sed quia Seianus facinorum omnium repertor habebatur, ex nimia caritate in eum Caesaris et ceterorum in utrumque odio quamvis fabulosa et immania crede-

9. *impleverat*] Cf. i. 42, "si morum et indignum erat," and the note there.

quae in Germanicum] Cf. ii. 83. Fragments of the Senatus Consultum are to be found in the Corp. Lat. Inscrip. n. 5381. For the variation from the dative to the accusative with a preposition, cf. xii. 55, "vim cultoribus et plerumque in mercatores et navicularios audebant."

Sabina nobilitas] Cf. Suet. Tib. 1, "patricia gens Claudia orta est ex Regillis, oppido Sabinorum." Cf. xi. 24.

10. *is Lygdus*] The repetition of the name does not seem unlikely to be genuine, although most of the editors enclose the word in brackets as a gloss. Cf. xii. 49, for a similar repetition, although the distance is certainly greater in that case than this. For the ablative 'ea fraude' below, see note on 'potentia,' iii. 24.

ut verteret] 'That he (Seianus) quite shifted the look of things,' 'turned the matter quite round,' so that Drusus, instead of being the victim, was made to appear a schemer against the life of another.

bantur, atrociore semper fama erga dominantium exitus. ordo alioqui sceleris per Apicatam Seiani proditus, tormentis Eudemi ac Lygdi patefactus est. neque quisquam scriptor tam infensus extitit, ut Tiberio obiectaret, cum omnia alia conquirerent intenderentque. mihi tradendi arguendique rumoris causa fuit, ut claro sub exemplo falsas auditiones depellerem peteremque ab iis, quorum in manus cura nostra venerit, *ne* divulgata atque incredibilia avide accepta veris neque in miraculum corruptis antehabeant.

12. Ceterum laudante filium pro rostris Tiberio senatus populusque habitum ac voces dolentum simulatione magis quam libens induebat, domumque Germanici revirescere occulti laetabantur. quod principium favoris et mater Agrippina spem male tegens perniciem adceleravere. nam Seianus ubi videt mortem Drusi

11. *erga dominantium exitus*] 'With reference to the last moments of their rulers.' For 'erga,' in this sense, cf. iv. 74, "anxii erga Seianum;" iv. 20, "ea prima Tiberio erga pecuniam alienam diligentia fuit." H. i. 20, "isdem erga aliena sumptibus."

alioqui] 'Besides.' Cf. xi. 6, "pulcherrimam alioquin et bonarum artium principem sordidis ministeriis foedari."

Apicatam Seiani] For the ellipse of 'uxorem,' cf. Virg. Aen. iii. 319, "Hectoris Andromache," and Ovid. Heroid. vii. 193. There is an ellipse of 'filiam' in xii. 1, "Lolliam Paulinam M. Lollii consularis."

intenderentque] 'And pointed them,' or 'drew them to a head.' Cf. ii. 38, "languescet alioqui industria, intendetur socordia."

quorum in manus cura nostra venerit] In any writing, say a letter, the author may have to speak of some train of thought, viewed as attended by certain results or purposes (these last being of course expressed in subsidiary clauses), as having occurred to him *before* he began to write, while nevertheless the results or purposes are still future, and have not at the period of writing been fulfilled. In doing this he may regard the whole train of thought, including the results or purposes contained in subsidiary clauses, as altogether in the past, and complete before the period of writing. If he does this he will write consistently: what is past in his contemplation, although not actually, as yet, realized, will be so described, but historically; and the subsidiary clauses will be in the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive, according to circumstances. So Cicero writes (Epist. ad. Attic, v. 16. 1), "Etsi in ipso itinere et via discedebant publicanorum tabellarii et eramus in cursu, tamen suscipiendum aliquid putavi spatii, *ne me* immemorem tui *putares*." Or, on the other hand, the writer may be inconsistent; he may begin by speaking of his thoughts or feelings historically in the past, and end by viewing the results or purposes conveyed in subsidiary clauses as still unaccomplished, and as he views them *at the moment of writing*. And this is a very natural confusion, and one Tacitus falls into, in the passage in the text. He begins by telling us, as a narrative of the past, the object he had in view in writing, *before* he wrote: he ends by writing of the future dependent circumstances as he could only do while regarding the matter from the standing-point of the present, or in other words, as it appeared to him while actually writing, and no longer as a portion of thought entirely past. This is the reason why we find 'quorum in manus cura nostra venerit,' instead of 'venisset,' and 'antehabeant,' instead of 'antehaberent.' One or two passages, where a change of tense, at first sight somewhat like this, is found, such as (i. 76) "cur abstinuerit spectaculo ipse varie trahebant," and H. i. 34, "multi arbitrabantur compositum auctumque rumorem mixtis iam Othonianis qui ad evocandum Galbam laeta falso vulgaverint," are to be referred to the same principle as that spoken of in i. 61, under 'invenerit.'

12. *quod principium*] For the union of 'principium' and 'Agrippina male tegens' as joint causes, cf. Thucyd. vi. 46, τοῦτό τε πρῶτον ἀντεκεκρούκει καὶ οἱ Ῥηγῖνοι οὐκ ἐθελήσαντες ξυστρατεύειν.

inultam interfectoribus, sine maerore publico esse, ferox scelerum, et quia prima provenerant, volutare secum, quonam modo Germanici liberos perverteret, quorum non dubia successio. neque spargi venenum in tres poterat, egregia custodum fide et pudicitia Agrippinae inpenetrabili. igitur contumaciam eius insectari, vetus Augustae odium, recentem Liviae conscientiam exagitare, ut superbam fecunditate, subnixam popularibus studiis inhiare dominationi apud Caesarem arguerent. atque haec callidis criminatoribus, inter quos delegerat Iulium Postumum, per adulterium Mutiliae Priscae inter intimos aviae et consiliis suis peridoneum, quia Prisca in animo Augustae valida anum suapte natura potentiae anxiam insociabilem nurui efficiebat. Agrippinae quoque proximi inliciebantur pravis sermonibus tumidos spiritus perstimulare.

13. At Tiberius nihil intermissa rerum cura, negotia pro solaciis accipiens, ius civium, preces sociorum tractabat; factaque auctore eo senatus consulta, ut civitati Cibyraticae aput Asiam, Aegiensi apud Achaiam, motu terrae labefactis, subveniretur remissione tributi in triennium. et Vibius Serenus pro consule ulterioris Hispaniae, de vi publica damnatus, ob atrocitatem morum in insulam Amorgum deportatur. Carsidius Sacerdos, reus tamquam frumento hostem Tacfarinatem iuvisset, absolvitur, eiusdemque

atque haec] It is not clear what case or gender 'haec' is, whether neuter accusative, or feminine singular. I think Lipsius and Ritter are right in supposing it to be the latter, and to refer to Livia who is also the subject of 'delegerat.' 'Aviae' and 'anus' are Augusta, and the verb of existence is understood after 'valida.' Livia was daughter-in-law of Tiberius, and therefore grand-daughter-in-law of Augusta. 'Nurui,' of course, is grand-daughter-in-law, which Agrippina was, in reference to Augusta, for Germanicus, her husband, was grandson of Augusta. The sense then is, 'and the latter (Livia) . . . amongst whom she had chosen . . . one of her (Livia) grandmother's especial friends . . . made this old woman (Augusta) . . to her grand-daughter-in-law' (Agrippina).

13. '*Aegiensi*'] Aegium was in the district of Achaia on the coast, near the mouth of the river Selinus. It rose to importance after the destruction of Helice by an earthquake (373 A.C.). Vostitza, on the site of Aegium, itself again suffered greatly from the same visitation in 1819. Achaia is here probably the particular district so called, and not the Roman province, which embraced a great part of the Peloponnese and Northern Greece.

pro consule ulterioris Hispaniae] For Hispania Citerior was an Imperial province, and was governed by a 'legatus pro praetore.' Cf. iii. 12 and 13.

ob atrocitatem morum] The reading of the MS. is 'temporum.' If this were the true reading, the meaning must be either that owing to the exceptionally disturbed state of things, some alleviation was permitted in the severity of the punishment fixed by the 'Lex Iulia de vi publica' under Augustus (but the penalty fixed by the 'lex' was 'aquae et ignis interdictio,' and this was *less* severe than 'deportatio;') or that the disturbed state of affairs required some especially severe punishment, viz. 'deportatio.' There does not, however, seem to have been any thing in the state of affairs at this time to warrant any such idea. Probably the 'temporum' arose from a repetition by mistake of the last syllable of 'atrocitatem,' and then a correction easily produced 'temporum.'

criminis C. Gracchus. hunc comitem exilii admodum infantem pater Sempronius in insulam Cercinam tulerat. illic adultus inter extorres et liberalium artium nescios, mox per Africam ac Siciliam mutando sordidas merces sustentabatur; neque tamen effugit magnae fortunae pericula. ac ni Aelius Lamia et L. Apronius, qui Africam obtinuerant, insontem protexissent, claritudine infausti generis et paternis adversis foret abstractus.

14. Is quoque annus legationes Graecarum civitatium habuit, Samiis Iunonis, Cois Aesculapii delubro vetustum asyli ius ut firmaretur petentibus. Samii decreto Amphictyonum nitebantur, quis praecipuum fuit rerum omnium iudicium, qua tempestate Graeci conditis per Asiam urbibus ora maris potiebantur. neque dispar apud Coos antiquitas, et accedebat meritum ex loco: nam cives Romanos templo Aesculapii induxerant, cum iussu regis Mithridatis apud cunctas Asiae insulas et urbes trucidarentur. variis dehinc et saepius inritis praetorum questibus, postremo Caesar de inmodestia histrionum rettulit: multa ab iis in publicum seditiose, foeda per domos temptari; Oscum quondam ludicrum, levissimae apud vulgum oblectationis, eo flagitiorum et virium venisse, *ut* auctoritate patrum coercendum sit. pulsi tum histriones Italia.

15. Idem annus alio quoque luctu Caesarem adficit, alterum ex geminis Drusi liberis extinguendo, neque minus morte amici. is fuit Lucilius Longus, omnium illi tristium laetorumque socius unusque e senatoribus Rhodii secessus comes. ita quamquam novo homini censorium funus, effigiem apud forum Augusti publica pecunia patres decrevere, aput quos etiam tum cuncta tractabantur, adeo ut procurator Asiae Lucilius Capito accusante provincia causam dixerit, magna cum adseveratione principis, non se

pater Sempronius] This was Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the lover of Julia, the wife of M. Agrippa (i. 53). There are coins extant (Eckhel. v. 304) with the inscription Ti. Sempro. Graccus iiiivir (monetalis) q. desig. The son Caius Gracchus was 'praetor' in A.D. 33 (vi. 16).

Aelius Lamia] L. Aelius Lamia was Consul A.D. 3. He was proconsul of Africa (iv. 13) and 'legatus pro praetore' of Syria some time after A.D. 19 (ii. 74), and 'praefectus urbis' apparently from A.D. 32 (vi. 11).

14. *Is quoque annus*] Cf. iii. 60. The massacre by Mithridates, spoken of below, was in the year 88 A.C. (Cf. Cic. de Imperio Cn. Pompeii, 3).

Oscum quondam ludicrum] These were the fabulae Atellanae, for which see Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Cf. Sueton. Tib. 37, "caede in theatro per discordiam admissa, capita factionum et histriones propter quos dissidebatur relegavit." These 'histriones' were pantomimi. Cf. Dio. lvii. 21. τοὺς δὲ ὀρχηστὰς . . ἐξήλασε ὅτι στάσεις ἤγειρον.

15. *geminis Drusi liberis*] Cf. ii. 84.

censorium funus] A funeral such as that accorded to a censor who died during the term of office: no doubt a magnificent one, but in what the magnificence consisted is not, as far as I am aware, known.

non se ius] 'Lucilius Capito,' although

ius nisi in servitia et pecunias familiares dedisse: quod si vim praetoris usurpasset manibusque militum usus foret, spreta in eo mandata sua: audirent socios. ita reus cognito negotio damnatur. ob quam ultionem, et quia priore anno in C. Silanum vindicatum erat, decrevere Asiae urbes templum Tiberio matrique eius ac senatui. et permissum statuere; egitque Nero grates ea causa patribus atque avo, laetas inter audientium adfectiones, qui recenti memoria Germanici illum aspici, illum audiri rebantur. aderantque iuveni modestia ac forma principe viro digna, notis in eum Seiani odiis ob periculum gratiora.

16. Sub idem tempus de flamine Diali in locum Servi Maluginensis defuncti legendo, simul roganda nova lege disseruit Caesar. nam patricios confarreatis parentibus genitos tres simul nominari, ex quis unus legeretur, vetusto more; neque adesse, ut olim, eam copiam, omissa confarreandi adsuetudine aut inter paucos retenta. pluresque eius rei causas adferebat, potissimam

'procurator' of the Emperor, possessed in consequence no authority except over the slaves and property of Tiberius. Capito, however, employed soldiers, and acted as though he possessed the usual authority of provincial governors, such as proconsuls, propraetors, &c. (ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἔπραξεν, Dio lvii. 23).

statuere] The verb, I think, is in the infinitive mood. Cf. iv. 48, "iisque permissum vastare, urere, trahere praedas." Also Germ. 7, "ne verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum."

16. *confarreatis parentibus*] In a marriage by confarreatio, certain formulae were used before ten witnesses, and some ceremony gone through in which 'panis farreus' was used. Cf. Gaius i. § 112, "farreo in manum conveniunt per quoddam genus sacrificii in quo farreus panis adhibetur." The 'flamines maiores,' that is, Diales, Martiales, Quirinales, were always married in accordance with this form; but it had fallen into general disuse, and marriages were effected by 'coemptio' and 'usus.'

pluresque eius rei] It is not quite certain what 'eius rei' and 'ipsius caerimoniae' refer to, whether to the disuse of marriage by 'confarreatio,' or to the difficulty of obtaining candidates for the office of flamen Dialis. But as the words 'eius rei' so closely follow 'omissa confarreandi adsuetudine,' I think they must refer to it and not to the previous clause: first, all men and women alike were careless about the matter; then the ceremonies observed were disliked and shunned; and, lastly, people avoided it for fear that if they were so married, they might find their children, by appointment to the office, released from the rights which the father exercised over them by virtue of the 'patria potestas.' One would have thought this last contingency hardly near enough to influence those who had, as yet, got no farther than the point where they had to select a form of marriage; unless it was that the area of choice to the office was very limited indeed. Servius on Aen. iv. 374, mentions what may illustrate the 'ipsius caeremoniae difficultates.' He says, "mos fuit flamini ac flaminicae ut per farreationem in nuptias convenirent, sellas duas iugatas ovili pelle superiniecta poni eius ovis quae hostia fuisset, et ibi nubentes velatis capitibus in confarreatione flamen ac flaminica residerent." If these words describe the marriage of a 'flamen' with the virgin who was to be 'flaminica' by the rite of 'confarreatio,' I suppose the same ceremony always took place in every marriage by 'confarreatio' between others as well. Possibly Tacitus may also have in view the limitation imposed on those who so married, in the way of divorce; as a marriage of this kind could only be dissolved by 'diffarreatio;' so that his words embrace all the difficulties connected with the rite itself, or flowing from it, with the additional inconvenience of the release of the 'flamen'

penes incuriam virorum feminarumque: accedere ipsius caerimoniae difficultates, quae consulto vitarentur, et quoniam exiret e iure patrio qui id flaminium apisceretur quaeque in manum flaminis conveniret. ita medendum senatus decreto aut lege, sicut Augustus quaedam ex horrida illa antiquitate ad praesentem usum flexisset. igitur tractatis religionibus placitum instituto flaminum nihil demutari: sed lata lex, qua flaminica Dialis sacrorum causa in potestate viri, cetera promisco feminarum iure ageret. et filius Maluginensis patri suffectus. utque glisceret dignatio sacerdotum atque ipsis promptior animus foret ad capessendas caerimonias, decretum Corneliae virgini, quae in locum Scantiae capiebatur, sestertium vicies, et quotiens Augusta theatrum introisset, ut sedes inter Vestalium consideret.

17. Cornelio Cethego Visellio Varrone consulibus pontifices eorumque exemplo ceteri sacerdotes, cum pro incolumitate principis vota susciperent, Neronem quoque et Drusum isdem dis

or 'flaminica' from the 'patria potestas.' Here 'quoniam' is put for 'quod,' 'because.' Draeger compares Suet. C. Iulius Caesar 74, "interrogatusque cur repudiasset uxorem, quoniam, inquit, meos tam suspicione quam crimine iudico carere oportere." A marriage 'per confarreationem' was necessarily 'cum conventione,' or, in other words, the woman so married passed into the husband's 'familia,' and so became in the relation of a daughter to him ('in manum convenit'). She would so pass in other marriages, those by 'coemptio,' for example, or 'usus' in certain instances; but that does not affect the point, except so far as this, that the grievance, whatever it might amount to, of this 'conventio in manum' with reference to the husband, would not be necessarily at all confined to the 'flaminica.' The matter was settled by a compromise, as stated below: "flaminica Dialis sacrorum causa in potestate viri, cetera promisco feminarum jure ageret;" that is to say, she was to be so far in 'manu viri' as to enable her to perform all rites, which could only be performed by one who was so circumstanced; but in other matters she was to be on the same footing as other women, i. e., I suppose, there was not, as a matter of *necessity*, to be 'conventio' (cf. Gaius i. § 136, "cum enim haec quod ad sacra tantum videatur in manu esse, quod vero ad cetera perinde habeatur atque si in manum non convenisset,") as there had been up to this period, by reason of her marriage 'per confarreationem.' She might remain still under the power of her father; if not in his, she would have to all intents and purposes a legal existence independent of her husband.

penes incuriam] 'Penes' is generally restricted to persons, but not always. Cf. Hor. de Arte Poet. 71, "Si volet usus quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi."

sicut Augustus quaedam] Nipperdey instances a Lex Iunia Norbana, passed about A.D. 17, enacting that if a Roman citizen had manumitted a slave without required formalities, the transaction should not always be void; but the person so manumitted should have the 'Latinitas;' and also a Lex Petronia, forbidding a master to make his slaves fight with wild beasts.

capiebatur] This was the technical word. Cf. Aul. Gell. i. 12, "qui de Vestali virgine capienda scripserunt;" and "capi autem virgo propterea dici videtur, quia pontificis maximi manu prehensa ab eo parente in cuius potestate est veluti bello capta abducitur." For the words below, 'ut sedes inter Vestalium consideret,' cf. Suet. Aug. 44, "solis virginibus Vestalibus locum in theatro separatim et contra praetoris tribunal dedit."

17. *Visellio Varrone*] Lucius Visellius Varro was son of the C. Visellius Varro, who was 'consul suffectus' A.D. 12 (iii. 41). He was "curator riparum et alvei Tiberis" (Gruter, 197. 3).

vota susciperent] This was on the third of January. Cf. Plut. Cic. 2, ἡμέρᾳ

commendavere, non tam caritate iuvenum quam adulatione, quae moribus corruptis perinde anceps, si nulla et ubi nimia est. nam Tiberius haud umquam domui Germanici mitis, tum vero aequari adulescentes senectae suae inpatienter indoluit; accitosque pontifices percontatus est, num id precibus Agrippinae aut minis tribuissent. et illi quidem, quamquam abnuerent, modice perstricti; etenim pars magna e propinquis ipsius aut primores civitatis erant: ceterum in senatu oratione monuit in posterum, ne quis mobiles adulescentium animos praematuris honoribus ad superbiam extolleret. instabat quippe Seianus incusabatque diductam civitatem ut civili bello; esse qui se partium Agrippinae vocent, ac ni resistatur, fore pluris; neque aliut gliscentis discordiae remedium quam si unus alterve maxime prompti subverterentur.

18. Qua causa C. Silium et Titium Sabinum adgreditur. amicitia Germanici permitiosa utrique, Silio et quod ingentis exercitus septem per annos moderator partisque apud Germaniam triumphalibus Sacroviriani belli victor, quanto maiore mole procideret, plus formidinis in alios dispergebatur. credebant plerique auctam offensionem ipsius intemperantia, immodice iactantis suum militem in obsequio duravisse, cum alii ad seditiones prolaberentur; neque mansurum Tiberio imperium, si iis quoque legionibus cupido novandi fuisset. destrui per haec fortunam suam Caesar inparemque tanto merito rebatur. nam beneficia eo usque laeta sunt,

τρίτῃ τῶν νέων καλανδῶν ἐν ᾗ νῦν οἱ ἄρχοντες εὔχονται καὶ θύουσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος.

subverterentur] It is not quite clear why there is a change of tense from the present 'vocent,' to the imperfect 'subverterentur.' Perhaps it may only be the chance variation often found in historical narratives, where the present and past tenses are used convertibly. Or, possibly, it may be intentional, and the imperfect may be used to show that the remedy suggested is put forward merely hypothetically, without implying that there was a likelihood of its being applied in the present case. The following words, however, are a little against this view, although the ruin of the men named might not necessarily follow the attack on them.

18. *C. Silium*] He was consul in A.D. 13, and 'legatus pro praetore' of Germania Superior A.D. 14 (i. 31), and father of the famous C. Silius of xi. 13, &c.

Silio et quod] The construction is '(hoc) et (also) Silio permitiosum (erat) quod plus formidinis in alios dispergebatur quanto (Silius) majore,' &c. Below, for 'mansurum' (fuisse), cf. note on ii. 73.

destrui] The remarks of Silius tended to depreciate the fortune of Tiberius, and represent it as quite unequal to reward such distinguished services ('merito') as those claimed by Silius. They made the rise of Tiberius due, not to his own merit, so much as to the management and forbearance of the other.

nam beneficia] This is a very true remark of Tacitus. Thucydides long before (ii. 40) had remarked that one who confers a favour, is more fond of recalling it than one who receives it; because the receiver looks on the matter as a debt, and he is not easy under the burden. So Aristotle (Ethics ix. 7), οἱ μὲν (εὐεργετηθέντες) ὀφείλουσι, τοῖς δὲ (εὐεργέταις) ὀφείλεται. Καθάπερ οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν δανείων οἱ μὲν ὀφειλοῦντες βούλονται μὴ εἶναι οἷς ὀφείλουσιν, &c. Of course, if the person obliged is quite aware that he can at any moment pay off his debt, he will not really feel the burden a serious one, and he can

dum videntur exsolvi posse: ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur.

19. Erat uxor Silio Sosia Galla, caritate Agrippinae invisa principi. hos corripi dilato ad tempus Sabino placitum, inmissusque Varro consul, qui paternas inimicitias obtendens odiis Seiani per dedecus suum gratificabatur. precante reo brevem moram, dum accusator consulatu abiret, adversatus est Caesar: solitum quippe magistratibus diem privatis dicere: nec infringendum consulis ius, cuius vigiliis niteretur ne quod res publica detrimentum caperet. proprium id Tiberio fuit scelera nuper reperta priscis verbis obtegere. igitur multa adseveratione, quasi aut legibus cum Silio ageretur aut Varro consul aut illut res publica esset, coguntur patres. silente reo, vel si defensionem coeptaret, non occultante cuius ira premeretur, conscientia belli Sacrovir diu dissimulatus, victoria per avaritiam foedata, et uxor Sosia arguebantur. nec dubie repetundarum criminibus haerebant, sed cuncta quaestione maiestatis exercita, et Silius imminentem damnationem voluntario fine praevertit.

20. Saevitum tamen in bona, non ut stipendiariis pecuniae redderentur, quorum nemo repetebat, sed liberalitas Augusti avulsa, conputatis singillatim quae fisco petebantur. ea prima Tiberio erga pecuniam alienam diligentia fuit. Sosia in exilium pellitur Asinii Galli sententia, qui partem bonorum publicandam, pars ut

get rid of it at any moment, and he sets off against the feeling of indebtedness the actual gain derived from the benefit conferred. But if he is conscious that the favour is greater than he can ever repay, he feels like a man in debt to an amount he cannot discharge, and may easily conceive an aversion to him who has brought him into this position of inferiority not momentary, but lasting; as Seneca observes (Epist. xix. 11), "leve aes alienum debitorem facit, grave inimicum."

19. *paternas inimicitias*] Cf. iii. 43, "mox Varro invalidus senecta vigenti Silio concessit."

multa adseveratione] 'With repeated protestations (of the urgency of the case, &c.).' Cf. ii. 31, "accusatio tamen aput patres adseveratione eadem peracta."

aut Varro consul] 'Or Varro were consul in any thing but the name, or the state of affairs could be really viewed as a Commonwealth.' For 'illut' cf. i. 49, "non medicinam illut plurimis cum lacrimis sed cladem appellans."

uxor Sosia] The charges against Silius were three: first, that having an understanding with Sacrovir, he connived at acts of hostility on the part of Sacrovir, or failed to repress them with any vigour; secondly, that he had used his victory over Sacrovir (iii. 44) shamefully; and thirdly, that he had allowed his wife to conduct herself with impropriety in the province (cf. iii. 33).

20. *liberalitas*] The sums bestowed by Augustus on Silius, possibly at different times, were reckoned, and the amount recovered from his property for the 'fiscus.' These proceedings against the property of those who died by their own hands were unusual. Cf. vi. 29, "damnati publicatis bonis sepultura prohibebantur; tamen eorum qui de se statuebant humabantur corpora, manebant testamenta."

Asinii Galli] C. Gallus Asinius was triumvir monetalis under Augustus, consul 8 A.C., and proconsul of Asia. He was accused of adultery with Agrippina, and died of hunger (vi. 23, 25).

liberis relinqueretur censuerat. contra M'. Lepidus quartam accusatoribus secundum necessitudinem legis, cetera liberis concessit. hunc ego Lepidum temporibus illis gravem et sapientem virum fuisse comperior: nam pleraque ab saevis adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit. neque tamen temperamenti egebat, cum aequabili auctoritate et gratia aput Tiberium viguerit. unde dubitare cogor, fato et sorte nascendi, ut cetera, ita principum inclinatio in hos, offensio in illos, an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum. at Messalinus Cotta haud minus claris maioribus, sed animo diversus, censuit cavendum senatus consulto, ut quamquam insontes magistratus et culpae alienae nescii provincialibus uxorum criminibus proinde quam suis plecterentur.

21. Actum dehinc de Calpurnio Pisone, nobili ac feroci viro. is namque, ut rettuli, cessurum se urbe ob factiones accussatorum in senatu clamitaverat et spreta potentia Augustae trahere in ius Urgulaniam domoque principis excire ausus erat. quae in praesens Tiberius civiliter habuit: sed in animo revolvente iras, etiam si impetus offensionis languerat, memoria valebat. Pisonem Q. Granius secreti sermonis incusavit adversum maiestatem habiti, adiecitque in domo eius venenum esse eumque gladio accinctum introire curiam. quod ut atrocius vero tramissum: ceterorum, quae multa cumulabantur, receptus est reus, neque peractus ob mortem oportunam. relatum et de Cassio Severo exule, qui sor-

M. Papius Mutilus was consul suffectus A.D. 9 with Q. Poppaeus Secundus, and the two gave to the Lex Papia Poppaea its name. For L. Apronius, see iii. 21.

necessitudinem legis] The law was no doubt the Lex Iulia de majestate. For the payment of the informers, cf. vi. 47 and xvi. 33. A fixed sum appears to have been given to them by the Lex Papia. Cf. Suet. Nero 11, "praemia delatorum Papiae legis ad quartas redegit," although the exact meaning of this passage is doubtful.

senatus consulto] A 'senatus consultum' to the same effect is mentioned by Ulpian (Digest. i. 16, 4, 2), "proficisci proconsulem melius quidem est sine uxore, sed et cum uxore potest, dummodo sciat senatum Cotta et Messalla consulibus censuisse futurum ut si quid uxores eorum qui ad officia proficiscuntur deliquerint, ab ipsis ratio et vindicta exigatur." The date here given is A.D. 20, or four years before the date assigned by Tacitus. I suppose Ulpian confounded Cotta et Messalla with Cotta Messalinus.

proinde quam] The commentators generally alter this into 'perinde,' not perhaps doing so wisely. Cf. Lucret. iii. 1035, on "dedit terrae, proinde ac famul infimus esset." Plaut. Trucul. ii. 3, 3, "si proinde amentur mulieres diu quam lavant;" Trin. i. 2, 27, "edepol proinde ut bene vivitur, diu vivitur."

21. *ut rettuli*] Cf. ii. 34. This was Lucius Calpurnius Piso (brother of Cn. Piso). See ii. 32.

gladio accinctum] Cf. xi. 22, "Cn. Nonius ferro accinctus reperitur in coetu salutantum principem." To wear a sword in the city was forbidden by the Lex Plotia de vi publica and subsequent laws.

de Cassio Severo] Cf. i. 72, and Quint. x. i. 116, "et ingenii plurimum est in eo et acerbitas mira . . . sed plus stomacho quam consilio dedit."

didae originis, maleficae vitae, sed orandi validus, per immodicas inimicitias ut iudicio iurati senatus Cretam amoveretur effecerat; atque illic eadem actitando recentia veteraque odia advertit, bonisque exsutus, interdicto igni atque aqua, saxo Seripho consenuit.

22. Per idem tempus Plautius Silvanus praetor incertis causis Aproniam coniugem in praeceps iecit, tractusque ad Caesarem ab L. Apronio socero turbata mente respondit, tamquam ipse somno gravis atque eo ignarus, et uxor sponte mortem sumpsisset. non cunctanter Tiberius pergit in domum, visit cubiculum, in quo reluctantis et impulsae vestigia cernebantur. refert ad senatum, datisque iudicibus Urgulania Silvani avia pugionem nepoti misit. quod perinde creditum quasi principis monitu ob amicitiam Augustae cum Urgulania. reus frustra temptato ferro venas praebuit exsolvendas. mox Numantina, prior uxor eius, accusata iniecisse carminibus et veneficiis vaecordiam marito, insons iudicatur.

iurati senatus] Cf. i. 74, "proclamaret se quoque in ea causa laturum sententiam palam et iuratum." Also Liv. xxx. 40, "patres iurati (ita enim convenerat) censuerunt uti consules provincias inter se compararent." This oath was intended to give more solemnity to the decision arrived at.

advertit] 'Brought on himself.' Cf. Plin. Epist. ix. 26, "omnes advertit quod eminet et exstat." This Cassius Severus is mentioned in the Dialogue de Oratoribus, c. 19, "quem primum adfirmant flexisse ab illa vetere atque directa dicendi via;" and again, c. 26, "primus enim contempto ordine rerum, omissa modestia ac pudore verborum, non pugnat sed rixatur."

22. *in praeceps iecit*] Cf. vi. 49, "iacto in praeceps corpore." In vi. 17, "praeceps dare" is used. There was a M. Plautius Silvanus consul 2 A.C., and one of the legati of Tiberius in the Illyrian war, and mentioned in an inscription (Grut. 452): "M. Plautius M. f. A. n. Silvanus Cos. vii. vir Epulonum. Huic Senatus triumphalia ornamenta decrevit ob res in Illyrico bene gestas. Lartia Cn. f. uxor. A. Plautius M. f. Urgulanius vix. ann. ix." Probably the Plautius Silvanus of this passage was his son, and Urgulania must have been the mother of the first mentioned M. Plautius Silvanus. She was a friend of Livia or Augusta (ii. 34, iv. 21). The wife of Claudius (the Emperor) was a Plautia Urgulanilla, and apparently granddaughter of the Urgulania here mentioned. Brothers of the Plautius Silvanus of the text were probably A. Plautius, consul suffectus A.D. 29, and Q. Plautius, consul in A.D. 36 (vi. 40).

tamquam] For the omission of the verb after 'tamquam' cf. Germ. 39, "eoque omnis superstitio respicit tamquam inde initia gentis." See a note on i. 11, on the omission of the subjunctive of 'esse.'

datisque iudicibus] The senate under the emperors had entrusted to them the trial of all criminals in their own body. But it does not follow that the trial itself took place in the curia. It would appear not always to have done so from iii. 12, "id solum Germanico *super leges*, praestiterimus quod in curia potius quam in foro, aput senatum potius quam aput iudices de morte eius anquiritur." Trials often took place in the senate (cf. H. iv. 44); but I imagine that under Tiberius at all events, while iudices for the trial were selected from the senators, yet the case was tried under the presidency of the praetor, as at certain periods in republican days, when the iudices consisted of senators only.

Numantina] She was daughter of Q. Fabius Maximus Africanus, consul 10 A.C. Borghesi points out that she is mentioned in an inscription as subsequently marrying Sex Apuleius: "(apud Murator. 1133. 9). (Sex) Apuleio Sex. f. Gal(eria tribu). Sex n. Sex pron. Fabia Numantina nato ultimo gentis suae."

23. Is demum annus populum Romanum longo adversum Numidam Tacfarinatem bello absolvit. nam priores duces ubi impetrando triumphalium insigni sufficere res suas crediderant, hostem omittebant; iamque tres laureatae in urbe statuae et adhuc raptabat Africam Tacfarinas, auctus Maurorum auxiliis, qui, Ptolemaeo Iubae filio iuventa incurioso libertos regios et servilia imperia bello mutaverant. erat illi praedarum receptor ac socius populandi rex Garamantum, non ut cum exercitu incederet, sed missis levibus copiis, quae ex longinquo in maius audiebantur; ipsaque e provincia, ut quis fortuna inops, moribus turbidus, promptius ruebant, quia Caesar post res a Blaeso gestas, quasi nullis iam in Africa hostibus, reportari nonam legionem iusserat, nec pro consule eius anni P. Dolabella retinere ausus erat, iussa principis magis quam incerta belli metuens.

24. Igitur Tacfarinas disperso rumore rem Romanam aliis quoque ab nationibus lacerari eoque paulatim Africa decedere, ac posse reliquos circumveniri, si cuncti quibus libertas servitio potior incubuissent, auget vires positisque castris Thubuscum oppidum circumsidet. at Dolabella contracto quod erat militum, terrore nominis Romani et quia Numidae peditum aciem ferre nequeunt, primo sui incessu solvit obsidium locorumque opportuna permunivit; simul principes Musulamiorum defectionem coeptantes securi percutit. dein quia pluribus adversum Tacfarinatem expeditionibus cognitum, non gravi nec uno incursu consectandum hostem vagum, excito cum popularibus rege Ptolemaeo quattuor agmina parat, quae legatis aut tribunis data; et praedatorias manus delecti Maurorum duxere: ipse consultor aderat omnibus.

25. Nec multo post adfertur Numidas aput castellum semirutum, ab ipsis quondam incensum, cui nomen Auzea, positis mapalibus

23. *tres laureatae*] Those of Furius Camillus (ii. 52), L. Apronius (iii. 21), and Iunius Blaesus (iii. 72). These laurelled statues were common. Agricola had one erected in his honour: Agric. 40, "igitur triumphalia ornamenta et inlustris statuae honorem et quicquid pro triumpho datur, decerni in senatu iubet." This war against Tacfarinas began A.D. 17. Cf. ii. 52, "eodem anno caeptum in Africa bellum duce Tacfarinate."

libertos regios] These people had chafed under the rule of Ptolemaeus, being disinclined to submit to the authority of his freedmen and slaves, and hankering after the more congenial atmosphere of war. They consequently took service under Tacfarinas.

audiebantur] 'Heard *of*.' Cf. Germ. 37, "cum primum Cimbrorum arma audita sunt;" and 41, "flumen inclutum et notum olim: nunc tantum auditur."

24. *primo sui incessu*] Cf. ii. 13, "fruiturque fama sui;" vi. 7, "pars ad subsidium sui;" xv. 36, "non longam sui absentiam." The Thubuscum here mentioned is, I suppose, the Thubursica of Ptolemaeus (iv. 3. 29), near Lambaesa and Mons Aurasius. Auzea (Auza, or Auzia) is in Mauretania Caesariensis, at the foot of the Montes Garaphi. Its site is said to be marked by a heap of ruins, called Sour Guzlan, or Sour-el-Rezlan, south of Hamza.

consedisse, fisos loco, quia vastis circum saltibus claudebatur. tum expeditae cohortes alaeque, quam in partem ducerentur ignarae, cito agmine rapiuntur. simulque coeptus dies et concentu tubarum ac truci clamore aderant semisomnos in barbaros, praepeditis Numidarum equis aut diversos pastus pererrantibus. ab Romanis confertus pedes, dispositae turmae, cuncta proelio provisa: hostibus contra omnium nesciis non arma, non ordo, non consilium, sed pecorum modo trahi, occidi, capi. infensus miles memoria laborum et adversum eludentis optatae totiens pugnae se quisque ultione et sanguine explebant. differtur per manipulos, Tacfarinatem omnes, notum tot proeliis, consectentur: non nisi duce interfecto requiem belli fore. at ille deiectis circum stipatoribus vinctoque iam filio et effusis undique Romanis, ruendo in tela captivitatem haud inulta morte effugit isque finis armis inpositus.

26. Dolabellae petenti abnuit triumphalia Tiberius, Seiano tribuens, ne Blaesi avunculi eius laus obsolesceret. sed neque Blaesus ideo inlustrior, et huic negatus honor gloriam intendit: quippe minore exercitu insignis captivos, caedem ducis bellique confecti famam deportarat. sequebantur et Garamantum legati, raro in urbe visi, quos Tacfarinate caeso perculsa gens et culpae nescia ad satis faciendum populo Romano miserat. cognitis dehinc Ptolemaei per id bellum studiis repetitus ex vetusto more honos, missusque e senatoribus qui scipionem eburnum, togam pictam, antiqua patrum munera, daret regemque et socium atque amicum appellaret.

27. Eadem aestate mota per Italiam servilis belli semina fors oppressit. auctor tumultus T. Curtisius, quondam praetoriae cohortis miles, primo coetibus clandestinis aput Brundisium et cir-

25. *simulque coeptus dies et*] Cf. i. 65, "simul haec, et cum delectis scindit agmen."

trahi, occidi, capi] For this 'asyndeton' cf. iv. 49, "unde saxa, hastae, ignes propinquum iam in hostem iacerentur, pollui cuncta sanie, odore, contactu."

optatae totiens pugnae] This depends on 'memoria:' 'from the recollection of their labours, and the wish they had so often expressed with reference to their baffling foe, to meet him in open battle.'

26. *ne Blaesi*] Cf. iii. 72.

et culpae nescia] This is the reading of the MS., and although it is difficult, it may be unnecessary to alter it. The king of the Garamantes had sent some light troops to help Tacfarinas: but the nation perhaps felt that it was his act, not theirs, and that no blame attached to themselves. They were not, therefore, oppressed by any feeling of wrong-doing. Or perhaps 'culpae nescia' might imply that they were unaccustomed to be under a cloud, unused to lie under suspicion of having broken their allegiance to Rome, and so hastened to remove the uncomfortable feeling by speedy reparation. Below, 'more honos, missusque' is Doederlein's emendation for the 'more omissusque' of the MS. Livy (xxx. 15) enumerates the presents made to a king, "Masinissam aurea corona, aurea patera, sella curuli eburnea et scipione eburneo, toga picta et palmari tunica donat."

cumiecta oppida, mox positis propalam libellis ad libertatem vocabat agrestia per longinquos saltus et ferocia servitia, cum velut munere deum tres biremes adpulere ad usus commeantium illo mari. et erat isdem regionibus Cutius Lupus quaestor, cui provincia vetere ex more calles evenerat: is disposita classiariorum copia coeptantem cum maxime coniurationem disiecit. missusque a Caesare propere Staius tribunus cum valida manu ducem ipsum et proximos audacia in urbem traxit, iam trepidam ob multitudinem familiarum, quae gliscebat inmensum, minore in dies plebe ingenua.

28. Isdem consulibus miseriarum ac saevitiae exemplum atrox, reus pater, accussator filius (nomen utrique Vibius Serenus) in senatum inducti sunt, ab exilio retractus inluvieque ac squalore obsitus et tum catena vinctus pater orante filio: praeparatus adulescens multis munditiis, alacri vultu, structas principi insidias, missos in Galliam concitores belli index idem et testis dicebat, adnectebatque Caecilium Cornutum praetorium ministravisse pecuniam; qui taedio curarum, et quia periculum pro exitio habebatur, mortem in se festinavit. at contra reus nihil infracto animo obversus in filium quatere vincla, vocare ultores deos, ut sibi quidem redderent exilium, ubi procul tali more ageret, filium autem quandoque supplicia sequerentur. adseverabatque innocentem Cornutum et falsa exterritum; idque facile intellectu, si

27. *longinquos*] 'Remote,' 'distant;' not, I think, simply 'large.'

calles] The reading seems correct. Cf. Suet. C. Julius Caesar 19, "opera optimatibus data est ut provinciae futuris consulibus minimi negotii, id est silvae callesque decernerentur." The duty of the 'quaestor' would be, no doubt, to collect the rents due from those who grazed their cattle on these retired pasture-lands, stretching, it seems, from behind Campania to the Adriatic coast.

cum maxime] Cf. a note on this idiom in iii. 59. Below, 'tribunus' is not, of course, 'tribunus plebis,' but tribune of a praetorian cohort.

28. *retractus*] 'Erat' must be supplied after these participles. This seems the best construction, although others are possible. Cf. i. 55, "Arminius, turbator Germaniae, Segestes parari rebellionem saepe alias . . . . aperuit;" xv. 45, "ille libertus cuicumque flagitio promptus, hic Graeca doctrina ore tenus exercitus, animum bonis artibus non induerat;" iii. 75, "sed Labeo incorrupta libertate et ob id fama celebratior: Capitonis obsequium dominantibus magis probabatur." This supplying 'erat' from the verb in the second clause is akin to the principle explained in the note to i. 2, under 'postquam.'

Caecilium Cornutum] I take from Nipperdey's note an inscription (Momms. *I. R. N.* 6804), where he is mentioned: "L. Asprenas, P. Viriasius Naso tr. pl. M. Caecilius Cornutus, L. Volusenus Catulus, P. Licinius Stolo curatores locor. publicor. iudicandor. ex s. c. ex privat. in publicum restituerunt."

falsa exterritum] The reading of the MS. is perhaps correct. 'Exterritus' is equivalent to 'metuens,' and constructed, therefore, in the same way. So 'horrere' governs an accusative. Cf. Cic. ad Attic. ix. 2, "ingrati animi crimen horreo." Or, a little differently, 'falsa' may be used as a sort of accusative of respect; 'with reference to matters destitute of any foundation.' Cf. vi. 5, "quae cuncta a primoribus civitatis revincebatur," and "arguitur pleraque."

proderentur alii: non enim se caedem principis et res novas uno socio cogitasse.

29. Tum accussator Cn. Lentulum et Seium Tuberonem nominat, magno pudore Caesaris, cum primores civitatis, intimi ipsius amici, Lentulus senectutis extremae, Tubero defecto corpore, tumultus hostilis et turbandae rei publicae accerserentur. sed hi quidem statim exempti: in patrem ex servis quaesitum, et quaestio adversa accusatori fuit. qui scelere vaecors, simul vulgi rumore territus, robur et saxum aut parricidarum poenas minitantium, cessit urbe. ac retractus Ravenna exsequi accusationem adigitur, non occultante Tiberio vetus odium adversum exulem Serenum. nam post damnatum Libonem missis ad Caesarem litteris exprobraverat suum tantum studium sine fructu fuisse, addideratque quaedam contumacius quam tutum aput aures superbas et offensioni proniores. ea Caesar octo post annos rettulit, medium tempus varie arguens, etiam si tormenta pervicacia servorum contra evenissent.

30. Dictis dein sententiis ut Serenus more maiorum puniretur, quo molliret invidiam, intercessit. Gallus Asinius *cum* Gyaro aut Donusa claudendum censeret, id quoque aspernatus est, egenam aquae utramque insulam referens dandosque vitae usus cui vita concederetur. ita Serenus Amorgum reportatur. et quia Cornutus sua manu ceciderat, actum de praemiis accusatorum abolendis, si quis maiestatis postulatus ante perfectum iudicium se ipse vita privavisset. ibaturque in eam sententiam, ni durius con-

29. *Cn. Lentulum*] See on iv. 44.

robur] 'The prison,' 'robur Tullianum,' built by Ancus Martius, and enlarged by Servius Tullius, close to the Scalae Gemoniae. The 'saxum' is the 'saxum Tarpeium.' Cf. Sall. Cat. 55, "Est locus in carcere quod Tullianum adpellatur . . . Eum muniunt undique parietes atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus vincta, sed incultu tenebris odore foeda atque terribilis eius facies est."

parricidarum poenas] Cf. Juv. xiii. 213, "cuius supplicio non debuit una parari Simia, nec serpens unus, nec culleus unus." Cf. also Cic. pro Rosc. Amer. 25. A particular account of the punishment is given by Modestinus, Dig. xlviii. 9. 9, "poena parricidii more maiorum haec instituta est ut parricida virgis sanguineis verberatus deinde culleo insuatur cum cane, gallo gallinaceo, et vipera, et simia; deinde in mare profundum culleus iactetur."

varie arguens] "Bringing against (him during) the intermediate space various charges.'

30. *intercessit*] Sc. iure tribuniciae potestatis.

et quia Cornutus] One does not see easily how the fact of Cornutus committing suicide could really have any bearing on the question whether informers should be rewarded for the evidence they gave. If the informer deserved reward at all, he deserved it just as much whether the person accused died by his own hand or the sentence of the law; and if he deserved none, but rather punishment, he deserved this independently of the fate of the criminal. Tacitus seems to be unreasonable in blaming Tiberius for resisting this proposed abolition of rewards to the informers. It might be right, or it might be wrong, for these rewards to be given; but the reason which led to the proposal for their abolition was absurd.

traque morem suum palam pro accussatoribus Caesar inritas leges, rem publicam in praecipiti conquestus esset: subverterent potius iura quam custodes eorum amoverent. sic delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum et *ne* poenis quidem satis umquam coercitum, per praemia eliciebantur.

31. His tam adsiduis tamque maestis modica laetitia intericitur, quod C. Cominium equitem Romanum, probrosi in se carminis convictum, Caesar precibus fratris, qui senator erat, concessit. quo magis mirum habebatur gnarum meliorum, et quae fama clementiam sequeretur, tristiora malle. neque enim socordia peccabat; nec occultum est, quando ex veritate, quando adumbrata laetitia facta imperatorum celebrentur. quin ipse, conpositus alias et velut eluctantium verborum, solutius promptiusque eloquebatur, quotiens subveniret. at P. Suillium quaestorem quondam Germanici, cum Italia arceretur convictus pecuniam ob rem iudicandam cepisse, amovendum in insulam censuit, tanta contentione animi, ut iure iurando obstringeret e re publica id esse. quod aspere acceptum ad praesens mox in laudem vertit regresso Suillio; quem vidit sequens aetas praepotentem, venalem et Claudii principis amicitia diu prospere, numquam bene usum. eadem poena in Catum Firmium senatorem statuitur, tamquam falsis maiestatis criminibus sororem petivisset. Catus, ut rettuli, Libonem inlexerat insidiis, deinde indicio perculerat. eius operae memor Tiberius, sed alia praetendens, exilium deprecatus est: quo minus senatu pelleretur non obstitit.

32. Pleraque eorum, quae rettuli quaeque referam, parva forsitan et levia memoratu videri non nescius sum: sed nemo annales nostros cum scriptura eorum contenderit, qui veteres populi Romani res conposuere. ingentia illi bella, expugnationes urbium, fusos captosque reges, aut si quando ad interna praeverterent, discordias consulum adversum tribunos, agrarias frumentariasque

31. *fratris*] This brother was probably Cominius Proculus, who was proconsul of Cyprus under Claudius. His coins are still extant.

verborum] A genitive of quality. Cf. Agricol. 9, "provinciae splendidae in primis dignitatis;" H. iv. 49, "Valerius Festus sumptuosae iuventutis;" iv. 29, "Lentulus senectutis extremae."

P. Suillium] P. Suillius Rufus was 'consul suffectus' A.D. 46. He was half-brother to Domitius Corbulo (iii. 31), and Caesonia, wife of Caligula, by his mother Vestilia (Plin. N. H. vii. 4). For his fate, cf. xiii. 42, 43.

obstringeret] For the omission of the pronoun after this verb, cf. i. 14, "iure iurando obstrinxit se non excessurum."

ut rettuli] Cf. ii. 27.

32. *praeverterent*] 'turned their attention by preference.' The deponent form is more usual in this sense. Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 3. 38, "illuc praevertamur." Plautus, Mil. Glor. iv. 2. 102, "iam isti rei praevertemur."

leges, plebis et optimatium certamina libero egressu memorabant: nobis in arto et inglorius labor; immota quippe aut modice lacessita pax, maestae urbis res et princeps proferendi imperi incuriosus erat. non tamen sine usu fuerit introspicere illa primo aspectu levia, ex quis magnarum saepe rerum motus oriuntur.

33. Nam cunctas nationes et urbes populus aut primores aut singuli regunt: delecta ex iis et consociata rei publicae forma laudari facilius quam evenire, vel si evenit, haud diuturna esse potest. igitur ut olim plebe valida, vel cum patres pollerent, noscenda vulgi natura et quibus modis temperanter haberetur, senatusque et optimatium ingenia qui maxime perdidicerant, callidi temporum et sapientes credebantur, sic converso statu neque alia re Romana quam si unus imperitet, haec conquiri tradique in rem fuerit, quia pauci prudentia honesta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis discernunt, plures aliorum eventis docentur. ceterum ut profutura, ita minimum oblectationis adferunt. nam situs gentium, varietates proeliorum, clari ducum exitus retinent ac redintegrant legentium animum: nos saeva iussa, continuas accusationes, fallaces amicitias, permitiem innocentium et easdem exitii causas coniungimus, obvia rerum similitudine et satietate. tum quod antiquis scriptoribus rarus obtrectator, neque refert cuiusquam Punicas Romanasve acies laetius extuleris: at multorum, qui Tiberio re-

libero egressu] 'With free scope.' The meaning seems fixed by the words 'in arto.' Tacitus was confined within a narrow area of petty events: the older historians had a wide field to career through of great and stirring events.

33. *cunctas nationes*] Tacitus here, as Archbishop Whately remarks in his edition of Bacon's Essays, was misled by experience. He had observed that states were governed by monarchies, oligarchies or democracies, and that forms of government, compounded in any way of these, were either impracticable altogether, or unable to continue long. Consequently he assumed as an axiom that no government of the kind could possibly last. The long continuance of the form of government established in this country proves his error. Perhaps in the words 'consociata rei publicae forma' Tacitus was thinking of a passage in Cic. de Repub. i. 29, "quartum quoddam genus rei publicae maxime probandum esse censeo, quod est ex his quae prima dixi moderatum et permixtum tribus.

noscenda vulgi natura] In what case are these words? Nipperdey says in the ablative: an assertion I do not understand. They are, I think, in the nominative case; and the construction is 'ut . . . noscenda vulgi natura (erat) et (erat noscendum) quibus, &c., iique qui . . . perdidicerant . . callidi . . credebantur.' For 'callidus' with a genitive cf. H. ii. 31. Forcellini quotes Columella vii. 7 for the same construction, which, I believe, is the only other instance.

quam si unus imperitet] The government of Rome was nominally, Tacitus means probably, carried on with the old machinery of consuls, senate, &c. The liberty, however, was only seeming, and the state was really entirely under the control of the Emperor alone. It was a despotism to all intents and purposes. Cf. iv. 20, "quasi Varro consul, aut illut res publica esset."

tum quod] The 'quod' may be correct, although some editors alter or omit it. The sentence gives an additional reason why the narrative of Tacitus would be displeasing: it would offend living representatives of some of the characters mentioned in it.

Romanasve] Nipperdey reads Roma-

gente poenam vel infamias subiere, posteri manent. utque familiae ipsae iam extinctae sint, reperies qui ob similitudinem morum aliena malefacta sibi obiectari putent. etiam gloria ac virtus infensos habet, ut nimis ex propinquo diversa arguens. sed ad inceptum redeo.

34. Cornelio Cosso Asinio Agrippa consulibus Cremutius Cordus postulatur, novo ac tunc primum audito crimine, quod editis annalibus laudatoque M. Bruto C. Cassium Romanorum ultimum dixisset. accusabant Satrius Secundus et Pinarius Natta, Seiani clientes. id permitiabile reo, et Caesar truci vultu defensionem accipiens, quam Cremutius, relinquendae vitae certus, in hunc modum exorsus est: "verba mea, patres conscripti, arguuntur: adeo factorum innocens sum. sed neque haec in principem aut principis parentem, quos lex maiestatis amplectitur: Brutum et Cassium laudavisse dicor, quorum res gestas cum plurimi composuerint, nemo sine honore memoravit. Titus Livius, eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus in primis, Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit, ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret; neque id amicitiae eorum offecit. Scipionem, Afranium, hunc ipsum Cassium, hunc

nasne. In xiv. 51 the reading is "incertum valetudine aut veneno;" and vi. 23, "sponte vel necessitate incertum habebatur." If these passages are correct, there would be no difficulty about the use of 've' here. But in any case the reading, I think, may stand, if the sense be not, 'it makes no difference to any one whether you extol the Punic or Roman armies the more highly,' but 'whether you extol too highly any armies, whether they may be those of Carthage or Rome.'

diversa arguens] The virtues of contemporaries are more reproachful than the virtues of antiquity, because we can always make ourselves believe that times are altered, and there was more scope *then* for excellence than *now*. But if our contemporaries, or those who are nearly so, display great virtues, it is a reproof to us, because, their circumstances being similar to our own, the defect must be in *us*, not in the times.

34. *Cornelio Cosso*] Cossus Cornelius Lentulus was the son of Cn. Cornelius Cossus Lentulus, who was consul 1 A.C. and brother of the Lentulus Gaetulicus of iv. 42. Asinius Agrippa was son of Asinius Gallus.

editis annalibus] Cordus had written a history of the career of Augustus up to his death—a work read by Augustus himself (Dio Cass. lvii. 24; Suet. August. 35). A similar charge was brought against Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio under Domitian: "legimus cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent capitale fuisse" Agric. 2.

relinquendae vitae certus] For the genitive cf. xii. 66, "sceleris olim certa;" and Virg. Aen. iv. 54, "iam certus eundi." Below, 'praeclarus eloquentiae ac fidei' is a construction found nowhere else. Draeger says 'fides' is 'impartiality,' "sine ira et studio" i. 1.

Scipionem] This was Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, consul in the year 52 A.C. and father-in-law of Cn. Pompeius. He was killed at Hippo 47 A.C. (Bell. Afric. 96). Afranius was the Lucius Afranius who was consul 60 A.C., and afterwards legatus of Cn. Pompeius in Spain, and died at the same time as Scipio. Asinius Pollio wrote a history of the civil war (Suet. de Illust. Gram. 10). He is the Pollio addressed by Horace in ii. 1, and spoken of by Virgil, Eclog. iii. 84: "Pollio amat nostram, quamvis sit rustica, musam. Pollio et ipse facit nova carmina." Messalla Corvinus (father of Messalla Valerius i. 8) the orator, also seems to have written a history of the civil war.

Brutum nusquam latrones et parricidas, quae nunc vocabula inponuntur, saepe ut insignis viros nominat. Asinii Pollionis scripta egregiam eorundem memoriam tradunt; Messalla Corvinus imperatorem suum Cassium praedicabat: et uterque opibusque atque honoribus perviguere. Marci Ciceronis libro, quo Catonem caelo aequavit, quid aliud dictator Caesar quam rescripta oratione, velut apud iudices, respondit? Antonii epistulae, Bruti contiones falsa quidem in Augustum probra, set multa cum acerbitate habent; carmina Bibaculi et Catulli referta contumeliis Caesarum leguntur: sed ipse divus Iulius, ipse divus Augustus et tulere ista et reliquere, haud facile dixerim, moderatione magis an sapientia. namque spreta exsolescunt: si irascare, adgnita videntur."

35. "Non attingo Graecos, quorum non modo libertas, etiam libido impunita; aut si quis advertit, dictis dicta ultus est. sed maxime solutum et sine obtrectatore fuit prodere de iis, quos mors odio aut gratiae exemisset. num enim armatis Cassio et Bruto ac Philippenses campos optinentibus belli civilis causa populum per contiones incendo? an illi quidem septuagesimum ante annum peremti, quo modo imaginibus suis noscuntur, quas ne victor quidem abolevit, sic partem memoriae aput scriptores retinent? suum cuique decus posteritas rependit; nec derunt, si damnatio ingruit qui non modo Cassii et Bruti set etiam mei meminerint." egressus dein senatu vitam abstinentia finivit. libros per aediles cremandos censuere patres: et manserunt occultati et editi. quo magis socordiam eorum inridere libet, qui praesenti potentia cre-

opibusque atque honoribus] Cf. iv. 3, "seque ac maiores et posteros." See the note on i. 4, under 'seque et domum.' 'Perviguere' is 'flourished to the end of their lives.' The word occurs nowhere else.

rescripta oratione] This of course refers to the 'Anticato' in two books, composed by Caesar in reply to Cicero's work on Cato (Suet. C. Julius Caesar 56).

set multa] Kritz suggests 'et,' but the sense is clear: the works in question were abusive; falsely no doubt (quidem) but still abusive and full of rancour. M. Furius Bibaculus, of Cremona, was a poet of small repute, whose verses were full of rancour and turgidity. Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 10. 36, and ii. 5. 41. He was a contemporary of Catullus. Specimens of his writings are to be found in Suet. de Illust. Gram. 11.

35. *an illi*] After num, 'an' implies that the second alternative is the true statement and the former one is virtually denied. Walther quotes Cic. de Leg. ii. 2, "numquid duas habetis patrias, an est una illa patria communis?" 'Or is it rather the case that they naturally retain a portion of the recollection accorded them in the pages of writers?' The Emperor does not obliterate their busts: so historians do not blot out their characters from their works. Just below, 'septuagesimum' is not intended to be an accurate computation; for the battle of Philippi was 42 A.C., and the date here 25 A.D.

et manserunt] I do not see that the reading need be altered to 'set.' The sense is, 'and yet in spite of that, they remained.' See the note on i. 38 under 'et nihil ausos.' These writings survived at all events to Caligula's time. Cf. Suet. Calig. 16, "Titi Labieni, Cordi Cremutii, Cassii Severi scripta senatus consultis abolita requiri et esse in manibus lectitarique permisit."

dunt extingui posse etiam sequentis aevi memoriam. nam contra punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas, neque aliut externi reges aut qui eadem saevitia usi sunt, nisi dedecus sibi atque illis gloriam peperere.

36. Ceterum postulandis reis tam continuus annus fuit, ut feriarum Latinarum diebus praefectum urbis Drusum, auspicandi gratia tribunal ingressum, adierit Calpurnius Salvianus in Sextum Marium: quod a Caesare palam increpitum causa exilii Salviano fuit. obiecta publice Cyzicenis incuria caerimoniarum divi Augusti, additis violentiae criminibus adversum cives Romanos. et amisere libertatem, quam bello Mithridatis meruerant, circumsessi nec minus sua constantia quam praesidio Luculli pulso rege. at Fonteius Capito, qui pro consule Asiam curaverat, absolvitur, conperto ficta in eum crimina per Vibium Serenum. neque tamen id Sereno noxae fuit, quem odium publicum tutiorem faciebat. nam ut quis destrictior accusator, velut sacrosanctus erat: leves ignobiles poenis adficiebantur.

37. Per idem tempus Hispania ulterior missis ad senatum legatis oravit, ut exemplo Asiae delubrum Tiberio matrique eius exstrueret. qua occasione Caesar, validus alioqui spernendis honoribus

36. *praefectum urbis*] When on the 'Feriae Latinae' the consuls were absent at the Alban mount, their place was supplied by the praefectus urbis. Whether the substitute, however, could convene a meeting of the senate was a matter of dispute. Cf. Aul. Gell. xiv. 8. In other respects, however, he took their functions upon him (vi. 11). The possession of this office by Drusus is attested by an inscription (Or. n. 667): "Druso Caesa(ri) (Germa)nici Caesaris (f. Ti.) Aug. n. divi Aug. (pron.) praefecto urbi."

auspicandi] 'For the purpose of inaugurating his office.' It was usual for a magistrate on the first day of office to discharge some function of the post he held, by way of inaugurating it. Some trifling matter was generally selected for this purpose. Cf. Suet. Nero 7, "auspicatus est et iuris dictionem praefectus urbi Sacro Latinarum, celeberrimis patronis non tralaticias, ut assolet, et breves sed maximas plurimasque postulationes certatim ingerentibus." For 'Sextus Marius' cf. vi. 19; and below, for 'publice' see a note on i. 13.

sua constantia] Strictly, 'sua' should have been 'eorum,' for by the introduction of 'pulso rege' the subject has been changed from 'Cyziceni' to 'rex.' But the reflexive pronoun is used, because mentally the 'Cyziceni' are regarded as still the subject of the whole sentence, although grammatically they have ceased to be so. This is of very common occurrence. In any sentence of the form 'he asked the men to help him,' a Latin author would invariably write, "petiit ex hominibus ut sibi auxiliarentur," although the subject of the latter verb is 'homines,' to which 'sibi' does not refer.

Fonteius Capito] Caius Fonteius, C. f. C. n. Capito, was consul in A.D. 12 with Germanicus. His father was consul suffectus 33 A.C.

destrictior] More pressing or menacing. A metaphor apparently from a sword drawn from the scabbard, and ready for use. The word is only found in late writers in this sense. Cf. Valer. Max. viii. 2. 2, "ex amica obsequenti subito destrictam faeneratricem agere coepit." It is used also by Pliny the younger (Epist. ix. 21. 4).

37. *exemplo Asiae*] Cf. iv. 15. For 'alioqui' ('in other instances,' 'putting this out of the reckoning') cf. H. iii. 32, "ditem alioqui coloniam maiore opum specie complebat."

et respondendum ratus iis quorum rumore arguebatur in ambitionem flexisse, huiusce modi orationem coepit: "scio, patres conscripti, constantiam meam a plerisque desideratam, quod Asiae civitatibus nuper idem istud petentibus non sim adversatus. ergo et prioris silentii defensionem, et quid in futurum statuerim, simul aperiam. cum divus Augustus sibi atque urbi Romae templum apud Pergamum sisti non prohibuisset, qui omnia facta dictaque eius vice legis observem, placitum iam exemplum promptius secutus sum, quia cultui meo veneratio senatus adiungebatur. ceterum ut semel recepisse veniam habuerit, ita omnes per provincias effigie numinum sacrari ambitiosum, superbum; et vanescet Augusti honor, si promiscis adulationibus vulgatur."

38. "Ego me, patres conscripti, mortalem esse et hominum officia fungi satisque habere, si locum principem impleam, et vos testor et meminisse posteros volo; qui satis superque memoriae meae tribuent, ut maioribus meis dignum, rerum vestrarum providum, constantem in periculis, offensionum pro utilitate publica non pavidum credant. haec mihi in animis vestris templa, hae pulcherrimae effigies et mansurae. nam quae saxo struuntur, si iudicium posterorum in odium vertit, pro sepulchris spernuntur. proinde socios cives et deos ipsos precor, hos ut mihi ad finem usque vitae quietam et intelligentem humani divinique iuris mentem duint, illos ut, quandoque concessero, cum laude et bonis recordationibus facta atque famam nominis mei prosequantur." perstititque posthac secretis etiam sermonibus aspernari talem sui cultum. quod alii modestiam, multi, quia diffideret, quidam ut degeneris animi interpretabantur. optumos quippe mortalium altissima cupere: sic Herculem et Liberum apud Graecos, Quirinum apud nos deum numero additos: melius Augustum qui speraverit. cetera princi-

sibi atque urbi Romae] Cf. note on i. 10, under 'vellet.' There is an inscription (Or. n. 606), ROMAE ET AVGVSTO CAESARI DIVI F. PATRI PATRIAE.

38. *fungi*] For the accusative after this verb cf. iii. 2, "ut munera fungerentur." It is also similarly constructed in Suetonius (August. 35. 45) and Terence (Heauton. i. 1. 14).

ut credant] This is a little awkward from its extreme brevity. 'Ut credant' is explanatory of 'tribuent,' or rather depends on words supplied mentally. "Satis superque memoriae meae tribuent si tantum tribuant ut credant."

pro sepulchris] 'Are spurned as so many graves.' Not that graves are necessarily treated with insult, but they are at all events a sufficient contrast to temples to make the remark true. The shrines would be allowed to fall into decay, and so far, resemble old tombs. Orelli quotes Ovid. Heroid. iii. 98, "at mea pro nullo pondere verba cadunt." Below for 'quandoque,' see note on the word, i. 4.

melius] 'Better' than whom, or what? The sense appears to be that Augustus had acted more wisely in hoping for immortality than Tiberius in discountenancing the offers to erect a temple for his worship. This was viewed by many as a proof of self-distrust, as a conviction in his own breast of his unworthiness of

pibus statim adesse: unum insatiabiliter parandum, prosperam sui memoriam; nam contemptu famae contemni virtutes.

39. At Seianus nimia fortuna socors et muliebri insuper cupidine incensus, promissum matrimonium flagitante Livia, componit ad Caesarem codicillos: moris quippe tum erat quamquam praesentem scripto adire. eius talis forma fuit: benivolentia patris Augusti et mox plurimis Tiberii iudiciis ita insuevisse, ut spes votaque sua non prius ad deos quam ad principum aures conferret. neque fulgorem honorum umquam precatum: excubias ac labores, ut unum e militibus, pro incolumitate imperatoris malle. ac tamen quod pulcherrimum adeptum, ut coniunctione Caesaris dignus crederetur: hinc initium spei. et quoniam audiverit Augustum in conlocanda filia non nihil etiam de equitibus Romanis consultavisse, ita, si maritus Liviae quaereretur, haberet in animo amicum sola necessitudinis gloria usurum. non enim exsuere inposita munia: satis aestimare firmari domum adversum iniquas Agrippinae offensiones, idque liberorum causa; nam sibi multum superque vitae fore, quod tali cum principe explevisset.

40. Ad ea Tiberius laudata pietate Seiani suisque in eum beneficiis modice percursis, cum tempus tamquam ad integram consultationem petivisset, adiunxit: ceteris mortalibus in eo stare consilia, quid sibi conducere putent; principum diversam esse sortem, quibus praecipua rerum ad famam derigenda. ideo se non illuc decurrere quod promptum rescriptu, posse ipsam Liviam

the honour offered him. Some believed that Tiberius felt himself worthy of the honour, but declined it from genuine modesty; others, that he declined it because, however much he might wish for it, he felt that he had no fair claim to it (quia diffideret); others, lastly, believed that he cared nothing whatever for it; if so, it proved, in their opinion, his meanness of spirit (degeneris animi). For the ellipse of the verb 'egisse' or the like, cf. i. 43.

39. *iudiciis*] Cf. Agric. 43, "satis constabat lecto testamento Agricolae . . . . laetatum eum esse velut honore iudicioque." Below, for 'coniunctione Caesaris,' cf. iii. 29, "filio Claudii socer Seianus destinaretur."

de equitibus Romanis] Cf. Suet. Tib. 63, "hoc quoque defuncto ac diu etiam ex equestri ordine circumspectis conditionibus Tiberium privignum suum elegit."

satis aestimare] This is not the same thing as 'satis existimare:' at least, I can find no undoubted instance of the use of 'aestimare' in the sense of 'thinking.' Tacitus always, I think, uses the word in the sense of valuing, rating, appraising: cf. Agric. 40, "magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare:" i.e., 'to value them.' So Germ. 6, "in universum aestimanti," to one who forms his estimate from a view of the whole matter; xiii. 42, "an gravius aestimandum;" vi. 8, "non est nostrum aestimare quem supra ceteros et quibus de causis extollas;" xiii. 17, "antiquas fratrum discordias et insociabile regnum aestimantes;" H. i. 16, "nos bello et ab aestimantibus asciti;" and in the same chapter, "nosci a principibus fortuitum nec ultra aestimatur." The sense here therefore is, that Sejanus 'valued at its full worth' the security obtained for his family by the proposed arrangement: he gave the proper value to it, and so to say, 'did not want more for his money.'

statuere, nubendum post Drusum an in penatibus isdem tolerandum haberet; esse illi matrem et aviam, propiora consilia. simplicius acturum, de inimicitiis primum Agrippinae, quas longe acrius arsuras, si matrimonium Liviae velut in partes domum Caesarum distraxisset. sic quoque erumpere aemulationem feminarum, eaque discordia nepotes suos convelli: quid si intendatur certamen tali coniugio? "falleris enim, Seiane, si te mansurum in eodem ordine putas, et Liviam, quae C. Caesari, mox Druso nupta fuerit, ea mente acturam, ut cum equite Romano senescat. ego ut sinam, credisne passuros qui fratrem eius, qui patrem maioresque nostros in summis imperiis videre? vis tu quidem istum intra locum sistere: sed illi magistratus et primores, qui te invitum perrumpunt omnibusque de rebus consulunt, excessisse iam pridem equestre fastigium longeque antisse patris mei amicitias non occulti ferunt perque invidiam tui me quoque incusant. at enim Augustus filiam suam equiti Romano tradere meditatus est. mirum hercule, si cum in omnis curas distraheretur immensumque attolli provideret quem coniunctione tali super alios extulisset, C. Proculeium et quosdam in sermonibus habuit insigni tranquillitate vitae, nullis rei publicae negotiis permixtos. sed si dubitatione Augusti movemur, quanto validius est quod Marco Agrippae, mox mihi conlocavit? atque ego haec pro amicitia non occultavi: ceterum neque tuis neque Liviae destinatis adversabor. ipse quid intra animum volutaverim, quibus adhuc necessitudinibus immiscere te mihi parem, omittam ad praesens referre: id tantum aperiam, nihil esse tam excelsum, quod non virtutes istae tuusque in me animus mereantur, datoque tempore vel in senatu vel in contione non reticebo."

40. *nubendum haberet*] For this use of 'habere' with the gerundive cf. xiv. 44, "si nunc primum statuendum haberemus;" De Oratoribus 31, "sive apud timentes dicendum habuerit;" H. i. 15. Below, 'propiora consilia' is 'advice nearer (to her)' than himself. Of course with 'acturum' 'se' is to be supplied.

matrem] Livia's mother was Antonia minor, and her grandmother was Livia Augusta.

sic quoque] Even so, as it was. The grandsons spoken of below are the sons of Drusus and Germanicus, the former his own son, the latter his son by adoption. Livia's brother was Germanicus, and her father the elder Drusus. For 'convelli' cf. xii. 1, "Caede Messalinae convulsa principis domus."

patris mei amicitias] Sejanus outstripped the other friends of Tiberius adopted by father Augustus. Sejanus had gained an eminence, not reached by any of Augustus' favourites, such as Agrippa, Maecenas, &c. "Non occulti ferunt" is 'bear with no disguised feelings,' i.e. 'openly show their arrogance.'

Proculeium] Caius Proculeius was brother of Varro Murena (i. 10), and Terentia, the wife of Maecenas. He is the Proculeius of Horace, Od. ii. 2, 5, "vivet extento Proculeius aevo Notus in fratres animi paterni." Below, for 'immiscere,' Draeger aptly quotes Liv. iv. 4, "ne adfinitatibus, ne propinquitatibus immisceamur cavent, ne societur sanguis."

41. Rursum Seianus, non iam de matrimonio, sed altius metuens, tacita suspicionum, vulgi rumorem, ingruentem invidiam deprecatur. ac ne adsiduos in domum coetus arcendo infringeret potentiam aut receptando facultatem criminantibus praeberet, huc flexit, ut Tiberium ad vitam procul Roma amoenis locis degendam impelleret. multa quippe providebat: sua in manu aditus litterarumque magna ex parte se arbitrum fore, cum per milites commearent; mox Caesarem vergente iam senecta secretoque loci mollitum munia imperii facilius tramissurum; et minui sibi invidiam adempta salutantum turba, sublatisque inanibus veram potentiam augeri. igitur paulatim negotia urbis, populi adcursus, multitudinem adfluentium increpat, extollens laudibus quietem et solitudinem, quis abesse taedia et offensiones ac praecipua rerum maxime agitari.

42. Ac forte habita per illos dies de Votieno Montano, celebris ingenii viro, cognitio cunctantem iam Tiberium perpulit ut vitandos crederet patrum coetus vocesque, quae plerumque verae et graves coram ingerebantur. nam postulato Votieno ob contumelias in Caesarem dictas, testis Aemilius e militaribus viris dum studio probandi cuncta refert et quamquam inter obstrepentes magna adseveratione nititur, audivit Tiberius probra quis per occultum lacerabatur, adeoque perculsus est, ut se vel statim vel in cognitione purgaturum clamitaret precibusque proximorum, adulatione

41. *receptando*] Tacitus is very fond of frequentatives: he uses "despectare" (ii. 43); "advectare" (vi. 13); "susfectare" (i. 5); "appellitare" (iv. 65); "mansitare" (xiii. 44); "emptitare" (xiv. 41); "queritari" (xvi. 34); "convectare" (H. iii. 27); "subvectare" (xv. 43); "recursare" (H. ii. 78); "redemptare" (H. iii. 34). Most of these are found either in Tacitus alone, or in late writers.

vergente iam senecta] In ii. 43, Tacitus uses the phrase "suam aetatem vergere" in the sense clearly of age, life waning, drawing towards its close. Here therefore the meaning is, 'his old age advancing to its end.' Tiberius had not only reached old age, but was advanced even in that: he had reached the last stage of existence, and was no longer in the beginning even of that, but well on.

veram potentiam augeri] 'Vera potentia augere' is the reading of the MS., but it seems difficult to suppose that Tacitus wrote thus. Sometimes 'augere' is used as a neuter verb, and the sense would be 'he increased in real power.' Of course the present 'augere' is no harder task to understand than 'minui,' as there is a blending of a general maxim with a particular application to himself by the plotter. But the construction is excessively awkward, and in H. iii. 45, Tacitus writes "auxerat potentiam," not 'potentia.'

maxime] 'The most important concerns chiefly would be discussed.' The 'princeps' would be secured from petty interruptions, and be able to reserve himself for important business only.

42. *de Votieno Montano*] An orator, mentioned by Seneca (Controv. xxviii. 17), who finds fault with him for destroying the effect of his speeches by repetition: "sententias suas repetendo corrumpit: dum non est contentus unam rem semel bene dicere, efficit ne bene dixerit."

in cognitione] Not apparently the trial of Votienus, for that was going on, and could scarcely be opposed therefore to 'statim.' If so, 'cognitio' would be, not exactly a formal trial, for the Emperor

omnium aegre componeret animum. et Votienus quidem maiestatis poenis adfectus est: Caesar obiectam sibi adversus reos inclementiam eo pervicacius amplexus, Aquiliam adulterii delatam cum Vario Ligure, quamquam Lentulus Gaetulicus consul designatus lege Iulia damnasset, exilio punivit Apidiumque Merulam, quod in acta divi Augusti non iuraverat, albo senatorio erasit.

43. Auditae dehinc Lacedaemoniorum et Messeniorum legationes de iure templi Dianae Limnatidis, quod suis a maioribus suaque in terra dicatum Lacedaemonii firmabant annalium memoria vatumque carminibus, sed Macedonis Philippi, cum quo bellassent, armis ademptum ac post C. Caesaris et M. Antonii sententia redditum. contra Messenii veterem inter Herculis posteros divisionem Peloponnesi protulere, suoque regi Dentheliatem agrum, in quo id delubrum, cessisse; monimentaque eius rei sculpta saxis et aere prisco manere. quod si vatum, annalium ad testimonia vocentur, plures sibi ac locupletioris esse; neque Philippum potentia sed ex vero statuisse: idem regis Antigoni, idem imperatoris Mummii iudicium; sic Milesios permisso publice arbitrio, postremo Atidium Geminum praetorem Achaiae decrevisse. ita secundum Messenios datum. et Segestani aedem Veneris montem aput Erycum, vetus-

would not be literally arraigned in court, but only I suppose morally or virtually. The word therefore can only mean an investigation, or inquiry, into the circumstances mentioned by the witness.

exilio punivit] The punishment fixed by the Lex Julia was deprivation of half the marriage 'dos,' and one third of the property of the woman convicted, and 'relegatio' to some island. See Dr. Smith's Dict. of Ant. 'Exilium' therefore must have been more severe than 'relegatio.' It deprived the person exiled of citizenship, and therefore put an end to such relationships as could only exist between citizens. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus was son of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Cossus (consul 1 A.C.), who obtained that cognomen for successes in Africa over the Gaetuli, and bequeathed it to his son (Vell. Paterc. ii. 116). He was apparently brother of the Cossus Cornelius in iv. 34.

in acta divi Augusti] Tiberius seems to have enforced an annual repetition of the oath to respect the acts of Augustus (Dio Cass. lvii. 8).

43. *Limnatidis*] Cf. Strabo viii. 4, 9, τὸ δὲ ἐν Λίμναις τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν, ἐν μεθορίοις ἐστὶ τῆς τε Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Μεσσηνίας. The 'Philippus' below was the father of Alexander the Great. See Thirlwall's History of Greece, ch. 46, sub finem.

regi Dentheliatem] This is the reading of Lipsius for 'recident heliatem' in the Cod. Med. Denthalii, or Delthanii, here mentioned, was a city on the confines of Messenia and Laconia.

locupletioris] 'More credible.' Cf. Cic. de Offic. iii. 2, "accedit eodem testis locuples Posidonius," and Liv. ix. 9, "Samnitibus sponsores nos sumus, rei satis locupletes," i.e., 'solvent,' as it were, able to make good our guarantee. The Antigonus here is the Antigonus Doson, who played a conspicuous part in the war of Cleomenes. See Plutarch, Cleomenes, passim, and Thirlwall's History of Greece, ch. 62. 'Mummius' was the destroyer of Corinth, 146 A.C.

publice] The Lacedaemonians and Messenians had officially, as States, submitted the question to the arbitration of the Milesians. For 'publice,' cf. iii. 31, "quod haud perinde publice usui habitum quam exitiosum multis." See also the note on i. 13.

tate dilapsam, restaurari postulavere, nota memorantes de origine eius et laeta Tiberio. suscepit curam libens ut consanguineus. tunc tractatae Massiliensium preces probatumque P. Rutilii exemplum; namque eum legibus pulsum civem sibi Zmyrnaei addiderant. quo iure Vulcatius Moschus exul in Massilienses receptus bona sua rei publicae eorum ut patriae reliquerat.

44. Obiere eo anno viri nobiles Cn. Lentulus et L. Domitius. Lentulo super consulatum et triumphalia de Getis gloriae fuerat bene tolerata paupertas, dein magnae opes innocenter paratae et modeste habitae. Domitium decoravit pater civili bello maris potens, donec Antonii partibus, mox Caesaris misceretur. avus Pharsalica acie pro optumatibus ceciderat. ipse delectus cui minor Antonia, Octavia genita, in matrimonium daretur, post exercitu flumen Albim transcendit, longius penetrata Germania quam quisquam priorum, easque ob res insignia triumphi adeptus est. obiit et L. Antonius, multa claritudine generis, sed inprospera. nam patre eius Iulo Antonio ob adulterium Iuliae morte punito hunc admodum adulescentulum, sororis nepotem, seposuit Augustus in civitatem Massiliensem, ubi specie studiorum nomen exilii tegeretur. habitus tamen supremis honor, ossaque tumulo Octaviorum inlata per decretum senatus.

origine] Cf. Virg. v. 759.

exemplum] 'The precedent furnished by P. Rutilius was regarded as sufficient.' For Rutilius cf. iii. 66.

44. *Cn. Lentulus et L. Domitius*] Cn. Cornelius, L. f., Lentulus was consul 18 A.C. He was sent against the Daci, and crossing the Ister forced them to submit to the Roman yoke (Suet. Aug. 63, Marm. Ancyr. v. 47). Their king was Cotiso (cf. "Cotisoni Getarum regi," Suet. Aug. 63, and "occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen," Hor. Carm. iii. 8). The names 'Daci' and 'Getae' are used indiscriminately. Cf. Plin. N. H. iv. 25. Lentulus lived to a great age (iv. 29), and if he were the usual age on attaining the consulate, he must have been considerably over eighty years old at this time. L. Domitius Cn. f. L. n. Ahenobarbus was consul 16 A.C., and proconsul of Africa 12 A.C. (Inscr. Lat. n. 3693). He married Antonia (maior) and was the father of Cn. Domitius, and grandfather of the Emperor Nero (Suet. Nero 2. 4. 5).

pater civili bello maris potens] Cf. Suet. Nero 3, where it is mentioned that Cn. Domitius, on his condemnation under the Lex Pedia, joined Brutus and Cassius, and after their death retained command of the fleet, which subsequently he handed over, increased in number, to Antonius, on the entire defeat of the republican party.

minor Antonia] This was the younger daughter of Marcus Antonius and Octavia, the sister of Augustus. But Tacitus in this matter differs from Suetonius, who makes her married to Drusus, the father of Germanicus, and gives Antonia maior, the elder sister, to a Domitius (Nero 5 and Calig. 1), the grandfather of the Emperor Nero. Suetonius appears to be more correct than Tacitus, for he is virtually corroborated by Dio Cassius (xlviii. 54), who speaks of the betrothal of a daughter of Antonius and Octavia to Domitius, at a time (37 A.C.) before the younger daughter, according to the commentators, was born. Plutarch (Anton. 35) corroborates Suetonius, I think, to some extent.

sororis nepotem] Lucius Antonius was the son of Iulus Antonius (i. 10) and grandson of Marcus Antonius and Fulvia. His mother was Marcella (maior), daughter of Octavia, the sister of Augustus, who was married to Iulus Antonius.

45. Isdem consulibus facinus atrox in citeriore Hispania admissum a quodam agresti nationis Termestinae. is praetorem provinciae L. Pisonem, pace incuriosum, ex inproviso in itinere adortus uno vulnere in mortem adfecit; ac pernicitate equi profugus, postquam saltuosos locos attigerat, dimisso equo per derupta et avia sequentis frustratus est. neque diu fefellit: nam prenso ductoque per proximos pagos equo, cuius foret cognitum. et repertus cum tormentis edere conscios adigeretur, voce magna sermone patrio frustra se interrogari clamitavit: adsisterent socii ac spectarent; nullam vim tantam doloris fore, ut veritatem eliceret. idemque cum postero ad quaestionem retraheretur, eo nisu proripuit se custodibus saxoque caput adflixit, ut statim exanimaretur. sed Piso Termestinorum dolo caesus habetur; quippe pecunias e publico interceptas acrius quam ut tolerarent barbari cogebat.

46. Lentulo Gaetulico C. Calvisio consulibus decreta triumphi insignia Poppaeo Sabino contusis Thraecum gentibus, qui montium editis incultu atque eo ferocius agitabant. causa motus super hominum ingenium, quod pati dilectus et validissimum quemque militiae nostrae dare aspernabantur, ne regibus quidem parere nisi ex libidine soliti, aut si mitterent auxilia, suos ductores praeficere nec nisi adversum accolas belligerare. ac tum rumor incesserat fore ut disiecti aliisque nationibus permixti diversas in terras traherentur. sed antequam arma inciperent, misere legatos amicitiam obsequiumque memoraturos, et mansura haec, si nullo novo onere temptarentur: sin ut victis servitium indiceretur, esse sibi ferrum et iuventutem et promptum libertati aut ad mortem

45. *Termestinae*] The town was Termes (now Tiermes), Plin. N. H. iii. 3. L. Piso was 'legatus pro praetore' of Hispania Citerior.

e publico] Sums due to the exchequer of the Termestini, money which ought to have been paid in, were kept back either by private individuals or by the local magistrates. Piso endeavoured to make the delinquents pay these sums up, and so he incurred their hatred; whereupon they put a stop to his unwelcome proceedings by murdering him. For the supposition above made that the local magistrates may have been concerned in the embezzlement, cf. ii. 54, "pariterque provincias internis certaminibus aut magistratuum iniuriis fessas refovebat," compared with Cic. ad Attic. vi. 2. 5, "mira erant in civitatibus ipsorum furta Graecorum quae magistratus sui fecerant: quaesivi ipse de iis qui annis decem proximis magistratum gesserant. Aperte fatebantur itaque sine ulla ignominia suis humeris pecunias populis rettulerunt," and ad Fam. iii. 8. 5, "ut levarem miseriis perditas civitates et perditas maxime per magistratus suos." Perhaps the Lucius Piso here was son of the Lucius Piso vi. 10. Borghesi suggests that he was the 'maior iuvenum' of Horace, Ars Poet. 366.

46. *Lentulo Gaetulico*] See iv. 42. Caius Calvisius Sabinus is mentioned in vi. 9, H. i. 48. Caius Poppaeus Q. f. Q. n. Sabinus was consul A.D. 9, and 'legatus pro praetore' of Moesia A.D. 15 (i. 80) with Achaia and Macedonia. Cf. v. 10, vi. 39, xiii. 45.

incultu] This is the reading of the MS., and may be, I think, right. See the note on iii. 28, under 'triumviratu.'

libertati] For similar variations in the structure of different clauses, cf. xii. 55,

animum. simul castella rupibus indita conlatosque illuc parentes et coniuges ostentabant bellumque impeditum arduum cruentum minitabantur.

47. At Sabinus, donec exercitus in unum conduceret, datis mitibus responsis, postquam Pomponius Labeo e Moesia cum legione, rex Rhoemetalces cum auxiliis popularium, qui fidem non mutaverant, venere, addita praesenti copia ad hostem pergit compositum iam per angustias saltuum. quidam audentius apertis in collibus visebantur, quos dux Romanus acie suggressus haud aegre pepulit, sanguine barbarorum modico ob propinqua suffugia. mox castris in loco communitis valida manu montem occupat, angustum et aequali dorso continuum usque ad proximum castellum, quod magna vis armata aut incondita tuebatur. simul in ferocissimos, qui ante vallum more gentis cum carminibus et tripudiis persultabant, mittit delectos sagittariorum. ii dum eminus grassabantur, crebra et inulta vulnera fecere: propius incedentes eruptione subita turbati sunt receptique subsidio Sugambrae cohortis, quam Romanus promptam ad pericula nec minus cantuum et armorum tumultu trucem haud procul instruxerat.

48. Translata dehinc castra hostem propter, relictis aput priora munimenta Threcibus, quos nobis adfuisse memoravi. iisque permissum vastare, urere, trahere praedas, dum populatio lucem intra sisteretur noctemque in castris tutam et vigilem capesserent. id primo servatum: mox versi in luxum et raptis opulenti omittere stationes, lascivia epularum aut somno et vino procumbere. igitur hostes incuria eorum conperta duo agmina parant, quorum altero populatores invaderentur, alii castra Romana adpugnarent, non spe capiendi, sed ut clamore, telis suo quisque periculo intentus sonorem alterius proelii non acciperet. tenebrae insuper delectae augendam ad formidinem. sed qui vallum legionum temptabant, facile pelluntur; Threcum auxilia repentino incursu

"vim cultoribus et oppidanis ac plerumque in mercatores et navicularios audebant;" xii. 29, "subsidio victis et terrorem adversus victores."

47. *Pomponius Labeo*] Cf. vi. 29. He was 'legatus pro praetore' of Moesia for eight years after his praetorship (Dio lviii. 24). Below 'cum legione' is 'with a legion,' for Moesia had two, iv. 5.

aut incondita] The force was partly furnished with arms, partly unequipped, and unfit for taking part in an engagement, but useful for incidental purposes. For the use of 'aut,' cf. i. 8.

48. *lascivia epularum*] See iii. 24, and the note there on 'potentia.'

altero . . . alii] I can find no other instance of this sequence. I suppose the explanation is that the second band (alii) is regarded simply as different from the first (altero), without taking into account the fact that there were but two bands in all. Below, 'adpugnare' seems a word peculiar to Tacitus. It occurs ii. 81 and xv. 13.

territa, cum pars munitionibus adiacerent, plures extra palarentur, tanto infensius caesi, quanto perfugae et proditores ferre arma ad suum patriaeque servitium incusabantur.

49. Postera die Sabinus exercitum aequo loco ostendit, si barbari successu noctis alacres proelium auderent. et postquam castello aut coniunctis tumulis non degrediebantur, obsidium coepit per praesidia, quae opportune iam muniebat; dein fossam loricamque contexens quattuor milia passuum ambitu amplexus est; tum paulatim, ut aquam pabulumque eriperet, contrahere claustra artaque circumdare; et struebatur agger, unde saxa hastae ignes propinquum iam in hostem iacerentur. sed nihil aeque quam sitis fatigabat, cum ingens multitudo bellatorum inbellium uno reliquo fonte uterentur; simul equi armenta, ut mos barbaris, iuxta clausa, egestate pabuli exanimari; adiacere corpora hominum, quos vulnera, quos sitis peremerat; pollui cuncta sanie, odore, contactu. rebusque turbatis malum extremum discordia accessit, his deditionem, aliis mortem et mutuos inter se ictus parantibus. et erant qui non inultum exitium sed eruptionem suaderent, neque ignobiles, quamvis diversi sententiis.

50. Verum e ducibus Dinis, provectus senecta et longo usu vim atque clementiam Romanam edoctus, ponenda arma, unum adflictis id remedium disserebat, primusque se cum coniuge et liberis victori permisit: secuti aetate aut sexu inbecilli et quibus maior vitae quam gloriae cupido. at iuventus Tarsam inter et Turesim distrahebatur. utrique destinatum cum libertate occidere, sed Tarsa properum finem, abrumpendas pariter spes ac metus clamitans, dedit exemplum demisso in pectus ferro; nec defuere qui

49. *si . . . auderent*] For this use of 'si,' 'to see if,' 'to try whether,' cf. xii. 28, "Pomponius cum legionibus opperiebatur, si Chatti cupidine ulciscendi casum pugnae praeberent." Also xv. 13, "propius incedens si ea temeritate hostem in praelium eliceret." Cf. also H. i. 31 and iii. 52.

iam muniebat] 'Which he was already fortifying in suitable localities.' The sense, I think, is that Sabinus had already begun these forts (praesidia) in commanding positions, before he endeavoured to bring the enemy down from the heights; but probably he left them uncompleted until he ascertained the success of his manœuvres. When these failed to dislodge the foe, he completed the works and began a blockade. Below, for 'nihil aeque quam,' cf. H. ii. 20. 11. 52; also Suet. August. 64, "nihil aeque laboravit quam ut imitarentur chirographum suum." Claud. 35, "nihil aeque quam timidus ac diffidens fuit." Plin. N. H. ix. 23, "illustribus noctibus aeque quam die cernunt." This construction is only found in the silver age.

neque ignobiles . . . sententiis] 'Nor were these without glory, although they proposed a different course.' They declined the plan of mutual slaughter, but the cause was not cowardice, but a desire, not ignominious, to sell their lives as dearly as possible. I do not see why the words need be regarded as spurious; although the commentators generally enclose them in brackets.

eodem modo oppeterent. Turesis sua cum manu noctem opperitur, haud nescio duce nostro; igitur firmatae stationes densioribus globis. et ingruebat nox nimbo atrox, hostisque clamore turbido, modo per vastum silentium, incertos obsessores effecerat, cum Sabinus circumire, hortari ne ad ambigua sonitus aut simulationem quietis cassum insidiantibus aperirent, sed sua quisque munia servarent immoti telisque non in falsum iactis.

51. Interea barbari catervis decurrentes nunc in vallum manualia saxa, praeustas sudes, decisa robora iacere, nunc virgultis et cratibus et corporibus exanimis complere fossas, quidam pontis et scalas ante fabricati inferre propugnaculis eaque prensare, detrahere et adversum resistentis comminus niti. miles contra deturbare telis, pellere umbonibus, muralia pila, congestas lapidum moles provolvere. his partae victoriae spes et, si cedant, insignitius flagitium, illis extrema iam salus et adsistentes plerisque matres et coniuges earumque lamenta addunt animos. nox aliis in audaciam, aliis ad formidinem oportuna; incerti ictus, vulnera inprovisa; suorum atque hostium ignoratio et montis anfractu repercussae velut a tergo voces adeo cuncta miscuerant, ut quaedam munimenta Romani quasi perrupta omiserint. neque tamen pervasere hostes nisi admodum pauci: ceteros, deiecto promptissimo quoque aut saucio, adpetente iam luce trusere in summa castelli, ubi tandem coacta deditio. et proxima sponte incolarum recepta: reliquis, quo minus vi aut obsidio subigerentur, praematura montis Haemi et saeva hiemps subvenit.

52. At Romae commota principis domo, ut series futuri in Agrippinam exitii inciperet, Claudia Pulchra sobrina eius postu-

50. *modo*] For the omission of 'modo' with the first clause, cf. vi. 32. Similarly H. ii. 22, "his . . rursus illis exitiabile."

immoti, &c.] Of course the change of case in the two participles is the result of a change of subject. Cf. vi. 35, "praelatus equo et fortissimis satellitum protegentibus saucium."

51. *catervis*] See note on iii. 28, under 'triumviratu.' The 'vallum,' just below, is the 'lorica' of ch. 49.

ad formidinem] For the change from 'in' to 'ad' in adjacent clauses, cf. i. 28, "ut novissimi in culpam, ita primi ad paenitentiam." Conversely in H. ii. 44, "ad iram saepius quam in formidinem stimulabantur.."

52. *sobrina eius*] The relationship, as it is supposed by Borghesi to have existed, will be seen from the following table:—

Octavia, sister of Augustus.

M. Valerius Messala Barbatus Appianus (consul 12 A.C.), before adoption, Appius Claudius Pulcher. — m. Marcella (the elder).

Julia m. M. Agrippa.

Claudia Pulchra.

Agrippina.

latur accusante Domitio Afro. is recens praetura, modicus dignationis et quoquo facinore properus clarescere, crimen impudicitiae, adulterum Furnium, veneficia in principem et devotiones obiectabat. Agrippina semper atrox, tum et periculo propinquae accensa, pergit ad Tiberium ac forte sacrificantem patri repperit. quo initio invidiae non eiusdem ait mactare divo Augusto victimas et posteros eius insectari. non in effigies mutas divinum spiritum transfusum: sed imaginem veram, caelesti sanguine ortam, intellegere discrimen, suscipere sordes. frustra Pulchram praescribi, cui sola exitii causa sit quod Agrippinam stulte prorsus ad cultum delegerit, oblita Sosiae ob eadem adflictae. audita haec raram occulti pectoris vocem elicuere, correptamque Graeco versu admonuit non ideo laedi, quia non regnaret. Pulchra et Furnius damnantur. Afer primoribus oratorum additus, divulgato ingenio et secuta adseveratione Caesaris, qua suo iure disertum eum appellavit. mox capessendis accussationibus aut reos tutando prosperiore eloquentiae quam morum fama fuit, nisi quod aetas extrema multum etiam eloquentiae dempsit, dum fessa mente retinet silentii inpatientiam.

53. At Agrippina pervicax irae et morbo corporis implicata, cum viseret eam Caesar, profusis diu ac per silentium lacrimis, mox invidiam et preces orditur: subveniret solitudini, daret maritum; habilem adhuc iuventam sibi, neque aliut probis quam ex

Hence Claudia Pulchra was second cousin (sobrina) of Agrippina. Below, Domitius Afer was consul suffectus A.D. 39. He died in the year A.D. 59 (xiv. 19). Quintilian speaks of him, with Julius Africanus, as the greatest orator he knew personally (x. 1. 48). For 'recens praetura' cf. i. 41.

modicus dignationis] Cf. ii. 73. The construction just below, of an infinitive after 'properus,' occurs nowhere else.

quo initio invidiae] 'Taking advantage of which starting-point for reproach.' Agrippina seized on the opportunity of reproaching Tiberius with his inconsistency, in sacrificing to Augustus, and yet persecuting his descendants generally, and herself, his grand-daughter, in particular. For the sense of 'invidia' cf. iii. 67, "quibus invidiam et preces miscuerat," and the note there.

sed imaginem veram] 'But she herself, the true representative, sprung from heavenly blood, understood her danger, and accepted her humiliation.' There may be perhaps an allusion to Agrippina's assumption of a mourning robe, on the accusation of Claudia Pulchra. The omission of the pronoun 'se' before 'intelligere' makes no difficulty. Cf. xv. 7, "non ea imperatoris habere mandata Corbulo." Similarly it is omitted with a perfect infinitive. Cf. xiv. 48, "cum Ostorius nihil audivisse pro testimonio dixisset." It is common, of course, with a future infinitive (i. 7; i. 8: i. 35, &c.).

praescribi] Cf. xi. 16, "frustra Arminium praescribi;" and H. iii. 13, "praescriptum Vespasiani nomen." Pulchra was only put forward to cloak the design against Agrippina. She was not the real object of attack. For the remark of Tiberius, cf. Suet. Tib. 53, "Nurum Agrippinam . . manu apprehendit Graecoque versu si non dominaris, inquit, filiola, iniuriam te accipere existimas."

suo iure disertum] 'Eloquent beyond question.' No one could dispute Afer's claim to eloquence, his title to it was beyond cavil; he had as much right to it as a man has to his own estate, as it were.

matrimonio solacium; esse in civitate * * * Germanici coniugem ac liberos eius recipere dignarentur. sed Caesar non ignarus, quantum ex republica peteretur, ne tamen offensionis aut metus manifestus foret, sine responso quamquam instantem reliquit. id ego a scriptoribus annalium non traditum repperi in commentariis Agrippinae filiae, quae Neronis principis mater vitam suam et casus suorum posteris memoravit.

54. Ceterum Seianus maerentem et inprovidam altius perculit, immissis qui per speciem amicitiae monerent paratum ei venenum, vitandas soceri epulas. atque illa simulationum nescia, cum propter discumberet, non vultu aut sermone flecti, nullos attingere cibos, donec advertit Tiberius, forte an quia audiverat; idque quo acrius experiretur, poma, ut erant adposita, laudans nurui sua manu tradidit. aucta ex eo suspicio Agrippinae, et intacta ore servis tramisit. nec tamen Tiberii vox coram secuta, sed obversus ad matrem non mirum ait, si quit severius in eam statuisset, a qua veneficii insimularetur. inde rumor parari exitium, neque id imperatorem palam audere, secretum ad perpetrandum quaeri.

55. Sed Caesar quo famam averteret, adesse frequens senatui legatosque Asiae, ambigentes quanam in civitate templum statueretur, pluris per dies audivit. undecim urbes certabant, pari ambitione, viribus diversae. neque multum distantia inter se memorabant de vetustate generis, studio in populum Romanum per bella Persi et Aristonici aliorumque regum. verum Hypaepeni Trallianique Laodicenis ac Magnetibus simul tramissi ut parum validi; ne Ilienses quidem, cum parentem urbis Romae

53. *ex republica*] Agrippina's request to be married was equivalent to claiming a large portion of imperial power. Her husband, from her position, would be looked on as a candidate for the throne after the death of Tiberius.

repperi in commentariis Agrippinae.] These memoirs are included in the list of authors consulted by Pliny the Elder, in the Index to N. H. lib. vii. Memoirs by Domitius Corbulo are quoted xv. 16, and mentioned by Pliny, N. H. Index to Lib. vii.

54. *vultu.*] There is some little ambiguity as to whose looks are intended; but most probably those of Agrippina. She could not be induced to alter her gloomy aspect or change the style of her conversation. She could not be won over from her determined look of angry suspicion, and from sullen remarks.

coram] Cf. vi. 8, "spectamus porro quae coram habentur;" De Oratoribus, 36, "cum testimonia coram et praesentes dicere cogerentur."

55. *templum.*] Cf. iv. 15.

Persi] The usual form is 'Persei,' but 'Persi' is found in Sall. Hist. Fr. i. 8. He was defeated by Aemilius Paullus at Pydna, 168 A.C. Aristonicus, son of Eumenes II, took possession of Asia, which had been bequeathed to the Roman people by king Attalus. After defeating P. Licinius Crassus, he was conquered by M. Perperna, 130 A.C. (Liv. Epit. lib. lix).

Hypaepeni] Hypaepa was a small town in Lydia, about 40 miles from Ephesus. Tralles is in Caria, on a tributary of the Maeander. The 'Magnetes' are, I suppose, the "Magnetes" of iii. 62, near the Maeander, not the "Magnetes a Sipylo" of ii. 47.

Troiam referrent, nisi antiquitatis gloria pollebant. paulum addubitatum, quod Alicarnasii mille et ducentos per annos nullo motu terrae nutavisse sedes suas vivoque in saxo fundamenta templi adseveraverant. Pergamenos (eo ipso nitebantur) aede Augusto ibi sita satis adeptos creditum. Ephesii Milesiique, hi Apollinis, illi Dianae caerimonia occupavisse civitates visi. ita Sardianos inter Zmyrnaeosque deliberatum. Sardiani decretum Etruriae recitavere ut consanguinei: nam Tyrrhenum Lydumque Atye rege genitos ob multitudinem divisisse gentem; Lydum patriis in terris resedisse, Tyrrheno datum novas ut conderet sedes; et ducum e nominibus indita vocabula illis per Asiam, his in Italia; auctamque adhuc Lydorum opulentiam missis in Graeciam populis, cui mox a Pelope nomen. simul litteras imperatorum et icta nobiscum foedera bello Macedonum ubertatemque fluminum suorum, temperiem caeli ac dites circum terras memorabant.

56. At Zmyrnaei repetita vetustate, seu Tantalus Iove ortus illos, sive Theseus divina et ipse stirpe, sive una Amazonum condidisset, transcendere ad ea quis maxime fidebant in populum Romanum officiis, missa navali copia non modo externa ad bella, sed quae in Italia tolerabantur; seque primos templum urbis Romae statuisse, M. Porcio consule, magnis quidem iam populi Romani rebus, nondum tamen ad summum elatis, stante adhuc Punica urbe et validis per Asiam regibus. simul L. Sullam testem adferebant, gravissimo in discrimine exercitus ob asperitatem hiemis et penuriam vestis, cum id Zmyrnam in contionem nun-

eo ipso] These words seem to refer to what follows: "aede Augusto ibi sita" (iv. 37). The Pergameni relied on the fact of their having a temple already in their city: this was an argument, in their view, for having another. The senate thought just the reverse. For the parenthesis referring to what is to be stated subsequently, cf. xii. 42, "aetate extrema (adeo incertae sunt potentium res) accusatione corripitur."

Tyrrhenum Lydumque] This is the usual account of the classical authors, being found in Herodotus (i. 94), and something like a score of writers besides, and it is accepted by Mr. F. Newman ("Regal Rome," p. 100), and others. Another theory makes the Etruscans a mixed people, composed, in the main, of Pelasgi, but intermixed with the Rasena, the dominant element, who descended from the Rhaetian mountains (Liv. v. 33. See Donaldson's Varron, ch. i. § 14, &c.). Their language appears to have affinities with the Norse, a Scandinavian branch of the Indo-Germanic group. What was the nature of the 'decretum Etruriae' here alluded to, is entirely unknown.

bello Macedonum] That is, the war against Perses. The rivers praised by the Sardians were the Pactolus ("Lydia Pactoli tinget arata liquor," Propert. i. 6. 32), and Hyllus, both tributaries of the Hermus ("auro turbidus Hermus," Virg. Georg. ii. 137).

56. *quis . . . officiis*] For the agreement of the substantive with the relative, and not the antecedent, cf. Cic. ad Quint. Fratr. ii. 3, "de iis quae in Sestium apparabantur crimina." Nipperdey quotes Hor. Sat. i. 10. 16, "illi scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est." Cf. also Terence, Andr. Prolog. 5, "ut populo placerent quas fecisset fabulas." M. Porcius M. F. Cato was consul 195 A.C.

tiatum foret, omnes qui adstabant detraxisse corpori tegmina nostrisque legionibus misisse. ita rogati sententiam patres Zmyrnaeos praetulere. censuitque Vibius Marsus, ut M'. Lepido, cui ea provincia obvenerat, super numerum legaretur, qui templi curam susciperet. et quia Lepidus ipse deligere per modestiam abnuebat, Valerius Naso e praetoriis sorte missus est.

57. Inter quae diu meditato prolatoque saepius consilio tandem Caesar in Campaniam, specie dedicandi templa apud Capuam Iovi, apud Nolam Augusto, sed certus procul urbe degere. causam abscessus quamquam secutus plurimos auctorum ad Seiani artes rettuli, quia tamen caede eius patrata sex postea annos pari secreto coniunxit, plerumque permoveor, num ad ipsum referri verius sit, saevitiam ac libidinem cum factis promeret, locis occultantem. erant qui crederent in senectute corporis quoque habitum pudori fuisse: quippe illi praegracilis et incurva proceritas, nudus capillo vertex, ulcerosa facies ac plerumque medicaminibus interstincta; et Rhodi secreto vitare coetus, recondere voluptates insuerat. traditur etiam matris inpotentia extrusum, quam dominationis sociam aspernabatur neque depellere poterat, cum dominationem ipsam donum eius accepisset. nam dubitaverat Augustus Germanicum, sororis nepotem et cunctis laudatum, rei Romanae imponere, sed precibus uxoris evictus Tiberio Germanicum, sibi Tiberium adscivit. idque Augusta exprobrabat, reposcebat.

58. Profectio arto comitatu fuit: unus senator consulatu functus, Cocceius Nerva, cui legum peritia, eques Romanus praeter Seianum ex inlustribus Curtius Atticus, ceteri liberalibus studiis praediti, ferme Graeci, quorum sermonibus levaretur. ferebant

super numerum] An extra 'legatus' beyond the usual number was to be given to Lepidus, whose duty it would be to attend to the erection of the temple. They were usually nominated by the consul or praetor under whom they served, and the appointment seems to have been ratified by the emperor (Dio. liii. 14). Their number varied; but three seems to have been the usual number for the consular governors of provinces (Dio. l. c.): as the proconsul of Asia was always a 'consularis' (i. 74), he would generally have three 'legati.'

57. *in Campaniam*] Sc. 'iit,' 'concessit,' or the like. For the omission of the verb cf. xiv. 8, "anxia Agrippina quod nemo a filio, ne Agerinus quidem;" also, Liv. xli. 3, "tunc demum nuntius ad tertiam legionem revocandam;" and Sall. Jug. 100, "dein Marius, ut coeperat, in hiberna."

coniunxit] 'Passed six years in succession,' without a break.

sororis nepotem] Germanicus was the son of Drusus Germanicus, brother of Tiberius, by Antonia, daughter of Octavia, who was the sister of Augustus.

58. *Cocceius Nerva*] M. Cocceius m. f. Nerva was consul suffectus, A.D. 22. He was curator aquarum publicarum from A.D. 24 to A.D. 33, when he died (vi. 26). He was grandfather of the Emperor Nerva.

ex inlustribus] Cf. ii. 59.

ferme Graeci] Cf. Suet. Tib. 56, "convictores Graeculos quibus vel maxime

periti caelestium iis motibus siderum excessisse Roma Tiberium, ut reditus illi negaretur. unde exitii causa multis fuit properum finem vitae coniectantibus vulgantibusque; neque enim tam incredibilem casum providebant, ut undecim per annos libens patria careret. mox patuit breve confinium artis et falsi, veraque quam obscuris tegerentur. nam in urbem non regressurum haud forte dictum: ceterorum nescii egere, cum propinquo rure aut litore et saepe moenia urbis adsidens extremam senectam compleverit.

59. Ac forte illis diebus oblatum Caesari anceps periculum auxit vana rumoris praebuitque ipsi materiem cur amicitiae constantiaeque Seiani magis fideret. vescebantur in villa cui vocabulum Speluncae, mare Amuclanum inter et Fundanos montes, nativo in specu. eius os lapsis repente saxis obruit quosdam ministros: hinc metus in omnes et fuga eorum qui convivium celebrabant. Seianus genu vultuque et manibus super Caesarem suspensus opposuit sese incidentibus, atque habitu tali repertus est a militibus qui subsidio venerant. maior ex eo, et quamquam exitiosa suaderet, ut non sui anxius, cum fide audiebatur. adsimulabatque iudicis partes adversum Germanici stirpem, subditis qui accusatorum nomina sustinerent maximeque insectarentur Neronem proximum successioni et, quamquam modesta iuventa, plerumque tamen quid in praesentiarum conduceret oblitum, dum

acquiescebat." With these Greeks he discussed knotty points of history, mythology, &c., "nam et grammaticos eiusmodi quaestionibus experiebatur, quae mater Hecubae, quod Achilli nomen inter virgines fuisset, quid Sirenes cantare sint soliti." Subsequently Greeks became so popular and numerous as to excite the indignation of Roman writers. Cf. Juv. iii. 60, "non possum ferre, Quirites, Graecam urbem."

artis et falsi] 'The narrowness of the boundary line separating the results of their art, and absolute falsehood.' They predicted his non-return, aud so far they were right, but that prediction was always apparently just on the point of being falsified by Tiberius' constant approach to the city.

propinquo rure] An ablative of locality: 'in the country close by, or on the shore, and often settling near the walls.' For the construction of 'adsidens,' cf. vi. 43, "adsidendo castellum in quod pecuniam et paelices Artabanus contulerat." Elsewhere with a different case, as in H. ii. 22, "iisdem castris adsideret."

59. *Speluncae*] What case is this? perhaps the genitive is the most probable. In i. 31, ii. 8, H. ii. 43, iii. 6, Germ. 34, the dative is used with an adjective, "cui nomen superiori," &c. For a genitive, cf. H. iv. 18, "castra quibus veterum nomen est;" xiv. 50, "quibus nomen codicillorum est." So in xv. 37, "nomen Pythagorae fuit," Pythagorae is most likely the genitive. Possibly, speluncae is the nominative plural, 'the caves.' Cf. ii. 16, and the note there on Idistaviso.

iudicis] Sejanus suborned people to accuse the family of Germanicus, in the presence of himself and Tiberius. He, when consulted by the Emperor, assumed a judicial attitude, as though only anxious to arrive at the truth.

in praesentiarum] Apparently this is a condensed expression for 'in praesentia rerum.' It occurs in Cornel. Nep. Hann. 6, "exhaustis jam patriae facultatibus in praesentiarum cupivit bellum componere." Cato (de Rebus Rusticis, 144, 4), also uses it.

a libertis et clientibus, apiscendae potentiae properis, exstimulatur ut erectum et fidentem animi ostenderet: velle id populum Romanum, cupere exercitus, neque ausurum contra Seianum, qui nunc patientiam senis et segnitiam iuvenis iuxta insultet.

60. Haec atque talia audienti nihil quidem pravae cogitationis, sed interdum voces procedebant contumaces et inconsultae, quas adpositi custodes exceptas auctasque cum deferrent neque Neroni defendere daretur, diversae insuper sollicitudinum formae oriebantur. nam alius occursum eius vitare, quidam salutatione reddita statim averti, plerique inceptum sermonem abrumpere, insistentibus contra inridentibusque qui Seiano fautores aderant. enimvero Tiberius torvus aut falsum renidens vultu: seu loqueretur seu taceret iuvenis, crimen ex silentio, ex voce. ne nox quidem secura, cum uxor vigilias somnos suspiria matri Liviae atque illa Seiano patefaceret; qui fratrem quoque Neronis Drusum traxit in partes, spe obiecta principis loci, si priorem aetate et iam labefactum demovisset. atrox Drusi ingenium super cupidinem potentiae et solita fratribus odia accendebatur invidia, quod mater Agrippina promptior Neroni erat. neque tamen Seianus ita Drusum fovebat, ut non in eum quoque semina futuri exitii meditaretur, gnarus praeferocem et insidiis magis oportunum.

61. Fine anni excessere insignis viri Asinius Agrippa, claris maioribus quam vetustis vitaque non degener, et Q. Haterius, familia senatoria, eloquentiae, qua ad vixit, celebratae: monimenta ingeni eius haud perinde retinentur. scilicet impetu magis quam

apiscendae potentiae properis] Cf. xii. 66, "oblatae occasionis propera."

ausurum] For this absolute use of 'audeo,' cf. H. v. 11, "rebus secundis longius ausuri;" and H. ii. 25, "unde rursus ausi."

insultet] This verb is found with an accusative in a fragment of Sallust: "multos tamen ab adulescentia bonos insultaverat." In xi. 28, the reading is doubtful.

60. *insuper*] The sentence is elliptical: while the particular circumstances were going on—themselves of course a ground for alarm—other causes for apprehension sprung up.

falsum renidens] For the neuter of the adjective, cf. Hor. Carm. iii. 26, 67, "perfidum ridens." For the subjunctive with seu . . seu, cf. ii. 38, and the note there. Below, 'uxor' is Julia, the daughter of Drusus, son of Tiberius, afterwards put to death by Claudius (Suet. Claud. 29).

solita fratribus odia] Tacitus does not seem to have much belief in family affection. Cf. H. iv. 70, "ut ferme acerrima proximorum odia sunt;" and xv. 2, "contra vetera fratrum odia."

promptior Neroni] More inclined to favour Nero, readier to oblige him. This is expressed in xiii. 8, by the preposition 'in' followed by an accusative, "studia eorum in Corbulonem promptiora erant:" Cf. also xii. 1, "ipse huc modo, modo illuc promptus."

61. *qua ad*] This is for 'quoad,' and is also the reading of the MS. in vi. 51. It occurs frequently in inscriptions.

haud perinde] What Haterius wrote was not valued so much as his eloquence while he lived. Cf. ii. 63, "non Pyrrhum aut Antiochum populo Romano perinde metuendos fuisse;" also H. iv. 62, "intra vallum deformitas haud perinde notabilis."

cura vigebat; utque aliorum meditatio et labor in posterum valescit, sic Haterii canorum illut et profluens cum ipso simul extinctum est.

62. M. Licinio L. Calpurnio consulibus ingentium bellorum cladem aequavit malum inprovisum: eius initium simul et finis exstitit. nam coepto apud Fidenam amphitheatro Atilius quidam libertini generis, quo spectaculum gladiatorum celebraret, neque fundamenta per solidum subdidit, neque firmis nexibus ligneam compagem superstruxit, ut qui non abundantia pecuniae nec municipali ambitione, sed in sordidam mercedem id negotium quaesivisset. adfluxere avidi talium, imperitante Tiberio procul voluptatibus habiti, virile ac muliebre secus, omnis aetas, ob propinquitatem loci effusius; unde gravior pestis fuit, conferta mole, dein convulsa, dum ruit intus aut in exteriora effunditur inmensamque vim mortalium, spectaculo intentos aut qui circum adstabant, praeceps trahit atque operit. et illi quidem, quos principium stragis in mortem adflixerat, ut tali sorte, cruciatum effugere: miserandi magis quos abrupta parte corporis nondum vita deseruerat; qui per diem visu, per noctem ululatibus et gemitu coniuges aut liberos noscebant. iam ceteri fama exciti, hic fratrem, propinquum ille, alius parentes lamentari. etiam quorum diversa de causa amici

62. *M. Licinio*] M. Licinius Crassus, son of M. Licinius Crassus, who was consul 14 A.C., and father of Piso Licinianus, adopted by Galba (H. i. 14). L. Calpurnius is supposed to be the same as the Cn. Piso the younger, who changed his praenomen after the death of his father (iii. 17). If so, he was proconsul of Africa under Claudius (Dio lix. 20).

coepto] This, probably, is the dative governed by 'subdidit,' rather than the ablative absolute. 'Fidena' is more generally plural in form. Cf. H. iii. 79, Suet. Calig. 31. Sometimes, however, it is singular as here. Cf. Virg. Aen. vi. 773. It was near the confluence of the Tiber and Anio. It was quite a small place in the time of Horace (Eppi. 11. 8), and Juvenal (x. 100).

in sordidam mercedem] The correctness of this emendation for 'in sordida mercede' seems highly probable, comparing xi. 6, "in nullius mercedem negotia agantur."

virile ac muliebre secus] These words are in opposition to "omnis aetas," or rather 'omnis aetas' is added to complete the description: 'the male and female sex,—every age of them—flocked in.' Cf. H. v. 13, "multitudinem obsessorum omnis aetatis, virile ac muliebre secus sex centa milia fuisse accepimus." Liv. xxvi. 47, "Liberorum capitum virile secus, ad decem milia capta." Sall. Hist. ii. fr. 29, "concurrentium undique virile et muliebre secus."

praeceps] Used here adverbially. Cf. vi. 17, "eversio rei familiaris dignitatem ac famam praeceps dabat."

noscebant] The meaning appears to be a little obscure. The maimed sufferers, in whom life was still left, endeavoured to discover their relations amongst the bystanders, by noticing the various faces in view, and by night, when it was too dark for this, they uttered cries and groans in the hope of attracting the attention of their kin. Some make 'qui . . . noscebant' refer to the relatives, themselves uninjured, of the victims, who endeavoured to discover their friends by recognizing their features in the daytime, or their voices by night, as they uttered groans and shrieks. But the other interpretation is more likely to be the real one.

aut necessarii aberant, pavere tamen; nequedum comperto quos illa vis perculisset, latior ex incerto metus.

63. Ut coepere dimoveri obruta, concursus ad exanimos complectentium, osculantium; et saepe certamen, si confusior facies, sed par forma aut aetas errorem adgnoscentibus fecerat. quinquaginta hominum milia eo casu debilitata vel obtrita sunt; cautumque in posterum senatus consulto, ne quis gladiatorium munus ederet, cui minor quadringentorum milium res, neve amphitheatrum imponeretur nisi solo firmitatis spectatae. Atilius in exilium actus est. ceterum sub recentem cladem patuere procerum domus, fomenta et medici passim praebiti, fuitque urbs per illos dies quamquam maesta facie veterum institutis similis, qui magna post proelia saucios largitione et cura sustentabant.

64. Nondum ea clades exsoleverat, cum ignis violentia urbem ultra solitum adfecit, deusto monte Caelio; feralemque annum ferebant et ominibus adversis susceptum principi consilium absentiae, qui mos vulgo, fortuita ad culpam trahentes, ni Caesar obviam isset tribuendo pecunias ex modo detrimenti. actaeque ei gratis apud senatum ab inlustribus famaque apud populum, quia sine ambitione aut proximorum precibus ignotos etiam et ultro accitos munificentia iuverat. adduntur sententiae ut mons Caelius in posterum Augustus appellaretur, quando cunctis circum flagrantibus

63. *sed par forma*] This is the reading of the MS., and 'sed' is not quite easy to understand. After 'facies' I think 'erat' is to be supplied, and the idea is that while the bruised and distorted features made recognition almost impossible, and so far unattempted, yet similarity of form or age led to rival claims and consequent conflicts. The faces were so maimed and altered that if they had been the only guides, no attempts at identification would have been made: but in some cases, resemblances of form, &c., induced people to believe they saw their relatives, and so rival claims were put forward. These clauses in Greek would have been expressed by μέν and δέ, and the sense would be rendered clearer by translating 'although . . . . yet similarity of form,' &c.

quinquaginta hominum milia] Suetonius (Tib. 40) says that more than 20,000 were killed outright (perierant): maimed were 30,000 more. This account gives one an idea of the size of the ancient theatres.—That built by Scaurus 58 A.C., held 80,000 spectators: the stone theatre of Cn. Pompeius (55 A.C.) held 40,000 (Pliny, N. H. xxxvi. 24). But that 50,000 should be killed or injured by the fall is not easy to believe.

minor quadringentorum milium res] This was a knight's fortune. ("Sed quinque tabernae quadringenta parant," Juv. i. 105). No one therefore below a knight in fortune was to be allowed to exhibit shows, lest he should be tempted to make them a matter of commercial profit.

64. *tribuendo pecunias*] According to Suetonius (Tib. 48) this was one of the two instances of public liberality shown by Tiberius. The other was in the great money panic A.D. 33 (vi. 17).

sine ambitione] 'Without partiality.' Tiberius did not endeavour to make capital out of his liberality, by especially befriending those who were the likeliest to make some return for it. The 'ambitio' is the 'ambitio' of Tiberius, that shown by him, not that of which he was the object. It is not very clear who are meant by 'proximorum.' Probably by it is meant those who were near the person of Tiberius, intimate with him, and likely therefore to have influence in behalf of any suitors whose claims they might support.

sola Tiberii effigies, sita in domo Iunii senatoris, inviolata mansisset. evenisse id olim Claudiae Quintae, eiusque statuam vim ignium bis elapsam maiores apud aedem matris deum consecravisse. sanctos acceptosque numinibus Claudios et augendam caerimoniam loco, in quo tantum in principem honorem di ostenderent.

65. Haud fuerit absurdum tradere montem eum antiquitus Querquetulanum cognomento fuisse, quod talis silvae frequens fecundusque erat, mox Caelium appellitatum a Caele Vibenna, qui dux gentis Etruscae cum auxilium † appellatum tauisset, sedem eam acceperat a Tarquinio Prisco, seu quis alius regum dedit: nam scriptores in eo dissentiunt. cetera non ambigua sunt, magnas eas copias per plana etiam ac foro propinqua habitavisse, unde Tuscum vicum e vocabulo advenarum dictum.

66. Sed ut studia procerum et largitio principis adversum casus solacium tulerant, ita accussatorum maior in dies et infestior vis sine levamento grassabatur; corripueratque Varum Quintilium, divitem et Caesari propinquum, Domitius Afer, Claudiae Pulchrae

Claudiae Quintae] This was the Claudia who dragged without help up the Tiber the ship which conveyed the image of Cybele from Pessinus to Rome (Ovid. Fasti, iv. 305). She was afterwards apparently worshipped as a kind of half-goddess. Lat. Inscr. n. 2403, "Matri deum et Navisalviae Q. Nunnius Telephus mag(ister) col(legii) culto(rum) eius d. s. dd." The occurrence mentioned in the text happened 11 A.C., and 3 A.D. the image of Claudia Quinta entirely escaping destruction by the flames (Val. Max. i. 8. 11).

elapsam] The sentence is ambiguous. As far as the words are concerned, the sense might be, that the Romans consecrated her statue, because it had twice previously escaped the flames: of course the meaning really is, that they consecrated a statue which twice subsequently escaped burning. The participle 'elapsam' has its proper force, and refers to what is past, but the point of reference is not the time to which 'sacravisse' refers, but the period when Tacitus wrote: the statue had already twice been saved, not when the Romans consecrated it, but when the historian wrote. As Draeger points out, there is an interchange here of attribute and predicate, and the meaning would have been more clearly expressed by writing, "eiusque statuam a maioribus consecratam bis vim ignium elapsam esse." He compares Hor. Carm. iii. 6. 33, "non his iuventus orta parentibus infecit aequor," i. e. "iuventus ea quae infecit aequor non his parentibus orta erat.

65. *silvae frequens*] This is the only instance Draeger says of this construction. Below, 'appellitatum' is a word only found in the silver age.

a Caele Vibenna] Varro says (L. L. v. § 46) that Caelius Vibennus aided Romulus against Tatius. Livy (i. 30) puts him in the reign of Tullus Hostilius; Cicero (De Repub. ii. 18), of Ancus Martius. For the name Tuscus vicus, Livy (ii. 14) gives a different origin. He says that a part of Porsenna's army, after the defeat by the Cumani, took refuge in Rome, and had this district assigned them for residence.

66. *Caesari propinquum*] He was son of Quintilius Varus (i. 3) and of Claudia Pulchra, for whose connexion with the house of Caesar, see iv. 52. To this Varus Quintilius himself was betrothed a daughter of Germanicus. Orelli quotes Sen. Controv. iii. 10 for this, "Varus Quintilius tunc Germanici gener et praetextatus. Quum multa dixisset (Cestius) novissime adiecit rem quam omnes improbavimus: ista negligentia pater tuus exercitum perdidit." Below, for 'parto nuper praemio,' cf. iv. 20. This was the money given to Domitius Afer for his accusation against Claudia Pulchra.

matris eius condemnator, nullo mirante quod diu egens et parto nuper praemio male usus plura ad flagitia accingeretur. P. Dolabellam socium delationis extitisse miraculo erat, quia claris maioribus et Varo conexus suam ipse nobilitatem, suum sanguinem perditum ibat. restitit tamen senatus et opperiendum imperatorem censuit, quod unum urgentium malorum suffugium in tempus erat.

67. At Caesar dedicatis per Campaniam templis, quamquam edicto monuisset ne quis quietem eius inrumperet, concursusque oppidanorum disposito milite prohiberentur, perosus tamen municipia et colonias omniaque in continenti sita, Capreas se in insulam abdidit, trium milium freto ab extremis Surrentini promunturii diiunctam. solitudinem eius placuisse maxime crediderim, quoniam inportuosum circa mare et vix modicis navigiis pauca subsidia; neque adpulerit quisquam nisi gnaro custode. caeli temperies hieme mitis obiectu montis, quo saeva ventorum arcentur; aestas in favonium obversa et aperto circum pelago peramoena; prospectabatque pulcherrimum sinum, antequam Vesuvius mons ardescens faciem loci verteret. Graecos ea tenuisse Capreasque Telebois habitatas fama tradit. sed tum Tiberius duodecim villarum nominibus et molibus insederat, quanto intentus olim publicas ad curas, tanto occultiores in luxus et malum otium resolutus. manebat quippe suspicionum et credendi temeritas, quam Seianus augere etiam in urbe suetus acrius turbabat non iam occultis adversum Agrippinam et Neronem insidiis. quis additus miles nuntios, introitus, aperta secreta velut in annales referebat, ultroque struebantur qui monerent perfugere ad Germaniae exercitus vel celeberrimo fori effigiem divi Augusti amplecti populumque ac

67. *ne quis quietem eius*] This would have been more usually expressed by 'ne quis quietem *suam*' (cf. note on ii. 38, under 'si nullis'). Of course 'eius' is the more strictly correct of the two, but usage is in favour of 'suam.' Draeger quotes another instance from H. ii. 9, "fidem suorum quondam militum invocans ut *eum* in Suria aut Aegypto sisterent, orabat."

obiectu montis] The mountains are apparently those of the island itself, and from the northern winds (saeva ventorum) which would be the least genial, the island would be sheltered, if this ridge was at the northern part of the island. In summer the island caught the western breeze, which seems to have blown generally from February to May. This Tacitus expresses by saying that the summer faced the west breeze.

nominibus] It is not very clear what case this is. In ii. 16, Tacitus has the accusative after this verb, 'soli Cherusci iuga insedere.' Perhaps the accusative is understood, and 'nominibus,' and 'molibus' are instrumental ablatives. 'Tiberius had occupied (the whole island) with the names and vast structures of his villas.' These villas, I suppose, from the way in which Tacitus speaks of them, had demesnes attached to them, and so entirely filled up the island. Wherever you went, you were in the grounds of some villa or other.

celeberrimo fori] 'In the most crowded

senatum auxilio vocare. eaque spreta ab illis, velut pararent, obiciebantur.

68. Iunio Silano et Silio Nerva consulibus foedum anni principium incessit tracto in carcerem inlustri equite Romano, Tito Sabino, ob amicitiam Germanici: neque enim omiserat coniugem liberosque eius percolere, sectator domi, comes in publico, post tot clientes unus eoque apud bonos laudatus et gravis iniquis. hunc Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, M. Opsius praetura functi adgrediuntur, cupidine consulatus, ad quem non nisi per Seianum aditus; neque Seiani voluntas nisi scelere quaerebatur. compositum inter ipsos ut Latiaris, qui modico usu Sabinum contingebat, strueret dolum, ceteri testes adessent, deinde accusationem inciperent. igitur Latiaris iacere fortuitos primum sermones, mox laudare constantiam, quod non, ut ceteri, florentis domus amicus adflictam deseruisset; simul honora de Germanico, Agrippinam miserans, disserebat. et postquam Sabinus, ut sunt molles in calamitate mortalium animi, effudit lacrimas, iunxit questus, audentius iam onerat Seianum, saevitiam, superbiam, spes eius. ne in Tiberium quidem convicio abstinet; iique sermones, tamquam vetita miscuissent, speciem artae amicitiae fecere. ac iam ultro Sabinus quaerere Latiarem, ventitare domum, dolores suos quasi ad fidissimum deferre.

69. Consultant quos memoravi, quonam modo ea plurium auditu

part of the forum.' Others take the words to mean, 'at the hour when the forum was most crowded,' like ἀγορὰ πλήθουσα, but I do not think they are right; 'forum celeberrimum' might be, no doubt, the time when the 'forum' was crowded, but 'celeberrimum fori' could hardly mean any thing but the most crowded part of the 'forum.' Below, 'eaque spreta,' &c. means, that although the plans suggested were rejected by those to whom they were offered, yet they were made subjects of accusation as though they had been really entertained and acted on.

68. *Iunio Silano et Silio Nerva consulibus*] The insertion of 'et' between the names of the consuls is not unusual in Tacitus. It is found De Oratoribus 17, v. 1, xiv. 29, xv. 23. In Agric. 44 there is 'Collega Priscoque consulibus.' It seems to be natural to have a connecting particle when single names only are given, as in De Oratoribus 17, and v. 1 (and this is often found in Cicero), but it is less common when two names are given as in xiv. 29, xv. 23. Perhaps the Appius Iunius Silanus here is the son of the Caius Iunius Silanus of iii. 66. For his subsequent career cf. vi. 9, xi. 29. The other consul was Publius Silius Nerva, apparently the father of the Silius Nerva in xv. 48.

Petilius Rufus] The Cod. Med. has 'Petitius,' not a usual Roman name, although it occurs in inscriptions. The emendation is due to Lipsius. He may have been father or grandfather of the Q. Petilius Rufus, who was consul in A.D. 83. M. Opsius Navius, as Borghesi points out from an inscription (Graec. Inscrip. n. 5793), was 'praetor praefectus frumenti dandi, aedilis, quaestor' of Pontus and Bithynia, and a 'decemvir litibus iudicandis.'

tamquam vetita miscuissent] This is a curious phrase, meaning that the men spoken of had joined in illicit schemes; there was the tie of common guilt to unite them.

acciperentur. nam loco in quem coibatur servanda solitudinis facies; et si pone fores adsisterent, metus visus, sonitus aut forte ortae suspicionis erant. tectum inter et laquearia tres senatores, haud minus turpi latebra quam detestanda fraude, sese abstrudunt, foraminibus et rimis aurem admovent. interea Latiaris repertum in publico Sabinum, velut recens cognita narraturus, domum et in cubiculum trahit; praeteritaque et instantia, quorum adfatim copia, ac novos terrores cumulat. eadem ille et diutius, quanto maesta, ubi semel prorupere, difficilius reticentur. Properata inde accusatio, missisque ad Caesarem litteris ordinem fraudis suumque ipsi dedecus narravere. non alias magis anxia et pavens civitas, egens adversum proximos congressus, conloquia; notae ignotaeque aures vitari; etiam muta atque inanima, tectum et parietes circumspectabantur.

70. Sed Caesar sollemnia incipientis anni kalendis Ianuariis epistula precatus vertit in Sabinum, corruptos quosdam libertorum et petitum se arguens, ultionemque haud obscure poscebat. nec mora quin decerneretur; et trahebatur damnatus, quantum obducta veste et adstrictis faucibus niti poterat, clamitans sic inchoari annum, has Seiano victimas cadere. quo intendisset oculos, quo verba acciderent, fuga vastitas, deseri itinera fora. et quidam regrediebantur ostentabantque se rursum, id ipsum paventes quod timuissent. quem enin diem vacuum poena, ubi inter sacra et vota, quo tempore verbis etiam profanis abstineri mos esset, vincla et laqueus inducantur? non prudentem Tiberium

69. *metus*] 'Their dread was (the possibility) of being seen, heard, or suspicion arising.' 'Metus' is the nominative plural (cf. vi. 18, iv. 71), and 'visus,' &c., are the genitive singular. Below, for 'diutius' 'at greater length,' cf. vi. 27 and 49.

egens] 'Bare,' 'scanty.' All intercourse was confined to necessary communications: people went into no topics not absolutely required: they said just what they had to say and no more.

70. *kalendis Ianuariis*] Good wishes were interchanged by the Romans on the first day of January (Plin. N. H. xxviii. § 22, "primum anni incipientis diem laetis precationibus invicem faustum ominamur"), and new year presents given ('strena,' Suet. August. 57; Tib. 34). Good wishes for the safety of the Princeps (iv. 17) were made on the third of January. Plutarch, Cic. 2, ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ τῶν νέων καλανδῶν ἐν ᾗ νῦν οἱ ἄρχοντες εὔχονται καὶ θύουσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. The two stated days in the month for the meeting of the senate were the Kalends and Ides (Suet. August. 35), and probably Tacitus means that the letter was read on the Kalends, and written previously.

non prudentem] Surely it could not be that Tiberius had incurred so much odium quite unintentionally. No, it could not be *that*: his deliberate aim had been, &c. I think it is unnecessary to alter 'prudentem' into 'imprudentem,' as Lipsius and others do. The words suggest a possible explanation of the conduct of Tiberius, that it was not intentional: this however in the next words is set aside as impossible, and the only real explanation is added, that Tiberius was acting on a deliberately formed scheme.

tantam invidiam adisse; quaesitum meditatumque, ne quid inpedire credatur quo minus novi magistratus, quo modo delubra et altaria, sic carcerem recludant. secutae insuper litterae grates agentis, quod hominem infensum rei publicae punivissent, adiecto tripedam sibi vitam, suspectas inimicorum insidias, nullo nominatim conpellato; neque tamen dubitabatur in Neronem et Agrippinam intendi.

71. Ni mihi destinatum foret suum quaeque in annum referre, avebat animus antire statimque memorare exitus, quos Latinius atque Opsius ceterique flagitii eius repertores habuere, non modo postquam Gaius Caesar rerum potitus est, sed incolumi Tiberio, qui scelerum ministros ut perverti ab aliis nolebat, ita plerumque satiatus et oblatis in eandem operam recentibus veteres et praegraves adflixit: verum has atque alias sontium poenas in tempore trademus. tum censuit Asinius Gallus, cuius liberorum Agrippina matertera erat, petendum a principe ut metus suos senatui fateretur amoverique sineret. nullam aeque Tiberius, ut rebatur, ex virtutibus suis quam dissimulationem diligebat: eo aegrius accepit recludi quae premeret. sed mitigavit Seianus, non Galli amore, verum ut cunctationes principis opperiretur, gnarus lentum in meditando, ubi prorupisset, tristibus dictis atrocia facta coniungere.

Per idem tempus Iulia mortem obiit, quam neptem Augustus convictam adulterii damnaverat, proieceratque in insulam Trimerum, haud procul Apulis litoribus. illic viginti annis exilium toleravit Augustae ope sustentata, quae florentes privignos cum per occultum subvertisset, misericordiam erga adflictos palam ostentabat.

72. Eodem anno Frisii, transrhenanus populus, pacem exuere, nostra magis avaritia quam obsequii inpatientes. tributum

71. *avebat*] For the use of the indicative here, Draeger quotes Cic. de Offic. ii. 19. 67, "admonebat me res ut hoc quoque loco intermissionem eloquentiae . . . deplorarem, ni vererer ne de me ipso aliquid viderer queri." For the death of Latinius cf. vi. 4.

matertera erat] Agrippina and Vipsania, wife of Asinius Gallus (after her divorce from Tiberius), were half-sisters, both being daughters of Vipsanius Agrippa, but Vipsania had not the same mother as Agrippina, who was the daughter of Julia (the daughter of Augustus).

ut rebatur] 'No one of his virtues, as he deemed them.' Tiberius fancied some of his qualities to be actually virtues; they struck other people in a different light. For 'opperiretur' (the emendation of Gronovius for 'aperirentur') cf. ii. 69, "opperiens aegritudinem." Sejanus did not wish to hurry Tiberius: he knew that delay in him only led to severer results; the longer Tiberius brooded over any thing, the more deadly his anger was when it did burst forth. The 'Iulia' below is the younger of that name, daughter of the elder Iulia.

iis Drusus iusserat modicum pro angustia rerum, ut in usus militares coria boum penderent, non intenta cuiusquam cura quae firmitudo, quae mensura, donec Olennius e primipilaribus regendis Frisiis inpositus terga urorum delegit, quorum ad formam acciperentur. id aliis quoque nationibus arduum apud Germanos difficilius tolerabatur, quis ingentium beluarum feraces saltus, modica domi armenta sunt. ac primo boves ipsos, mox agros, postremo corpora coniugum aut liberorum servitio tradebant. hinc ira et questus, et postquam non subveniebat, remedium ex bello. rapti qui tributo aderant milites et patibulo adfixi: Olennius infensos fuga praevenit, receptus castello, cui nomen Flevum et haud spernenda illic civium sociorumque manus litora Oceani praesidebat.

73. Quod ubi L. Apronio inferioris Germaniae pro praetore cognitum, vexilla legionum e superiore provincia peditumque et equitum auxiliarium delectos accivit ac simul utrumque exercitum Rheno devectum Frisiis intulit, soluto iam castelli obsidio et ad sua tutanda degressis rebellibus. igitur proxima aestuaria aggeribus et pontibus traducendo graviori agmini firmat. atque interim repertis vadis alam Canninefatem et quod peditum Germano-

72. *iis Drusus iusserat*] The construction is the same as that with 'imperare:' an accusative of the thing ordered, and a dative of the person. Tacitus uses 'iubere' with a dative only xiii. 15 and 40. The Drusus here mentioned was the brother of Tiberius.

terga urorum] For 'terga,' cf. xv. 44, H. ii. 88.

modica] As the herds of the Frisii consisted of small cattle, they could not easily provide hides equal in size to those of the larger breed of 'uri' roaming in the forests. Tacitus speaks of the small growth of the cattle in Germany (Germ. 5). They were no doubt dwarfed by the severity of the climate, much colder then than now. Some corroboration of this is afforded by the fact, that whenever the bones of oxen or sheep have been discovered in England, as they often have in large quantities, they appear to have belonged to animals much less than ours at present.

subveniebat] The subject of this is 'Olennius.' Application was probably made to him by those who thought the fault not his perhaps, but that of his agents; but he gave them no redress.

tributo aderant] 'Were present for the tribute,' to aid or protect the agents appointed to collect it. 'Flevum' was a fort placed where the Canal of Drusus (the Yssel) enters the lakes which now form the Zuyder Zee. Cf. Pompon. Mela iii. 2. 8, "ad dextram . . . iam non amnis sed ingens lacus, ubi campos implevit, Flevo dicitur." Plin. N. H. iv. 15, "Helium ac Flevum: ita appellantur ostia in quae effusus Rhenus ab Septemtrione in lacus," &c.

73. *vexilla legionum*] See a note on this point, i. 17. For L. Apronius cf. iii. 21.

degressis] 'Having abandoned it.' Cf. ii. 69 and iv. 74. Others alter it into 'digressis,' 'having dispersed in different directions,' unnecessarily.

alam Canninefatem] The Canninefates occupied part of the island of the Batavi (H. iv. 15; Plin. iv. 29). Their cavalry formed the 'alam Canninefatem,' the 'alarius eques,' or the 'turmae sociales,' spoken of in this chapter. The 'alarius eques' is to be distinguished from the 'equites legionum,' a body of 300, or perhaps 120 at this period, attached to each legion. These 'alarii equites' are often mentioned: iii. 39, xii. 27, xiii. 35, xv. 10. The grove of Baduhenna is supposed to be the modern Holtpade in West Friesland, but nothing

rum inter nostros merebat circumgredi terga hostium iubet, qui iam acie compositi pellunt turmas sociales equitesque legionum subsidio missos. tum tres leves cohortes ac rursum duae, dein tempore interiecto alarius eques inmissus: satis validi, si simul incubuissent, per intervallum adventantes neque constantiam addiderant turbatis et pavore fugientium auferebantur. Cethego Labeoni legato quintae legionis quod reliquum auxiliorum tradit. atque ille dubia suorum re in anceps tractus missis nuntiis vim legionum inplorabat. prorumpunt quintani ante alios et acri pugna hoste pulso recipiunt cohortis alasque fessas vulneribus. neque dux Romanus ultum iit aut corpora humavit, quamquam multi tribunorum praefectorumque et insignes centuriones cecidissent. mox compertum a transfugis nongentos Romanorum apud lucum quem Baduhennae vocant pugna in posterum extracta confectos, et aliam quadringentorum manum occupata Cruptoricis quondam stipendiarî villa, postquam proditio metuebatur, mutuis ictibus procubuisse.

74. Clarum inde inter Germanos Frisium nomen, dissimulante Tiberio damna, ne cui bellum permitteret. neque senatus in eo cura, an imperii extrema dehonestarentur: pavor internus occupaverat animos, cui remedium adulatione quaerebatur. ita quamquam diversis super rebus consulerentur, aram clementiae, aram amicitiae effigiesque circum Caesaris ac Seiani censuere, crebrisque precibus efflagitabant visendi sui copiam facerent. non illi tamen in urbem aut propinqua urbi degressi sunt: satis visum omittere insulam et in proximo Campaniae aspici. eo venire patres, eques, magna pars plebis, anxii erga Seianum, cuius durior congressus, atque eo per ambitum et societate consiliorum parabatur. satis constabat auctam ei adrogantiam foedum illud in propatulo servitium spectanti; quippe Romae sueti discursus, et magnitudine

can be asserted about it. If Grimm be right in connecting it with 'badu,' a battle, it may have been a grove for sacrifices to be offered in during war.

74. *clementiae*] The genitive probably. Cf. i. 14, "aram adoptionis." Below, the union of plural and singular in 'patres, eques,' is found elsewhere. Cf. i. 7, "consules, patres, eques." So H. iii. 29, "Septimani . . tertianus;" H. iii. 59, "Samnis Paelignusque et Marsi."

durior congressus] 'An interview with whom was harder to obtain:' there were more difficulties in the way than if an interview was required with Tiberius. People had to pay court to the favourites or attendants of Sejanus, to gain admittance (per ambitum), and all who were admitted were expected to be ready to abet his schemes (societate consiliorum). Below, 'male alacres' means 'foolishly eager.' Cf. Ovid, Art. Amat. iii. 699, "Coniugis ad timidas aliquis male sedulus aures, Auditos nemoris detulit ore sonos." The words themselves might imply, 'not eager enough;' but the sense is clearly not this. These people were eager to obtain that which turned out to their own ruin.

urbis incertum quod quisque ad negotium pergat: ibi campo aut litore iacentes nullo discrimine noctem ac diem iuxta gratiam aut fastus ianitorum perpetiebantur, donec id quoque vetitum: et revenere in urbem trepidi, quos non sermone, non visu dignatus erat, quidam male alacres, quibus infaustae amicitiae gravis exitus imminebat.

75. Ceterum Tiberius neptem Agrippinam Germanico ortam cum coram Cn. Domitio tradidisset, in urbe celebrari nuptias iussit. in Domitio super vetustatem generis propinquum Caesaribus sanguinem delegerat; nam is aviam Octaviam et per eam Augustum avunculum praeferebat.

75. *neptem*] Germanicus was the adopted son of Tiberius, and consequently his daughter Agrippina, afterwards wife of the Emperor Claudius, was granddaughter of Tiberius.

aviam . . . avunculum] This will be seen from the table subjoined:—

M. Antonius m. Octavia, sister of C. Octavianus (Augustus)
|
L. Domitius m. Antonia major
|
Cn. Domitius.

Hence Cn. Domitius was great-nephew of Augustus. He was the son of that L. Domitius mentioned in iv. 44. He was father of Nero, and is briefly yet effectually described by Suetonius (Nero 5) as "omni parte vitae detestabilem." 'Avunculus' is used for great-uncle in ii. 44, 53, iv. 3, xii. 64; just as 'amita' is used for great-aunt in ii. 27.

CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER V.

CONTENTS.

1. Rubellio et Fufio consulibus, quorum utrique Geminus cognomentum erat, Iulia Augusta mortem obiit, aetate extrema, nobilitatis per Claudiam familiam et adoptione Liviorum Iuliorumque clarissimae. primum ei matrimonium et liberi fuere cum Tiberio Nerone, qui bello Perusino profugus, pace inter Sex.

1. *aetate extrema*] According to Dio Cassius she was 86 (lviii. 2). Pliny makes her 82 only (N. H. xiv. 6); but the discrepancy can easily be removed by altering lxxxii. in the text of Pliny, who is clearly wrong, into lxxxvi. Tiberius died A.D. 37, in the 78th year of his age, and was born at the close of the year 42 A.C. Livia died A.D. 29, and if she was only 82 years old, she must have been born in 54 A.C., or could only have been about 12 years old when Tiberius was born.

adoptione] Tiberius' grandfather, Livius Drusus Claudianus, was adopted into the Livia gens. Cf. Suet. Tib. 3, "insertus est et Liviorum familiae adoptato in eam materno avo." The adoptive father of this Drusus Claudianus was probably M. Livius Drusus, tribunus plebis in the year 91 A.C. His real father, Borghesi suggests, was either Appius Claudius, tribunus militum in the year 87 A.C. (Appian, B.C. i. 68; Plutarch, Sull. 29), or Claudius Pulcher, legatus or praetor 73 A.C. (Liv. Epit. 95; Plutarch, Crass. 9; Oros. v. 24), both sons of C. Claudius Pulcher, consul 130 A.C. The mother of Tiberius was admitted by Augustus into the Iulia gens (i. 8), "Livia in familiam Iuliam nomenque Augustum adsumebatur."

bello Perusino] This was in the year 40 A.C., when C. Octavianus (Augus-

Pompeium ac triumviros pacta in urbem rediit. exin Caesar cupidine formae aufert marito, incertum an invitam, adeo properus ut ne spatio quidem ad enitendum dato penatibus suis gravidam induxerit. nullam posthac subolem edidit, sed sanguini Augusti per coniunctionem Agrippinae et Germanici adnexa communes pronepotes habuit. sanctitate domus priscum ad morem, comis ultra quam antiquis feminis probatum, mater inpotens, uxor facilis et cum artibus mariti, simulatione filii bene composita. funus eius modicum, testamentum diu inritum fuit. laudata est pro rostris a Gaio Caesare pronepote, qui mox rerum potitus est.

2. At Tiberius, quod supremis in matrem officiis defuisset, nihil mutata amoenitate vitae, magnitudinem negotiorum per litteras excusavit, honoresque memoriae eius ab senatu large decretos quasi per modestiam imminuit, paucis admodum receptis et addito ne caelestis religio decerneretur. sic ipsam maluisse. quin et parte eiusdem epistulae increpuit amicitias muliebres, Fufium consulem oblique perstringens. is gratia Augustae floruerat, aptus alliciendis feminarum animis, dicax idem et Tiberium acerbis facetiis inridere solitus, quarum apud praepotentes in longum memoria est.

3. Ceterum ex eo praerupta iam et urgens dominatio; nam

tus) compelled L. Antonius, brother of the triumvir, to shut himself up in Perusia, and finally to surrender (Suet. August. 14).

communes pronepotes] This will be understood from the subjoined stem :—

Livia	Augustus
|	|
Nero Drusus Claudius	Julia (m. Agrippa)
|	|
Germanicus.	Agrippina.

On the union of Germanicus and Agrippina, their offspring were alike great-grandchildren of Augustus and Livia. Caius Caesar, the son of Germanicus, through his father's adoption by Tiberius, became Livia's great-grandson (pronepos).

composita] This is a gladiatorial word : 'well-matched,' 'well-paired.' Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 7. 19, 20, "Par pugnat uti non compositus melius cum Bitho Bacchius," and the famous remark of Seneca (de Providentia 2) that "vir fortis cum mala fortuna compositus" was a sight for the Deity to look at.

diu inritum] The will of Livia, long suppressed by Tiberius (Suet. Tib. 51), was carried into effect, and the legacies paid by Caligula (Suet. Cal. 16).

2. *excusavit*] In the sense of pleading any thing in excuse. Cf. iii. 11, "iisque diversa excusantibus."

ne caelestis religio decerneretur] Divine honours however were paid her afterwards, by order of Claudius, her grandson (Suet. Claud. 2). Her statue was placed in the temple erected to Augustus, and certain rites appointed to be performed by the Vestal Virgins, and women were to swear by her name (Dio lx. 5).

3. *urgens*] Oppressive, overbearing, overriding all opposition. Orelli quotes (Cic. Tusc. iii. 25) "opinio magni prae-

incolumi Augusta erat adhuc perfugium, quia Tiberio inveteratum erga matrem obsequium, neque Seianus audebat auctoritati parentis antire: tunc velut frenis exsoluti proruperunt, missaeque in Agrippinam ac Neronem litterae, quas pridem adlatas et cohibitas ab Augusta credidit vulgus; haud enim multum post mortem eius recitatae sunt. verba inerant quaesita asperitate: sed non arma, non rerum novarum studium, amores iuvenum et inpudicitiam nepoti obiectabat. in nurum ne id quidem confingere ausus, adrogantiam oris et contumacem animum incusavit, magno senatus pavore ac silentio, donec pauci, quis nulla ex honesto spes (et publica mala singulis in occasionem gratiae trahuntur), ut referretur postulavere, promptissimo Cotta Messalino cum atroci sententia. sed aliis a primoribus maximeque a magistratibus trepidabatur: quippe Tiberius etsi infense invectus cetera ambigua reliquerat.

4. Fuit in senatu Iunius Rusticus, conponendis patrum actis delectus a Caesare, eoque meditationis eius introspicere creditus. is fatali quodam motu (neque enim ante specimen constantiae dederat) seu prava sollertia, dum imminentium oblitus incerta pavet, inserere se dubitantibus ac monere consules ne relationem inciperent; disserebatque brevibus momentis summa verti; posse quandoque Germanici exitium paenitentiae *esse* seni. simul populus effigies Agrippinae ac Neronis gerens circumsistit curiam faustisque in Caesarem ominibus falsas litteras et principe invito exitium domui eius intendi clamitat. ita nihil triste illo die patratum. ferebantur etiam sub nominibus consularium fictae in Seianum sententiae, exercentibus plerisque per occultum atque eo

sentis atque urgentis mali." Cf. xv. 10, "adversus urgentes casus;" xv. 55, "urgens periculum."

antire] 'To outgo, outstrip.' Sejanus did not venture to overpower the influence of Augusta by his own. There is no other instance of this construction with 'antire.' Below, 'haud multum post' occurs, xii. 4. Elsewhere, 'haud multo.'

singulis] This is a dativus commodi. Cf. iii. 53, "cum recte factorum sibi quisque gratiam trahant." Although the construction is here a passive one, 'singulis' corresponds to 'sibi.' Below, the 'magistratus' specially were alarmed, because they did not know whether to bring forward a motion on the subject or not.

4. *patrum actis*] These are called in xv. 72 'commentarii senatus.' The proceedings of the senate were first published by C. Julius Caesar (Suet. C. Julius Caesar 20), but this was forbidden by Augustus (Suet. Aug. 36). A record, however, was still kept, and some senator was appointed to compile them, under the title of 'ab actis senatus,' or 'curator actorum senatus.'

brevibus momentis] The most important events are decided by slight influences; great events spring from little causes. The commentators quote Cic. Philip. v. 10, "minimis momentis maximae inclinationes temporum fiunt," and Liv. iii. 27, "puncto saepe temporis maximarum rerum momenta verti." Below, 'faustis' is an emendation for 'festis.' Cf. x. 35, "faustis in Germanicum ominibus." In xii. 69, there is 'festis vocibus,' but that was on a joyous occasion.

procacius libidinem ingeniorum. unde illi ira violentior et materies criminandi: spretum dolorem principis ab senatu, descivisse populum; audiri iam et legi novas contiones, nova patrum consulta; quid reliquum nisi ut caperent ferrum et, quorum imagines pro vexillis secuti forent, duces imperatoresque deligerent?

5. Igitur Caesar repetitis adversum nepotem et nurum probris increpitaque per edictum plebe, questus aput patres quod fraude unius senatoris imperatoria maiestas elusa publice foret, integra tamen sibi cuncta postulavit. nec ultra deliberatum quo minus non quidem extrema decernerent (id enim vetitum), sed paratos ad ultionem vi principis impediri testarentur.

6. . . . . Quattuor et quadraginta orationes super ea re habitae, ex quis ob metum paucae, plures adsuetudine . . . . . 'mihi pudorem aut Seiano invidiam adlaturum censui. versa est fortuna, et ille quidem, qui collegam et generum adsciverat, sibi ignoscit: ceteri, quem per dedecora fovere, cum scelere insectantur. miserius sit ob amicitiam accusari an amicum accusare, haud discreverim. non crudelitatem, non clementiam cuiusquam experiar, sed liber et mihi ipsi probatus antibo periculum. vos obtestor ne memoriam nostri per maerorem quam laeti retineatis, adiciendo me quoque iis qui fine egregio publica mala effugerunt.'

7. Tunc singulos, ut cuique adsistere, adloqui animus erat,

libidinem ingeniorum] 'The ribald play of their wits.' The people chose to attribute to certain senators remarks of various kinds. They designedly put them into the mouths of some of the leading men, aware of course that they were not really uttered by them, but palming off as theirs their own fancies and witticisms.

illi] That is, Sejanus.

5. *integra tamen*] The force of 'tamen' is a little obscure. Tiberius complained that the imperial majesty had been treated with contempt; still, in spite of that, he was inclined to put aside any feeling of annoyance which might have arisen from the circumstance, and treat the matter entirely on its own merits, uninfluenced by those displays of feeling. Below, 'nec ultra deliberatum' would more usually be followed by 'quin' than by 'quo minus.' But cf. H. ii. 45, "nec dubitatum quo minus pacem concederent;" xiii. 14, "abstinere quo minus testaretur."

6. *super ea re*] There is of course a gap here in the narrative. The remaining portion of A.D. 29, the whole of A.D. 30, and by far the greater part of A.D. 31, during which Tiberius and Sejanus were consuls (and several others consules suffecti), are lost. The chapter is a portion of the address made by some friend of Sejanus to his acquaintances at home, apparently ("liber et ipsi mihi probatus antibo periculum").

ille] Tiberius, who had made Sejanus his partner in the consulate, A.D. 31 (cf. vi. 8, "tui consulatus socium"). Zonaras (xi. 2, quoted by Nipperdey) says that Sejanus was married to Julia, daughter of Drusus (son of Tiberius), but she (vi. 27) had married Nero, and then Rubellius Blandus. However, if it were so, then Sejanus was not indeed son-in-law of Tiberius, but grandson-in-law (progener). If, however, 'gener' is used in its strict sense, Sejanus, although at first refused, when he solicited permission to marry Livilla, the widow of Drusus, must have afterwards been allowed, at all events, to be betrothed to her, if the marriage never actually took place.

retinens aut dimittens partem diei absumpsit, multoque adhuc coetu et cunctis intrepidum vultum eius spectantibus, cum superesse tempus novissimis crederent, gladio quem sinu abdiderat incubuit. neque Caesar ullis criminibus aut probris defunctum insectatus est, cum in Blaesum multa foedaque incusavisset.

8. Relatum inde de P. Vitellio et Pomponio Secundo. illum indices arguebant claustra aerarii, cui praefectus erat, et militarem pecuniam rebus novis obtulisse; huic a Considio praetura functo obiectabatur Aelii Galli amicitia, qui punito Seiano in hortos Pomponii quasi fidissimum ad subsidium perfugisset. neque aliud periclitantibus auxilii quam in fratrum constantia fuit, qui vades exstitere. mox crebris prolationibus spem ac metum iuxta gravatus Vitellius petito per speciem studiorum scalpro levem ictum venis intulit vitamque aegritudine animi finivit. at Pomponius multa morum elegantia et ingenio inlustri, dum adversam fortunam aequus tolerat, Tiberio superstes fuit.

9. Placitum posthac, ut in reliquos Seiani liberos adverteretur, vanescente quamquam plebis ira ac plerisque per priora supplicia lenitis. igitur portantur in carcerem, filius imminentium intellegens, puella adeo nescia, ut crebro interrogaret, quod ob delictum et quo traheretur; neque facturam ultra, et posse se puerili ver-

7. *superesse*] 'They fancied the moment for the closing scene was still far distant.'

in Blaesum] 'Had uttered many ungrounded accusations against Blaesus.' There seem to be no instances of the same construction, but Livy i. 51, "haec Aricinus in regem Romanorum increpans ex concilio abiit." For Blaesus see iii. 35.

8. *P. Vitellio et Pomponio Secundo*] The first was uncle of the Emperor Vitellius (i. 70, iii. 10). With respect to Publius Pomponius Secundus, there seems to be some little difficulty. Dio (lix. 6) speaks of a Quintus Pomponius as released by Caligula from prison, where he had been confined seven years after his consulate. Tacitus says of the Pomponius here that he possessed "multa morum elegantia" and an "ingenium inlustre." In xi. 13 he says "Publium Pomponium consularem (is carmina scaenae dabat)." I imagine therefore that Dio makes a blunder, and Quintus ought to be Publius. If so, the Pomponius here mentioned must have been consul seven years before A.D. 37—41, or in some year from A.D. 30 to A.D. 34. He was brother to the Quintus Pomponius Secundus of vi. 18, and xiii. 43. Publius was a man of great reputation. Cf. De Oratoribus 13, "ne nostris quidem temporibus Secundus Pomponius Afro Domitio vel dignitate vitae vel perpetuitate famae cesserit." Quintilian (x. 1. 98) speaks of him as the first writer of all he had seen. He is probably the Pomponius of xii. 27, but there is some doubt about the reading there.

aerarii] Sc. 'militaris.' Augustus had established a military treasury (Suet. August. 49), superintended by three praefects of praetorian rank, who held office for three years (Dio Cass. lv. 25).

Aelii Galli] Borghesi conjectures him to have been the eldest son of Sejanus (iv. 3, vi. 30), and Sejanus himself to have been adopted by Aelius Gallus, a Roman knight and praefect of Egypt, 24 A.C. (Dio liii. 29).

9. *adverteretur*] Cf. i. 32, iii. 52.

quamquam] For this use of 'quamquam' cf. vi. 30, "haec mira quamquam," and xiv. 21, "quia redditi quamquam scaenae pantomimi certaminibus sacris prohibebantur."

bere moneri. tradunt temporis eius auctores, quia triumvirali supplicio adfici virginem inauditum habebatur, a carnifice laqueum iuxta conpressam; exim oblisis faucibus id aetatis corpora in Gemonias abiecta.

10. Per idem tempus Asia atque Achaia exterritae sunt acri magis quam diuturno rumore, Drusum Germanici filium apud Cycladas insulas, mox in continenti visum. et erat iuvenis hau dispari aetate, quibusdam Caesaris libertis velut agnitus; per dolumque comitantibus alliciebantur ignari fama nominis et promptis Graecorum animis ad nova et mira: quippe elapsum custodiae pergere ad paternos exercitus, Aegyptum aut Syriam invasurum, fingebant simul credebantque. iam iuventutis concursu, iam publicis studiis frequentabatur, laetus praesentibus et inanium spe, cum auditum id Poppaeo Sabino: is Macedoniae tum intentus Achaiam quoque curabat. igitur quo vera seu falsa antiret, Toronaeum Thermaeumque sinum praefestinans, mox Euboeam Aegaei maris insulam et Piraeum Atticae orae, dein Corinthiense litus angustiasque Isthmi evadit; marique alio Nicopolim Romanam coloniam ingressus, ibi demum cognoscit sollertius interrogatum, quisnam foret, dixisse M. Silano genitum, et multis sectatorum dilapsis ascendisse navem tamquam Italiam peteret. scripsitque haec Tiberio, neque nos originem finemve eius rei ultra comperimus.

11. Exitu anni diu aucta discordia consulum erupit. nam Trio, facilis capessendis inimicitiis et foro exercitus, ut segnem Regulum

triumvirali supplicio] The 'triumviri capitales' appointed about 292 A.C. (Liv. Epit. 11). They received information respecting capital offences (Plaut. Aul. iii. 2. 2), preserved the peace, enforced the payment of fines, were responsible for the due care of prisons, and carried out the sentence of the law (Sall. Catil. 55; Liv. xxv. 1; Hor. Epod. 4. 11). For 'in Gemonias' cf. iii. 14.

10. *agnitus*] 'Recognized by certain freedmen of Caesar, and while they accompanied him.' For the construction of 'comitantibus' cf. xiv. 53, "tempus sermoni orat et accepto ita incipit;" vi. 16, "veniam a principe petivere et concedente annus," &c.

ad paternos exercitus] Cf. ii. 55, and following chapters.

inanium spe] 'With the hope of results unsupported by reality:' he found hopes of obtaining results which never came to pass.

Poppaeo Sabino] Cf. iv. 46, and for the provinces here mentioned, cf. i. 80. Below, for Nicopolim cf. ii. 53.

evadit] The principle on which verbs such as this (and 'egredior,' 'elabor,' &c.) govern an accusative has been mentioned. Cf. ii. 20. The M. Silanus here is the same as the one mentioned in ii. 59, iii. 24, vi. 20 (ii. 28).

11. *consulum*] These were L. Fulcinius Trio and P. Memmius Regulus (see vi. 41), consules suffecti A.D. 31. This Memmius Regulus was an eminent man. He was legatus pro praetore of Maesia, A.D. 36, after Poppaeus Sabinus. He was the husband of Lollia Paulina (xii. 22), whom Caligula took from him. He died in A.D. 62. He was the father of the Memmius Regulus in xv. 23, who was consul A.D. 63.

ad opprimendos Seiani ministros oblique perstrinxerat: ille, nisi lacesseretur, modestiae retinens, non modo rettudit collegam, sed ut noxium coniurationis ad disquisitionem trahebat. multisque patrum orantibus ponerent odia in permitiem itura, mansere infensi ac minitantes, donec magistratu abirent.

noxium coniurationis] This use of 'noxius' with a genitive is rare, and seems indeed only to be found in the Digest. Cf. Ulpian, Dig. 29. 5. 3, § 12, "facinoris noxius." Livy (vii. 20) has "Faliscos eodem noxios crimine."

CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER VI.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. 1. Debauchery of Tiberius. 2. Vindictive proceedings against the memories of Sejanus and Livia. Intrusive flattery of Togonius Gallus. 3. Punishment of Iunius Gallio. Sextius Paconianus. 4. Latinius Latiaris. Haterius Agrippa attacks the consuls of the previous year. 5. Impeachment of Cotta Messalinus. 6. The inward uneasiness of Tiberius. 7. Caecilianus and others condemned. 8—10. Defence and acquittal of M. Terentius. Wholesale accusations. Death of L. Piso. 11. Account of the praefectura urbis. 12. The Sibylline books. 13. Disturbances at Rome from the high price of wheat. 14. Condemnation of Geminius and others on a charge of conspiracy. 15. Betrothal of the daughters of Germanicus. 16, 17. Financial crisis. 18, 19. Renewal of impeachments. 20. Marriage of Caius Caesar. 21. Thrasyllus the astrologer. 22. Remarks on fatality. 23. Death of Asinius Gallus and Drusus. 24. Animosity of Tiberius against Drusus after death. 25. Death of Agrippina the elder. 26, 27. Death of Cocceius Nerva and others. 28. Appearance of the Phoenix in Egypt. 29. Death of Labeo and Scaurus. 30. Gaetulicus. 31. Embassy from Parthia. 32. Tiberius sends back Phraates. Vitellius appointed to the command of the East. 33—35. Invasion of Armenia by the Parthians. 36. Flight of Artabanus, and 37. establishment of Tiridates on the Parthian throne. 38. Death of Fulcinius Trio and Gronius Martianus. 39, 40. Death of Poppaeus Sabinus and others. 41. Outbreak of the Clitae repressed. 42. Honours paid to Tiridates on his accession. 43, 44. His subsequent expulsion, and the restoration of Artabanus. 45. Fire at Rome. 46. Tiberius reviews his possible successors. 47. Accusation of Acutia and Albucilla. 48. Death of Arruntius, and 49. Sextus Papinius. 50. Tiberius endeavours to conceal his own failing health. His death. 51. Summary of his personal history.

1. Cn. Domitius et Camillus Scribonianus consulatum inierant, cum Caesar tramisso quod Capreas et Surrentum interluit freto

1. *Cn. Domitius*] Cf. iv. 75. M. Furius, M. f. P. n. Camillus Arruntius Scribonianus, was son of L. Arruntius (consul A.D. 6), and adopted by M. Furius Camillus. His adopted father was proconsul of Africa A.D. 17 (ii. 52).

Campaniam praelegebat, ambiguus an urbem intraret, seu, quia contra destinaverat, speciem venturi simulans. et saepe in propinqua degressus, aditis iuxta Tiberim hortis, saxa rursum et solitudinem maris repetiit, pudore scelerum et libidinum, quibus adeo indomitis exarserat, ut more regio pubem ingenuam stupris pollueret. nec formam tantum et decora corpora, set in his modestam pueritiam, in aliis imagines maiorum incitamentum cupidinis habebat. tuncque primum ignota antea vocabula reperta sunt sellariorum et psintriarum ex foeditate loci ac multiplici patientia; praepositique servi, qui *con*quirerent pertraherent, dona in promptos, minas adversum abnuentes, et si retinerent propinquus aut parens, vim raptus suaque ipsi libita velut in captos exercebant.

2. At Romae principio anni, quasi recens cognitis Liviae flagitiis ac non pridem etiam punitis, atroces sententiae dicebantur, in effigies quoque ac memoriam eius, et bona Seiani ablata aerario ut in fiscum cogerentur, tamquam referret. Scipiones haec et Silani et Cassii isdem ferme aut paulum inmutatis verbis, adseveratione multa censebant, cum repente Togonius Gallus, dum ignobilitatem suam magnis nominibus inserit, per deridiculum auditur. nam principem orabat deligere senatores, ex quis viginti sorte ducti et ferro accincti, quotiens curiam inisset, salutem eius defenderent. crediderat nimirum epistulae subsidio sibi alterum ex consulibus poscentis, ut tutus a Capreis urbem peteret. Tiberius tamen, ludibria seriis permiscere solitus, egit gratis benivolentiae patrum: sed quos omitti posse, quos deligi? semperne eosdem an subinde alios? et honoribus perfunctos an iuvenes,

The Camillus here mentioned, subsequent to his consulship, took the name of Scribonianus, possibly by a second adoption. He was legatus of Dalmatia, and engaged in an unsuccessful attempt against Claudius (xii. 52; Suet. Claud. 13). He was father of the Furius Scribonianus in xii. 52.

dona] This is governed by some verb to be understood from 'exercebant,' this last word being only suited exactly to 'vim raptus,' to which it stands nearest.

2. *tamquam referret*] 'As if it made any real difference.' It made none, because the 'fiscus' was not the emperor's privy purse, but the treasury of his portion of the provinces, and, like the 'aerarium,' applied to the administration of the empire. As the princeps exercised a general control over the whole state, the distinction was little more than a nominal one. For the 'illustriores' here spoken of just below, cf. iii. 74, iv. 68, vi. 15.

deligere] Cf. xi. 32, "Vibidiam oravit pontificis maximi aures audire." Also xiii. 13, "Orabantque cavere insidias mulieris." Tacitus continually uses the infinitive, where other writers employ the subjunctive with 'ut:' with 'illicere' (ii. 37, iv. 12), 'admonere' (vi. 7), 'perpellere' (vi. 33), 'inducere' (xii. 9), 'impellere' (xiv. 60). Below, 'honoribus perfuncti' might mean 'consulares,' 'those who had run through the full course of honours;' but, from its opposition to 'iuvenes,' it probably only means those who had completed any magistracy.

privatos an e magistratibus? quam deinde speciem fore sumentium in limine curiae gladios? neque sibi vitam tanti, si armis tegenda foret. haec adversus Togonium verbis moderans, neque ut ultra abolitionem sententiae suaderet.

3. At Iunium Gallionem, qui censuerat ut praetoriani actis stipendiis ius apiscerentur in quattuordecim ordinibus sedendi, violenter increpuit, velut coram rogitans, quid illi cum militibus, quos neque dicta imperatoris neque praemia nisi ab imperatore accipere par esset. repperisse prorsus quod divus Augustus non providerit: an potius discordiam et seditionem a satellite Seiani quaesitam, qua rudes animos nomine honoris ad corrumpendum militiae morem propelleret? hoc pretium Gallio meditatae adulationis tulit, statim curia, deinde Italia exactus; et quia incusabatur facile toleraturus exilium delecta Lesbo, insula nobili et amoena, retrahitur in urbem custoditurque domibus magistratuum. isdem litteris Caesar Sextium Paconianum praetorium perculit magno patrum gaudio, audacem, maleficum, omnium secreta rimantem delectumque ab Seiano cuius ope dolus C. Caesari pararetur. quod postquam patefactum, prorupere concepta pridem odia, et summum supplicium decernebatur, ni professus indicium foret.

4. Ut vero Latinium Latiarem ingressus est, accussator ac reus iuxta invisi gratissimum spectaculum praebebantur. Latiaris,

neque ut] 'And not in such a fashion as to advise any thing beyond,' &c. The insertion of 'ut' seems the best plan to make sense; and the word may easily have been omitted before 'ultra.' The construction is, of course, "haec dixit verbis moderans neque ita loquens ut," &c.

3. *At Iunium Gallionem*] He was an orator. Tacitus de Oratoribus (26) speaks of "tinnitus Gallionis." He adopted M. Annaeus Novatus, one of the sons of the elder Seneca, and this last was the Gallio of the Acts of the Apostles, xviii. 12 (xv. 73).

ordinibus] The fourteen lowest rows of the cavea (the orchestra being reserved for the senators) were appropriated to the use of the equites by Roscius Otho, 67 A.C.

dicta imperatoris] If the reading be correct, the meaning is, 'the order issued by a general in command.' Cf. ii. 45, "dicta imperatoris accipere." All orders usually given by a commander at the head of troops ought to issue from the emperor at Rome for the time being; so that 'imperator' is employed in two senses, first for any military commander, and then for the emperor especially. But the sentence is awkward, and the word 'imperatoris' is probably a gloss.

repperisse] This is of course ironical: 'he had discovered, forsooth, what the late Emperor Augustus had failed to see.' Below, 'incusabatur toleraturus esse' is an uncommon form. Similar constructions, with kindred verbs, are 'locuta (esse) argueretur' (ii. 50).

4. *ingressus est*] This is hardly the same as 'adgressus est.' Tacitus has 'ingredi defensionem,' and 'ingredi longinquam profectionem,' 'ingredi pericula,' 'ingredi crimina' occur in other writers. Perhaps here the sense is 'he began with (the case of) Latinius Latiaris,' with a sense, of course, of the movement being a hostile one.

praebebantur] I do not see any reason for altering this either to 'praebebatur' or 'praebebant.' The subject of the verb is 'accusator ac reus,' 'the accuser and

ut rettuli, praecipuus olim circumveniendi Titii Sabini et tunc luendae poenae primus fuit. inter quae Haterius Agrippa consules anni prioris invasit, cur mutua accusatione intenta nunc silerent: metum prorsus et noxiam conscientiae pro foedere haberi; at non patribus reticenda quae audivissent. Regulus manere tempus ultionis, seque coram principe exsecuturum; Trio aemulationem inter collegas et si qua discordes iecissent melius obliterari respondit. urguente Agrippa Sanquinius Maximus e consularibus oravit senatum, ne curas imperatoris conquisitis insuper acerbitatibus augerent: sufficere ipsum statuendis remediis. sic Regulo salus et Trioni dilatio exitii quaesita. Haterius invisior fuit, quia somno aut libidinosis vigiliis marcidus et ob segnitiam quamvis crudelem principem non metuens inlustribus viris permitiem inter ganeam ac stupra meditabatur.

5. Exim Cotta Messalinus, saevissimae cuiusque sententiae auctor eoque inveterata invidia, ubi primum facultas data, arguitur pleraque: Gaiam Caesarem quasi incertae virilitatis, et cum die natali Augustae inter sacerdotes epularetur, novendialem eam cenam dixisse: querensque de potentia M'. Lepidi ac L. Arruntii,

accused were put forward as a welcome spectacle.'

ut rettuli] Cf. iv. 68. For Haterius Agrippa cf. ii. 51.

metum, &c.] The consuls in office brought various charges against each other: *now*, each was afraid to attack the other, for fear of a counter-attack upon himself. They were also tongue-bound by the condemnatory feeling arising from the consciousness of guilt ('noxiam conscientiae'); but the senators ought not to pass over in silence these accusations they had listened to, but to insist on having them sifted. 'Noxia conscientiae' is a curious expression, and would have been more naturally expressed by 'conscientiam noxae.'

Sanquinius Maximus] Borghesi points out that his grandfather probably was the Q. Sanquinius who was quaestor, tribunus plebis, praetor, proconsul, and his father, M. Sanquinius, a triumvir monetalis. The Sanquinius of the text was consul suffectus A.D. 39, and praefectus urbi at the time of his death in A.D. 47. He was legatus pro praetore of Germania Inferior (xi. 18). Below, for 'dilatio exitii' cf. vi. 38.

5. *arguitur pleraque*] Cf. iv. 28, under 'falsa exterritus.'

Gaiam Caesarem] 'Had spoken of Gaia Caesar with a feminine praenomen, as of doubtful sex.' Cf. Suetonius, Calig. 36, "pudicitiae neque suae neque alienae pepercit." For this use of a feminine name, by way of sarcasm, in the case of a man, cf. Cic. de Oratore, ii. 68, "Cum Opimius festivo homini Egilio qui videretur mollior dixisset: quid tu, Egilia mea?" and Hor. Sat. i. 8. 39, "Iulius et fragilis Pediatia."

novendialem eam cenam] The gist of Cotta's joke is not very clear. The 'cena novendialis' was given nine days after the death of the person in whose honour it was celebrated. The banquet spoken of by Tacitus as taking place on the birthday of Augusta was, no doubt, a part of the religious honours paid to her memory, as more than mortal ('Diva'). True, Tiberius had prevented the according of many such honours when proposed (v. 2), but very likely this mark of respect was nevertheless paid her on the recurrence of her birthday. Cotta contemptuously styled it a 'usual post-mortem feast,' and so brought down Livia to a level with all other women of only mortal claims. This seems to me a better explanation than that which supposes this feast to

cum quibus ob rem pecuniariam disceptabat, addidisse: 'illos quidem senatus, me autem tuebitur Tiberiolus meus.' quae cuncta a primoribus civitatis revincebatur, iisque instantibus ad imperatorem provocavit. nec multo post litterae adferuntur, quibus in modum defensionis, repetito inter se atque Cottam amicitiae principio crebrisque eius officiis commemoratis, ne verba prave detorta neu convivalium fabularum simplicitas in crimen duceretur postulavit.

6. Insigne visum est earum Caesaris litterarum initium; nam his verbis exorsus est: 'quid scribam vobis, patres conscripti, aut quo modo scribam aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, di me deaeque peius perdant quam perire me cotidie sentio, si scio.' adeo facinora atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verterant. neque frustra praestantissimus sapientiae firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus et ictus, quando ut corpora verberibus, ita saevitia, libidine, malis consultis animus dilaceretur. quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines protegebant quin tormenta pectoris suasque ipse poenas fateretur.

7. Tum facta patribus potestate statuendi de Caeciliano senatore, qui plurima adversum Cottam prompserat, placitum eandem poenam inrogari quam in Aruseium et Sanquinium, accusatores L. Arruntii; quo non aliud honorificentius Cottae evenit, qui nobilis quidem, set egens ob luxum, per flagitia infamis, sanctissimis Arruntii artibus dignitate ultionis aequabatur.

Q. Servaeus posthac et Minucius Thermus inducti, Servaeus praetura functus et quondam Germanici comes, Minucius equestri loco, modeste habita Seiani amicitia; unde illis maior miseratio. contra Tiberius praecipuos ad scelera increpans admonuit C. Cestium patrem dicere senatui quae sibi scripsisset, suscepitque Cestius

have taken place during the lifetime of Augusta, and Cotta to have implied that she had already, as it were, one foot in the grave, and was as good as dead, and ready for the 'funeral baked meats.' For L. Arruntius cf. iii. 11.

6. *si recludantur*] Tacitus, I think, refers to Plato, Gorg. 534, E, Ὁ Ῥαδάμανθυς θεᾶται ἑκάστου τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτου ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἐπιλαβόμενος, ἢ ἄλλου ὅτου οὖν βασιλέως ἢ δυνάστου κατεῖδεν οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ὂν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ διαμεμαστιγωμένην καὶ οὐλῶν μεστὴν ὑπὸ ἐπιορκιῶν καὶ ἀδικίας.

7. *inducti*] The ellipse is perhaps 'in senatum,' which is easily supplied from the context, where senators are mentioned ('facta patribus,' &c.). Or possibly it may be 'in scaenam,' the word being often used of putting a drama on the stage. Cf. Cic. pro Cael. 15, "Sed quid ego, iudices, ita gravem personam induxi?"

patrem] Cf. iii. 36, "C. Cestius Senator disseruit." Ruperti cannot be right in making 'pater' here equivalent to 'senator.' It must be 'C. Cestius the father,' although no son is mentioned; yet there may have been one.

accusationem. quod maxime exitiabile tulere illa tempora, cum primores senatus infimas etiam delationes exercerent, alii propalam, multi per occultum; neque discerneres alienos a coniunctis, amicos ab ignotis, quid repens aut vetustate obscurum: perinde in foro, in convivio, quaqua de re locuti incusabantur, ut quis praevenire et reum destinare properat, pars ad subsidium sui, plures infecti quasi valitudine et contactu. sed Minucius et Servaeus damnati indicibus accessere. tractique sunt in casum eundem Iulius Africanus e Santonis Gallica civitate, Seius Quadratus: originem non repperi. neque sum ignarus a plerisque scriptoribus omissa multorum pericula et poenas, dum copia fatiscunt aut, quae ipsis nimia et maesta fuerant, ne pari taedio lecturos adficerent verentur: nobis pleraque digna cognitu obvenere, quamquam ab aliis incelebrata.

8. Nam ea tempestate, qua Seiani amicitiam ceteri falso exuerant, ausus est eques Romanus M. Terentius, ob id reus, amplecti, ad hunc modum apud senatum ordiendo: 'fortunae quidem meae fortasse minus expediat adgnoscere crimen quam abnuere: sed utcumque casura res est, fatebor et fuisse me Seiano amicum, et ut essem expetisse, et postquam adeptus eram laetatum. videram collegam patris regendis praetoriis cohortibus, mox urbis et militiae munia simul obeuntem. illius propinqui et adfines honoribus augebantur; ut quisque Seiano intimus, ita ad Caesaris amicitiam validus: contra quibus infensus esset, metu ac sordibus conflictabantur. nec quemquam exemplo adsumo: cunctos, qui novissimi consilii expertes fuimus, meo unius discrimine defendam. non enim Seianum Vulsiniensem, set Claudiae et Iuliae domus partem, quas adfinitate occupaverat, tuum, Caesar, generum, tui consulatus socium, tua officia in re publica capessentem colebamus. non est

repens] Cf. xi. 24, "Libertinorum filiis magistratus mandari non, ut plerique falluntur repens." Also xv. 68; H. i. 23; H. iv. 25. 'Repens' is used of that which suddenly appears, 'recens' of that which has the gloss still on it.

indicibus accessere] 'Joined the ranks of the informers:' they saved themselves by volunteering evidence against others. Iulius Africanus was perhaps the father of the orator Iulius Africanus mentioned by Tacitus, de Oratoribus 5, and by Quintilian, x. 1. 118, as "concitatior, sed in cura verborum nimius et compositione nonnunquam longior."

originem non repperi] Tacitus had been unable to learn any thing of the extraction of Seius Quadratus. There is nothing unusual in the asyndeton here: with proper names the conjunction is often omitted. Cf. H. i. 13, "in T. Vinium consulem, Cornelium Laconem praetorii praefectum." Also vi. 15, "L. Cassium M. Vinicium legit."

pleraque] 'Very many incidents.' Cf. iii. 1, "plerique militares." So xiii. 25, H. i. 86, H. iv. 84. Below, 'incelebrata' is a word only found, Draeger says, elsewhere in a fragment of Sallust.

8. *patris*] Cf. i. 24, "simul praetorii praefectus Aelius Seianus collega Straboni patri suo datus."

nostrum aestimare quem supra ceteros et quibus de causis extollas: tibi summum rerum iudicium di dedere, nobis obsequii gloria relicta est. spectamus porro quae coram habentur, cui ex te opes honores, quis plurima iuvandi nocendive potentia, quae Seiano fuisse nemo negaverit. abditos principis sensus, et si quid occultius parat, exquirere inlicitum, anceps: nec ideo adsequare. ne, patres conscripti, ultimum Seiani diem, sed sedecim annos cogitaveritis. etiam Satrium atque Pomponium venerabamur; libertis quoque ac ianitoribus eius notescere pro magnifico accipiebatur. quid ergo? indistincta haec defensio et promisca dabitur? immo iustis terminis dividatur. insidiae in rem publicam, consilia caedis adversum imperatorem puniantur: de amicitia et officiis idem finis et te, Caesar, et nos absolverit.'

9. Constantia orationis, et quia repertus erat qui efferret quae omnes animo agitabant, eo usque potuere, ut accusatores eius, additis quae ante deliquerant, exilio aut morte multarentur.

Secutae dehinc Tiberii litterae in Sex. Vistilium praetorium, quem Druso fratri percarum in cohortem suam transtulerat. causa offensionis Vistilio fuit, seu composuerat quaedam in C. Caesarem ut impudicum, sive ficto habita fides. atque ob id convictu principis prohibitus cum senili manu ferrum temptavisset, obligat venas; precatusque per codicillos, immiti rescripto venas resolvit. acervatim ex eo Annius Pollio, Appius Silanus Scauro Mamerco simul ac Sabino Calvisio maiestatis postulantur, et Vinicianus Pollioni patri adiciebatur, clari genus et quidam

quis plurima, &c.] It seems more likely this 'quis' is the dative and 'potentia' the nominative, than that 'quis' is the nominative and 'potentia' the ablative, which is Nipperdey's view.

nec ideo adsequare] 'Nor would you, one whit the more, attain to it.' To endeavour to pry into the emperor's secret counsels would be unlawful and unsuccessful. Below, for Satrius cf. iv. 34. Pomponius was probably some creature of Sejanus, not one of the Pomponii mentioned ii. 32, iv. 47, &c.

idem finis] Terentius means to say, that so far as friendship and respect went, the same rules must apply to Tiberius and all others. As far as *his* friendship went, *theirs* must go: when *his* stopped, theirs must stop too.

9. *in cohortem suam*] Sc. amicorum. Cf. i. 29.

seu composuerat] In xii. 38, Tacitus has "sive quod amoto Carataco minus intenta apud nos militia fuit; sive hostes . . . exarsere." Walther suggests that the form with 'quod' assumes the fact stated to exist, and only implies a doubt whether it is an adequate explanation of the phenomenon in question; the form without 'quod' leaves the fact itself hypothetical, as well as its applicability to the question in hand.

Annius Pollio] He was consul suffectus A.D. 20, son of C. Annius Pollio, a triumvir monetalis under Augustus, and father of M. Annius Vinicianus (xv. 28), who joined in a conspiracy against Claudius, A.D. 42, and put himself to death (Dio lx. 15). Perhaps he was also grandfather of the Annius Pollio of xv. 56, 71, xvi. 30. For Appius Silanus, cf. iv. 68, and for M. Aemilius Scaurus, iii. 23.

clari genus] The accusative is a Greek one of respect. Cf. H. iv. 81, "alius

summis honoribus. contremuerantque patres (nam quotus quisque adfinitatis aut amicitiae tot inlustrium virorum expers erat?), ni Celsus urbanae cohortis tribunus, tum inter indices, Appium et Calvisium discrimini exemisset. Caesar Pollionis ac Viniciani Scaurique causam, ut ipse cum senatu nosceret, distulit, datis quibusdam in Scaurum tristibus notis.

10. Ne feminae quidem exortes periculi. quia occupandae rei publicae argui non poterant, ob lacrimas incusabantur: necataque est anus Vitia, Fufii Gemini mater, quod filii necem flevisset. haec aput senatum: nec secus aput principem Vescularius Flaccus ac Iulius Marinus ad mortem aguntur, e vetustissimis familiarium, Rhodum secuti et aput Capreas individui, Vescularius insidiarum in Libonem internuntius; Marino participe Seianus Curtium Atticum oppresserat. quo laetius acceptum sua exempla in consultores recidisse.

Per idem tempus L. Piso pontifex, rarum in tanta claritudine, fato obiit, nullius servilis sententiae sponte auctor, et quotiens necessitas ingrueret, sapienter moderans. patrem ei censorium fuisse memoravi; aetas ad octogesimum annum processit; decus triumphale in Thraecia meruerat. sed praecipua ex eo gloria, quod praefectus urbi recens continuam potestatem et insolentia parendi graviorem mire temperavit.

11. Namque antea, profectis domo regibus ac mox magistratibus, ne urbs sine imperio foret, in tempus deligebatur qui ius redderet ac subitis mederetur; feruntque ab Romulo Dentrem Romulium, post ab Tullo Hostilio Numam Marcium et ab Tarquinio Superbo Spurium Lucretium inpositos. dein consules mandabant; duratque simulacrum, quotiens ob ferias Latinas

manum aeger;" and Germ. 17, "nudae bracchia ac lacertos."

10. *Fufii Gemini*] Cf. v. 1 and 2.

sua exempla] 'The precedent set by themselves.' The reader may consult the note on the reflexive pronoun in i. 10.

L. Piso] L. Calpurnius L. f. Piso was consul 15 A.C., and son of L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, consul in 58 A.C., father-in-law of Caius Julius Caesar, and censor A.C. 50, with Appius Claudius Pulcher (although Tacitus does not mention this fact in the extant books). For his successes in Thrace cf. Liv. Epit. 128; Vell. ii. 98.

recens continuam] These words are to be joined: 'only lately made continuous.' It was Augustus who re-established the old office of custos or praefectus urbi, which had existed from the days of the kings. The magistrate in question was originally appointed, during the absence of the king on the frontiers, to take charge of the city. After the creation of praetors he was appointed annually to celebrate the feriae Latinae. Augustus made the office permanent, and it was part of the duty of the holder to superintend the city police, not always, as we know, a very popular office.

11. *Numam Marcium*] Numa's daughter Pompilia married Marcius, and had by him a son, afterwards the king Ancus Marcius (Plutarch, Num. 21). For Spurius Lucretius cf. Liv. i. 59.

mandabant] Sc. their power. For instances of this cf. Liv. iii. 3 and 9.

praeficitur qui consulare munus usurpet. ceterum Augustus bellis civilibus Cilnium Maecenatem equestris ordinis cunctis apud Romam atque Italiam praeposuit: mox rerum potitus ob magnitudinem populi ac tarda legum auxilia sumpsit e consularibus qui coerceret servitia et quod civium audacia turbidum, nisi vim metuat. primusque Messalla Corvinus eam potestatem et paucos intra dies finem accepit, quasi nescius exercendi; tum Taurus Statilius, quamquam provecta aetate, egregie toleravit; dein Piso viginti per annos pariter probatus, publico funere ex decreto senatus celebratus est.

12. Relatum inde ad patres a Quintiliano tribuno plebei de libro Sibullae, quem Caninius Gallus quindecimvir recipi inter ceteros eiusdem vatis et ea de re senatus consultum postulaverat. quo per discessionem facto misit litteras Caesar, modice tribunum increpans ignarum antiqui moris ob iuventam. Gallo exprobrabat, quod scientiae caerimoniarumque vetus incerto auctore, ante sententiam collegii, non, ut adsolet, lecto per magistros aestimatoque carmine, apud infrequentem senatum egisset. simul commonefecit,

Taurus Statilius] T. Statilius Taurus, a 'novus homo' (Vell. ii. 27), was consul suffectus 37 A.C., and for the second time 26 A.C. Probably his grandsons were the T. Statilius Taurus, consul 11 A.D., and T. Statilius Sisenna Taurus, consul 16 A.D. His great-grandsons were M. Statilius Taurus, consul A.D. 44 (xii. 59), and Taurus Statilius Corvinus, consul A.D. 45.

viginti per annos] There seems an error or looseness in the reckoning here. From Suetonius (Tib. 42), it is clear that the appointment of Piso could not have been made until the accession of Tiberius (postea princeps in ipsa publicorum morum correctione cum Pomponio Flacco, et L. Pisone noctem continuumque biduum, epulando potandoque consumpsit, quorum alteri praefecturam urbis confestim dedit). This was in A.D. 14, and Piso died in A.D. 32, which does not allow of twenty years. However I think Tacitus is here speaking in round numbers.

12. *Caninius Gallus*] There was a L. Caninius Gallus, consul suffectus in 37 A.C. His son was probably the Gallus of the text, who was a triumvir monetalis and consul suffectus 2 A.C.

per discessionem] Cf. Suet. Tiber. 31, "cum senatus consultum per discessionem forte fieret, transeuntem eum in alteram partem . . . nemo est secutus." Aulus Gellius (xiv. 7) says that a senatus consultum was either made 'per discessionem,' "si consentiretur; aut si res dubia esset per singulorum sententias exquisitas." I do not feel sure that I understand the words 'si consentiretur;' they seem contrasted with 'si res dubia esset,' and mean, I suppose, therefore, if there could be no doubt about the relative numbers of those who voted for and those who voted against the proposed measure. If there was a doubt about it, then the result was ascertained by counting votes, 'per singulorum sententias exquisitas.' The decision as to the method employed was left apparently to the consul, as Tacitus says, xiv. 49, "postquam discessionem consul permiserat."

vetus] For the genitive, cf. i. 20, 'vetus operis ac laboris,' and vi. 44, 'vetus regnandi.'

per magistros] The president of a collegium of augurs, priests, &c., was called 'magister.' The only difficulty here is to explain why the plural is used. Perhaps the office of 'magister' was taken in rotation, and so all who had 'passed the chair' were styled 'magistri,' as well as the actual occupier of the post at a given time. Or possibly the 'magistri' of several colleges were called in to assist with their advice. Or finally, the sense may be 'the magister' for the time being.

quia multa vana sub nomine celebri vulgabantur, sanxisse Augustum, quem intra diem ad praetorem urbanum deferrentur neque habere privatim liceret. quod a maioribus quoque decretum erat post exustum sociali bello Capitolium, quaesitis Samo, Ilio, Erythris, per Africam etiam ac Siciliam et Italicas colonias, carminibus Sibullae, una seu plures fuere, datoque sacerdotibus negotio, quantum humana ope potuissent, vera discernere. igitur tunc quoque notioni quindecimvirum is liber subicitur.

13. Isdem consulibus gravitate annonae iuxta seditionem ventum, multaque et plures per dies in theatro licentius efflagitata quam solitum adversum imperatorem. quis commotus incusavit magistratus patresque, quod non publica auctoritate populum coercuissent, addiditque quibus ex provinciis et quanto maiorem quam Augustus rei frumentariae copiam advectaret. ita castigandae plebi compositum senatus consultum prisca severitate, neque segnius consules edixere. silentium ipsius non civile, ut crediderat, sed in superbiam accipiebatur.

14. Fine anni Geminius, Celsus, Pompeius, equites Romani, cecidere coniurationis crimine; ex quis Geminius prodigentia opum ac mollitia vitae amicus Seiano, nihil ad serium. et Iulius Celsus tribunus in vinclis laxatam catenam et circumdatam in diversum tendens suam ipse cervicem perfregit. at Rubrio Fabato, tam-

neque habere] 'Neque' here is equivalent to 'et ne,' and Ernesti proposes, therefore, to write 'neve.' Draeger quotes Liv. v. 53, "nec id mirati sitis," and xxi. 43, "nec existimaritis." But these are not in the Oratio obliqua. But 'neque' seems intelligible, if 'neque . . . liceret' is regarded as so closely united with the previous clause, as with it to form a single notion, 'within what day they should be brought to the city praetor, and consequently be no longer retained in private hands.' If Tacitus had intended the clauses to represent two separate items of legislation, I think he would have written 'neve,' but they really only represent one. Augustus did not settle first within what period these prophecies should be laid before the praetor, and second, that they should not remain in private hands, but simply fixed a date within which they must be brought to the magistrate, and so consequently not remain any longer in individual keeping.

sociali bello] In H. iii. 72, Tacitus writes, "arserat et ante Capitolium civili bello." This was 83 A.C., in the consulship of L. Scipio and C. Norbanus, the date of the civil war between Sulla and Marius, not of the social war which ended 88 A.C. One can only suppose Tacitus to have made a slip—not an impossible thing. Nipperdey encloses the obnoxious words in brackets, but I think Tacitus would hardly have written 'post exustum Capitolium' without annexing any date to guide his readers.

Italicas colonias] Not of course the coloniae Italici iuris, but the Greek colonies in Southern Italy. For 'notioni' cf. iii. 59.

13. *et plures per dies*] These words are added parenthetically, 'and that too for several days.' Nipperdey quotes Cic. pro Rosc. Amerin. 28, "veniam neque multo ita post, ad hunc locum."

in superbiam accipiebatur] Cf. xii. 43, "in prodigium accipiebatur." Another form occurs vi. 8, "pro magnifico accipiebatur."

14. *nihil ad serium*] 'But there was nothing between them tending to any serious result.' Geminius had not shared in any of Sejanus' plots: they were only boon companions.

quam desperatis rebus Romanis Parthorum ad misericordiam fugeret, custodes additi. sane is repertus aput fretum Siciliae retractusque per centurionem nullas probabiles causas longinquae peregrinationis adferebat: mansit tamen incolumis, oblivione magis quam clementia.

15. Ser. Galba L. Sulla consulibus diu quaesito quos neptibus suis maritos destinaret Caesar, postquam instabat virginum aetas, L. Cassium, M. Vinicium legit. Vinicio oppidanum genus: Calibus ortus, patre atque avo consularibus, cetera equestri familia erat, mitis ingenio et comptae facundiae. Cassius plebeii Romae generis, verum antiqui honoratique, et severa patris disciplina eductus facilitate saepius quam industria commendabatur. huic Drusillam, Vinicio Iuliam Germanico genitas coniungit superque ea re senatui scribit, levi cum honore iuvenum. dein redditis absentiae causis admodum vagis flexit ad graviora et offensiones ob rem publicam coeptas, utque Macro praefectus tribunorumque et centurionum pauci secum introirent, quotiens curiam ingrederetur, petivit. factoque large et sine praescriptione generis aut numeri senatus consulto ne tecta quidem urbis, adeo publicum consilium numquam adiit, deviis plerumque itineribus ambiens patriam et declinans.

16. Interea magna vis accusatorum in eos inrupit, qui pecunias faenore auctitabant adversum legem dictatoris Caesaris, qua de

15. *Ser. Galba*] The stepmother of Galba was Livia Ocellina, and on his adoption by her he took the name of Livius, the cognomen of Ocella, and changed his praenomen to Lucius, and retained this designation to the period of his ascending the throne (Suet. Galba, 4). L. Sulla is probably the same as the one mentioned iii. 31. He was perhaps son of L. Cornelius Sulla, and brother of Faustus Cornelius Sulla, consul suffectus A.D. 33. From their name (Felix), they were no doubt descendants of the Dictator. For M. Vinicius cf. iii. 11. L. Cassius L. f. L. n. Longinus was consul A.D. 30. He was put to death by Caligula while proconsul of Asia, A.D. 41 (Suet. Calig. 57). His brother, Caius Cassius, was consul suffectus in the same year.

praefectus] Sc. 'praetorii.'

generis aut numeri] There was no limitation to any particular class: the guard might consist of any rank, cenrions, tribunes, or common soldiers, and of any number of them.

ambiens] The reading of the MS. is 'ambigens,' which can hardly be correct. There seems to be no instance of the word having any meaning at all like the sense required here: 'skirting,' 'going round.' I have therefore followed the mass of editors in adopting 'ambiens.'

16. *legem dictatoris Caesaris*] It is not known what law is referred to. It can hardly be the 'Iulia lex de faenore' mentioned by Suetonius (C. Julius Caesar, 42), to the effect that properties should be valued at what they were worth before the civil war, and any interest paid deducted from the amount of the debt. It must rather be some enactment limiting the amount of money to be lent by the dealers, and consequently the amount of land they might enter into the possession of (possidendi), if the loan (secured, as it often would be, on land), or interest of the loan, were not paid. But the matter is uncertain.

modo credendi possidendique intra Italiam cavetur, omissam olim, quia privato usui bonum publicum postponitur. sane vetus urbi faenebre malum et seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa, eoque cohibebatur antiquis quoque et minus corruptis moribus. nam primo duodecim tabulis sanctum, ne quis unciario faenore amplius exerceret, cum antea ex libidine locupletium agitaretur; dein rogatione tribunicia ad semuncias redactum, postremo vetita versura. multisque plebis scitis obviam itum fraudibus, quae totiens repressae miras per artes rursum oriebantur. sed tum Gracchus praetor, cui ea quaestio evenerat, multitudine periclitantium subactus rettulit ad senatum, trepidique patres (neque enim quisquam tali culpa vacuus) veniam a principe petivere; et concedente annus in posterum sexque menses dati, quis secundum iussa legis rationes familiares quisque componerent.

17. Hinc inopia rei nummariae, commoto simul omnium aere alieno, et quia tot damnatis bonisque eorum divenditis signatum argentum fisco vel aerario attinebatur. ad hoc senatus praescripserat, duas quisque faenoris partes in agris per Italiam conlocaret.

duodecim tabulis] Livy (vii. 16) speaks of a 'rogatio de unciario faenore' as passed by Duelius and Maenius. But the law of the twelve tables may have fallen into disuse, or even been abrogated, and have been subsequently enforced, or re-made.

unciario faenore] This would naturally mean one per cent per annum; an uncia, or the twelfth part of an as, for the loan of 100 ases per month, or one per cent per annum. If Tacitus had known the meaning of the phrase in the twelve tables to have been other than his readers would naturally suppose it to be from the state of things in their own day, one would think he would have been careful to add some explanation, and so prevent mistake. I cannot help believing that one per cent per annum is meant; and although it seems ridiculous that such a rate should be thought high, yet it was, perhaps, equally ridiculous to forbid usury altogether. Another interpretation is, that the rate intended is one-twelfth per annum of the capital, or $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent, for which I can see no authority. For the phrase 'faenus agitare,' cf. Germ. 26, "Faenus agitare et in usuras extendere, ignotum."

ad semuncias] This was done in the consulship of Manlius Torquatus and Caius Plautius, 347 A.C. (Liv. vii. 27).

vetita versura] Cf. Liv. vii. 42, "invenio apud quosdam L. Genucium tribunum plebis tulisse ad populum ne faenerare liceret." Consequently 'versura' here is not used in its technical sense of 'borrowing money to pay off old debts,' but for borrowing generally, under any circumstances.

17. *commoto simul*] These were two reasons for the scarcity of money: first, all creditors wanted their debts paid off at once; and, secondly, quite independently of this, coin accumulated in the treasuries from the sale of the effects of the many persons condemned at the period, whose property was confiscated. There is, as far as I can see, no connexion whatever between the two causes here given for the scarcity of money; for I do not understand how the treasuries would be filled with specie by the mere fact that numbers became insolvent, which appears to be Draeger's view of the matter. The treasury would have no claim upon the estates of such persons.

ad hoc] 'With a view to this (complication).'

duas quisque faenoris partes] Suetonius (Tiber. 48) says, "cum per senatus consultum sanxisset ut faeneratores duas patrimonii partes in solo collocarent, debitores totidem aeris alieni statim

sed creditores in solidum appellabant, nec decorum appellatis minuere fidem. ita primo concursatio et preces, dein strepere praetoris tribunal, eaque quae remedio quaesita, venditio et emptio, in contrarium mutari, quia faeneratores omnem pecuniam mercandis agris condiderant. copiam vendendi secuta vilitate, quanto quis obaeratior, aegrius distrahebant, multique fortunis provolvebantur; eversio rei familiaris dignitatem ac famam praeceps dabat, donec tulit opem Caesar disposito per mensas milies sestertio factaque mutuandi copia sine usuris per triennium, si debitor populo in duplum praediis cavisset. sic refecta fides, et paulatim privati quoque creditores reperti. neque emptio agrorum exercita ad formam senatus consulti, acribus, ut ferme talia, initiis, incurioso fine.

18. Dein redeunt priores metus postulato maiestatis Considio Proculo, qui nullo pavore diem natalem celebrans raptus in curiam pariterque damnatus interfectusque, et sorori eius Sanciae aqua atque igni interdictum accusante Q. Pomponio. is moribus inquies haec et huiusce modi a se factitari praetendebat, ut parta apud principem gratia periculis Pomponii Secundi fratris mederetur. etiam in Pompeiam Macrinam exilium statuitur, cuius maritum Argolicum, socerum Laconem e primoribus Achaeorum Caesar

solverent." Clearly 'faenus' in this passage of Tacitus means 'money lent at interest,' capital so employed. Cf. xiv. 55, "horti et faenus et villae." The idea seems to be that the debtor should pay two-thirds of his debt at once, and the creditor should then invest all such moneys in land. If this had been carried out, it would have prevented to some extent the necessity of large money payments. If B has to pay A two-thirds of his debt, and A at once invests the proceeds in land belonging to B, no actual coin need pass in the transaction; just as in the case of 'settling day' on the English Stock Exchange, balances are struck, and the differences only are paid. Or even if A invested in land not belonging to B, he would be compelled to pay for it; and so money would circulate, and not be locked up or kept in the hands of the usurers.

in solidum] 'Made a demand (on their debtors) for the whole amount.' Cf. Cic. pro Rabir. Post. § 46, "ut solidum suum cuique solvatur."

condiderant] This cannot of course mean, 'had locked up their money *in* the purchase of lands,' for that was the very aim of the enactment, but 'had locked up their money in their coffers, *for* the purchase of land, in readiness for effecting a purchase.' They got their money in as they best could, and then hoarded it to be ready for an advantageous purchase when the market was glutted, and refused to lend it to any applicant.

aegrius distrahebant] 'Distrahere' means 'to sell in various lots.' Cf. Suetonius, Vesp. 16, "coemendo quaedam tantum ut pluris postea distraheret." The more deeply these unfortunate people were involved in debt, the more reluctantly they were driven to dispose of their lands: the more they owed, the more of course they had to sell, and therefore the more they lost; and the more against the grain the whole transaction became.

in duplum] 'If the debtor had given security to the people to twice the amount by mortgaging land.' The state advanced money without interest, but of course wanted some security for the loan; and a good margin was left, even supposing a further considerable depreciation ensued in the value of land.

18. *Q. Pomponio*] Cf. v. 8.

adflixerat. pater quoque inlustris eques Romanus ac frater praetorius, cum damnatio instaret, se ipsi interfecere. datum erat crimini, quod Theophanen Mytilenaeum proavum eorum Cn. Magnus inter intimos habuisset, quodque defuncto Theophani caelestes honores Graeca adulatio tribuerat.

19. Post quos Sex. Marius Hispaniarum ditissimus defertur incestasse filiam et saxo Tarpeio deicitur. ac ne dubium haberetur magnitudinem pecuniae malo vertisse aurariasque eius, quamquam publicarentur, sibimet Tiberius seposuit. inritatusque suppliciis cunctos, qui carcere attinebantur accusati societatis cum Seiano, necari iubet. iacuit inmensa strages, omnis sexus, omnis aetas, inlustres ignobiles, dispersi aut aggerati. neque propinquis aut amicis adsistere, inlacrimare, ne visere quidem diutius dabatur, sed circumiecti custodes et in maerorem cuiusque intenti corpora putrefacta adsectabantur, dum in Tiberim traherentur, ubi fluitantia aut ripis adpulsa non cremare quisquam, non contingere. interciderat sortis humanae commercium vi metus, quantumque saevitia glisceret, miseratio arcebatur.

20. Sub idem tempus C. Caesar, discedenti Capreas avo comes, Claudiam, M. Silani filiam, coniugio accepit, immanem animum subdola modestia tegens, non damnatione matris, non exitio fratrum rupta voce; qualem diem Tiberius induisset, pari

Theophanen Mytilenaeum] Theophanes was a great friend of Cn. Pompeius (Strabo, xiii. 2, 3), and had the civitas given him (Cic. pro Arch. 10). His son, Pompeius Macer, was made procurator of Asia by Augustus, and entrusted with the arrangement of the various public libraries (Suet. C. Julius Caesar, 56), and was an intimate friend of Tiberius. This man's son was 'inlustris eques Romanus' (ii. 59), and his grandson (frater praetorius) was praetor (i. 72) in the year A.D. 15, and his granddaughter the Pompeia Macrina of the text. But if the 'pater inlustris eques Romanus' be identical with the procurator of Asia, which I do not see to be necessary, but which some commentators assume, then Strabo is incorrect probably, and the Pompeius Macer mentioned by him (p. 618, Cas.) was not son, but grandson of Theophanes. There are coins extant (I find on reference to Eckh. D. N. ii. 504) with Θεοφάνης θεός Μυτ(ιληναίων).

19. *aurariasque*] If the reading be correct, these words follow 'magnitudinem pecuniae,' and the subject of 'publicarentur,' which strictly ought to be 'pecunia aurariaeque,' is 'aurariae.'

interciderat] 'The usual interchange of sympathy, which has its sphere in all that befalls humanity.' Usually the lot of any given man is felt more or less to concern and interest all around him. "Nihil humani a me alienum puto," is the expression of this sympathetic feeling. Under Tiberius, at the time spoken of, every one was wrapped up in a selfish isolation.

20. *Claudiam*] Her name was Iunia Claudia, or Claudilla (Suet. Calig. 12). She died shortly after her marriage, in child-birth (vi. 45, and Suet. Calig. 12). For M. Silanus cf. ii. 59.

exitio fratrum] 'Of her brothers.' Nero was put to death in the island of Pontia, and Drusus in the Palatium (Suetonius, Tib. 54). Consequently 'exilio,' the reading of the MS., can hardly be correct, and 'exitio' is probably right.

qualem diem] 'Whatever character for the day he had put on.' Tacitus speaks of the temper, whether good or bad, of

habitu, haud multum distantibus verbis. unde mox scitum Passieni oratoris dictum percrebruit, neque meliorem umquam servum neque deteriorem dominum fuisse.

Non omiserim praesagium Tiberii de Servio Galba tum consule; quem accitum et diversis sermonibus pertemptatum postremo Graecis verbis in hanc sententiam adlocutus, 'et tu, Galba, quandoque degustabis imperium,' seram ac brevem potentiam significans, scientia Chaldaeorum artis, cuius apiscendae otium aput Rhodum, magistrum Thrasullum habuit, peritiam eius hoc modo expertus.

21. Quotiens super tali negotio consultaret, edita domus parte ac liberti unius conscientia utebatur. is litterarum ignarus, corpore valido, per avia ac derupta (nam saxis domus imminet) praeibat eum, cuius artem experiri Tiberius statuisset, et regredientem, si vanitatis aut fraudum suspitio incesserat, in subiectum mare praecipitabat, ne index arcani exsisteret. igitur Thrasullus isdem rupibus inductus postquam percunctantem commoverat, imperium ipsi et futura sollerter patefaciens, interrogatur an suam quoque genitalem horam comperisset, quem tum annum, qualem diem haberet. ille positus siderum ac spatia dimensus haerere primo, dein pavescere, et quantum introspiceret, magis ac magis trepidus admirationis et metus, postremo exclamat ambiguum sibi ac prope ultimum discrimen instare. tum complexus eum Tiberius praescium periculorum et incolumem fore gratatur, quaeque dixerat oracli vice accipiens inter intimos amicorum tenet.

22. Sed mihi haec ac talia audienti in incerto iudicium est, fatone res mortalium et necessitate immutabili an forte volvantur. quippe sapientissimos veterum quique sectam eorum aemulantur diversos reperias, ac multis insitam opinionem non initia nostri,

the emperor, as a dress or cloak assumed at pleasure.

Passieni oratoris] C. Passienus Crispus was consul twice (Plin. N. H. xvi. 44), the second time A.D. 44. He married Domitia (Quint. vi. 1. 50; Tacit. xiii. 19), Nero's aunt, and then Agrippina, Nero's mother (Suet. Nero, 6).

praesagium Tiberii] Suetonius (Galba, 4), makes Augustus utter the prophecy, καὶ σὺ τέκνον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμῶν παρατρώξῃ, and represents Tiberius, on hearing of this, as replying that it would be long after *his* death, and so he was not concerned about it.

21. *interrogatur an*] Cf. xv. 61. Tacitus uses 'an' after 'quaerere, rogitare, consulere,' and similar verbs.

admirationis] The genitive depends on 'trepidus,' to show the sphere of the perturbation displayed by the astrologer, 'in all the excitement of wonder and alarm.' Cf. i. 20, "vetus operis," and the note there.

praescium . . . gratatur] that is, 'praescium periculorum esse et incolumem fore gratatur.' The construction of 'gratatur' with the infinitive is peculiar, but is easily explained by the fact of the sentence virtually being equivalent to 'inter gratandum exclamat esse praescium,' &c.

non finem, non denique homines dis curae; ideo creberrima et tristia in bonos, laeta apud deteriores esse. contra alii fatum quidem congruere rebus putant, sed non e vagis stellis, verum apud principia et nexus naturalium causarum; ac tamen electionem vitae nobis relinquunt, quam ubi elegeris, certum imminentium ordinem. neque mala vel bona quae vulgus putet: multos, qui conflictari adversis videantur, beatos, at plerosque quamquam magnas per opes miserrimos, si illi gravem fortunam constanter tolerent, hi prospera inconsulte utantur. ceterum plurimis mortalium non eximitur quin primo cuiusque ortu ventura destinentur, sed quaedam secus quam dicta sint cadere, fallaciis ignara dicentium: ita corrumpi fidem artis, cuius clara documenta et antiqua aetas et nostra tulerit. quippe a filio eiusdem Thrasulli praedictum Neronis imperium in tempore memorabitur, ne nunc incepto longius abierim.

23. Isdem consulibus Asinii Galli mors vulgatur, quem egestate cibi peremptum hau dubium, sponte vel necessitate, incertum habebatur. consultusque Caesar an sepeliri sineret, non erubuit permittere ultroque incusare casus, qui reum abstulissent, antequam coram convinceretur: scilicet medio triennio defuerat

22. *et tristia*] I do not see any necessity for altering the reading: 'Troubles also (as well as the joys one would naturally assign them), fall to the lot of the good.'

alii fatum, &c.] These of course are the Stoics, the first-mentioned class being the Epicureans. The exact meaning of the words is a little obscure: the sense appears to be, 'fate is in harmony with our circumstances,' that is, fate influences our lives, and modifies them; not so far as to compel an acceptance of a thorough-going necessitarian theory, but still to a great extent, without however entirely removing the element of free will. Chrysippus distinguished between 'predisposing' and 'determinant' causes (οὐκ αὐτοτελῆ τουτῶν αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ προκαταρτικὴν μόνον ἐποιεῖτο τὴν Εἱμαρμένην, as Plutarch says, De Repug. Stoic. xlvii.), and these latter were in the human will. But this is hardly logical. However, it would seem to be not unlike the statement of Tacitus, that we can choose our life, and then a sequence of cause and effect steps in, and the incidents of life are moulded by a power without the man, which he cannot resist. But of course this is something of a compromise, and will not bear logical attack.

non eximitur] Those are the consistent fatalists, in whose view every incident of a life is irrevocably fixed at its beginning. The subject of 'eximitur' is 'quin . . . destinentur,' 'the notion that . . . cannot be eradicated.'

ignara] For the passive meaning cf. xii. 11, and note on i. 51, under 'gnarum.'

23. *vel necessitate*] See note on iv. 33, under 'Romanasve.'

non erubuit permittere] From the words 'ultroque incusare casus,' it is clear that Tiberius was not anxious to hush up the death of Gallus: he was not disinclined to have it known that Gallus was under his displeasure, and would have been brought into court, unless his premature death had baulked the emperor of his prey. I think the meaning is that Tiberius felt no qualms of conscience at having the subject discussed before him; he felt no shame at having permission to bury Gallus asked of him, and no shame in granting it. Most rulers would have blushed at the bare mention of the subject, have been anxious to hide it away, and have the man buried privately.

tempus subeundi iudicium consulari seni, tot consularium parenti. Drusus deinde exstinguitur, cum se miserandis alimentis, mandendo e cubili tomento, nonum ad diem detinuisset. tradidere quidam praescriptum fuisse Macroni, si arma ab Seiano temptarentur, exstractum custodiae iuvenem (nam in Palatio attinebatur) ducem populo imponere. mox, quia rumor incedebat fore ut nuru ac nepoti conciliaretur Caesar, saevitiam quam paenitentiam maluit.

24. Quin et invectus in defunctum probra corporis, exitiabilem in suos, infensum rei publicae animum obiecit recitarique factorum dictorumque eius descripta per dies iussit, quo non aliut atrocius visum: adstitisse tot per annos qui vultum, gemitus, occultum etiam murmur exciperent, et potuisse avum audire, legere, in publicum promere vix fides, nisi quod Attii centurionis et Didymi liberti epistulae servorum nomina praeferebant, ut quis egredientem cubiculo Drusum pulsaverat, exterruerat. etiam sua verba centurio saevitiae plena, tamquam egregium, vocesque deficientis adiecerat, quis primo alienationem mentis simulans quasi per dementiam funesta Tiberio, mox, ubi exspes vitae fuit, meditatas compositasque diras inprecabatur, ut quem ad modum nurum filiumque fratris et nepotes domumque omnem caedibus complevisset, ita poenas nomini generique maiorum et posteris exsolveret. obturbabant quidem patres specie detestandi: sed penetrabat pavor et admiratio, callidum olim et tegendis sceleribus obscurum huc confidentiae venisse, ut tamquam dimotis parietibus ostenderet nepotem sub verbere centurionis, inter servorum ictus, extrema vitae alimenta frustra orantem.

25. Nondum is dolor exoleverat, cum de Agrippina auditum, quam interfecto Seiano spe sustentatam provixisse reor, et postquam nihil de saevitia remittebatur, voluntate exstinctam, nisi si

tot consularium parenti] Gallus was consul himself 8 A.C., and father of C. Asinius Pollio, consul in A.D. 23 (iv. i.), of M. Asinius Agrippa, consul in A.D. 25 (iv. 34), and of Ser. Asinius Celer, consul suffectus in some year unknown (Plin. N. H. ix. 17).

nuru ac nepoti] 'Nuru' is the dative. Cf. iii. 30. Agrippina was the wife of Germanicus, the adopted son of Tiberius, and Drusus, her son, a grandson of Tiberius. The emperor chose to be guilty of cruelty rather than by showing leniency run the chance of being sorry for it afterwards.

24. *complevisset*] With the first clause, 'nurum filiumque fratris et nepotes,' some word like 'necavisset' is to be supplied. Drusus was not literally correct in speaking of the death of Agrippina (nurus), for it had not yet taken place (see the next chapter).

extrema vitae alimenta] 'The barest support of life.' 'Extrema alimenta' means that sustenance which came *last* in the various kinds of food capable of supporting life. It stood the very lowest in the scale, and any thing short of it would not prolong existence.

25. *nisi si*] Cf. xv. 53, "quamvis absurdum videretur Pisonem notum amore uxoris alii matrimonio se obstrinxisse, nisi si cupido dominandi cunctis adfectibus flagrantior est." German. 2, "quis

negatis alimentis adsimulatus est finis, qui videretur sponte sumptus. enimvero Tiberius foedissimis criminationibus exarsit, impudicitiam arguens et Asinium Gallum adulterum, eiusque morte ad taedium vitae conpulsam. sed Agrippina aequi inpatiens, dominandi avida, virilibus curis feminarum vitia exuerat. eodem die defunctam, quo biennio ante Seianus poenas luisset, memoriaeque id prodendum addidit Caesar, iactavitque quod non laqueo strangulata neque in Gemonias proiecta foret. actae ob id grates decretumque ut quintum decumum kal. Novembris, utriusque necis die, per omnis annos donum Iovi sacraretur.

26. Haud multo post Cocceius Nerva, continuus principis, omnis divini humanique iuris sciens, integro statu, corpore inlaeso, moriendi consilium cepit. quod ut Tiberio cognitum, adsidere, causas requirere, addere preces, fateri postremo grave conscientiae, grave famae suae, si proximus amicorum nullis moriendi rationibus vitam fugeret. aversatus sermonem Nerva abstinentiam cibi coniunxit. ferebant gnari cogitationum eius, quanto propius mala

Germaniam peteret nisi si patria sit?" Agric. 32, "quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus ut secundae res tenent, ita adversae dissolvent nisi si Gallos . . . licet dominationi alienae sanguinem conmodent, diutius tamen hostes quam servos fide et adfectu teneri putatis." In all these instances 'nisi si' seems used to express a mere statement of the possibility of the hypothesis put forward being the true one. It certainly appears to be equivalent to 'unless possibly,' 'unless by any chance it should be true that.' In the passage from the Germ. 2, "nisi si patria sit," the sense is 'unless possibly the fact of its being a man's fatherland might draw him thither;' while 'nisi patria sit' would imply that if it were a man's fatherland, *that* would certainly be a sufficient motive, whereas the other form implies only that it *might be* a sufficient motive, or on the other hand, it might not. Walther quotes a passage from Thucydides, i. 17, ἐπράχθη δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἔργον ἀξιόλογον εἰ μὴ εἴ τι πρὸς περιοίκους, which is of an exactly similar kind.

exuerat] Cf. Agric. 9, "tristitiam et adrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat." Clearly from this passage the use of 'exuere' does not imply that Agricola ever possessed the vices mentioned, only that he had kept them off, waived them away, put them aside, instead of putting them on. So here Tacitus does not mean that Agrippina had cured herself of the vices generally existing in women, but had put them aside, kept them aloof, and never given way to them. As she was a woman, they might, in the course of things, have been looked for; but she escaped them.

quintum decumum] An elliptical phrase for the usual 'ante diem,' &c; itself, it would seem, an elliptical or colloquial expression for 'die quinto decumo ante kalendas.' One would fancy that the preposition having slipped out of its place in common usage, the phrase was altered instinctively into the form usually found, 'ante diem quintum decenium kalendas,' the word 'diem' being attracted into the accusative from its proximity to the preposition although 'ante' really governs 'kalendas.' For the same construction, cf. vi. 50, xv. 41. Another form still is found in xii. 69, "tertium ante Idus Octobris."

26. *continuus principis*] The adjective is used substantively, 'an uninterrupted friend,' and so is followed by a genitive.

coniunxit] Cf. iv. 57, "sex postea annos pari secreto coniunxit." Comparing this passage, the sense appears to be, 'he persisted in abstinence from food.' Another interpretation might perhaps be, 'turning away from the conversation (of Tiberius), he followed up this (mark of dislike) by abstaining from

rei publicae viseret, ira et metu, dum integer, dum intemptatus, honestum finem voluisse.

Ceterum Agrippinae pernicies, quod vix credibile, Plancinam traxit. nupta olim Cn. Pisoni et palam laeta morte Germanici, cum Piso caderet, precibus Augustae nec minus inimicitiis Agrippinae defensa erat. ut odium et gratia desiere, ius valuit; petitaque criminibus haud ignotis, sua manu sera magis quam inmerita supplicia persolvit.

27. Tot luctibus funesta civitate pars maeroris fuit, quod Iulia Drusi filia, quondam Neronis uxor, denupsit in domum Rubellii Blandi, cuius avum Tiburtem equitem Romanum plerique meminerant. extremo anni mors Aelii Lamiae funere censorio celebrata, qui administrandae Suriae imagine tandem exsolutus urbi praefuerat. genus illi decorum, vivida senectus; et non permissa provincia dignationem addiderat. exin Flacco Pomponio Syriae pro praetore defuncto recitantur Caesaris litterae, quis incusabat egregium quemque et regendis exercitibus idoneum abnuere id munus, seque ea necessitudine ad preces cogi, per quas consularium aliqui capessere provincias adigerentur, oblitus Arruntium, ne in Hispaniam pergeret, decumum iam annum attineri. obiit eodem anno et M'. Lepidus, de cuius moderatione atque sapientia in prioribus libris satis conlocavi. neque nobilitas diutius demonstranda est: quippe Aemilium genus fecundum bonorum civium, et qui eadem familia corruptis moribus, inlustri tamen fortuna egere.

28. Paulo Fabio L. Vitellio consulibus post longum saeculorum

food.' But the first way is the better, I think, altogether.

27. *Iulia*] The daughter of Drusus, the son of Tiberius, by Livilla, and formerly the wife of Nero Germanicus, the eldest son of Germanicus (iii. 29). Juvenal speaks of Rubellius Blandus (viii. 39), "tecum est mihi sermo, Rubelli Blande: tumes altos Drusorum stemmate, tanquam feceris ipse aliquid propter quod nobilis esses, ut te conciperet quae sanguine fulget Iuli, non quae ventoso conducta sub aggere texit."

denupsit] The word does not necessarily imply any idea of marriage into a lower social grade: it is rather 'married away from her position;' in this case Julia did marry beneath her, but the verb does not necessarily say as much. Cf. Suet. Nero, 29, "cui etiam sicut ipsi Sporus ita ipse denupsit." It is a compound like 'decedere,' 'degredi,' &c. For Rubellius Blandus cf. iii. 29.

funere censorio] Cf. iv. 15.

urbi praefuerat] He had been appointed praefectus urbis in succession to L. Piso (vi. 10). He seems to have been appointed after Sentius (ii. 74) to the command of Syria until A.D. 32. He never visited his province. Cf. 1. 80. Below, 'Hispania' is 'Hispania citerior,' for 'Hispania ulterior' was a senatorial province.

satis conlocavi] There is no other instance, I believe, of this absolute use of 'conlocare.' Cicero uses 'ponere' in the same way, Ad Fam. i. 9. 7, "quamobrem ut paulo ante posui, si essent omnia mihi solutissima." One might say in English, 'about whose moderation and wisdom I have put enough.'

28. *Paulo Fabio*] Paulus Fabius Per-

ambitum avis phoenix in Aegyptum venit praebuitque materiem doctissimis indigenarum et Graecorum multa super eo miraculo disserendi. de quibus congruunt et plura ambigua, sed cognitu non absurda promere libet. sacrum Soli id animal et ore ac distinctu pinnarum a ceteris avibus diversum consentiunt qui formam eius effinxere: de numero annorum varia traduntur. maxime vulgatum quingentorum spatium: sunt qui adseverent mille quadringentos sexaginta unum interici, prioresque alites Sesoside primum, post Amaside dominantibus, dein Ptolemaeo, qui ex Macedonibus tertius regnavit, in civitatem cui Heliopolis nomen advolavisse, multo ceterarum volucrum comitatu novam faciem mirantium. sed antiquitas quidem obscura: inter Ptolemaeum ac Tiberium minus ducenti quinquaginta anni fuerunt. unde non nulli falsum hunc phoenicem neque Arabum e terris credidere, nihilque usurpavisse ex iis, quae vetus memoria firmavit. confecto quippe annorum numero, ubi mors propinquet, suis in terris struere nidum eique vim genitalem adfundere, ex qua fetum oriri; et primam adulto curam sepeliendi patris, neque id temere, sed sublato murrae pondere temptatoque per longum iter, ubi par oneri, par meatui sit, subire patrium corpus inque Solis aram

sicus, son of Paulus Fabius Maximus, consul 11 A.C.

mille quadringentos sexaginta unum] The old Egyptian year consisted of 365 days, consequently every year the reckoning got six hours too fast, as the year really consists of 365¼ days. In 1460 years there are 8760 hours gained, or 365 days, or one year; consequently in 1461 calendar years there would really be only 1460 exact years. This period was called the Sothiac year, and the reappearance of the Phoenix is no doubt connected with this; and the derivation of the name of the bird from 'fenech,' an Egyptian word signifying 'a secular period,' would be probable. Perhaps the shorter period of 500 years is only a rough statement for one-third of the Sothiac period of 1461 years. Pliny himself (N. H. x. 2) observes, that according to Manilius there was some connexion between the life of the bird and the cycle of the great year. He puts the appearance of the bird two years later, A.D. 36, in the consulship of Q. Plautius and Sextus Papinius, and says it was brought to Rome A.D. 47, under Claudius, and exhibited; but it was generally considered an impostor. He gives a very circumstantial account of the Phoenix. It was about the size of an eagle, purple all over its body, except the throat, which was golden, and had rose-coloured feathers in an azure-coloured tail, with a crest on its head.

Sesoside primum] Assuming this to be the correct reading, it is not at all clear who is meant. There is a Sethi, or Sethos, king of Egypt, whose supposed date is 1320 A.C., of the nineteenth dynasty. There is also a Sesostris spoken of by Herodotus, and supposed to be identical with Rameses III. of the twentieth dynasty, about 1300 A.C. Lastly, there is a Sesertesen III., of the twelfth dynasty, 1986 A.C. This last would suit very well, as the date of Amasis is from 570 to 526 A.C., and there would thus be an interval of about 1461 years. From Amasis to Tiberius would be something over 500 years, so that this interval would only suit the lesser interval of 500 years. Ptolemy (Euergetes) died 222 A.C., and from this date to the accession of Tiberius, A.D. 14, are between 230 and 240 years. I fear, therefore, Ptolemy's bird must have been an impostor, and that the dates cannot in any way be made to tally.

Solis aram] The altar of the sun at Heliopolis.

perferre atque adolere. haec incerta et fabulosis aucta: ceterum aspici aliquando in Aegypto eam volucrem non ambigitur.

29. At Romae caede continua Pomponius Labeo, quem praefuisse Moesiae rettuli, per abruptas venas sanguinem effudit; aemulataque est coniunx Paxaea. nam promptas eius modi mortes metus carnificis faciebat, et quia damnati publicatis bonis sepultura prohibebantur, eorum qui de se statuebant humabantur corpora, manebant testamenta, pretium festinandi. sed Caesar missis ad senatum litteris disseruit morem fuisse maioribus, quotiens dirimerent amicitias, interdicere domo eumque finem gratiae ponere: id se repetivisse in Labeone, atque illum, quia male administratae provinciae aliorumque criminum urgebatur, culpam invidia velavisse, frustra conterrita uxore, quam etsi nocentem periculi tamen expertem fuisse. Mamercus dein Scaurus rursum postulatur, insignis nobilitate et orandis causis, vita probrosus. nihil hunc amicitia Seiani, sed labefecit haud minus validum ad exitia Macronis odium, qui easdem artes occultius exercebat; detuleratque argumentum tragoediae a Scauro scriptae, additis versibus qui in Tiberium flecterentur: verum ab Servilio et Cornelio accusatoribus adulterium Liviae, magorum sacra obiectabantur. Scaurus, ut dignum veteribus Aemiliis, damnationem anteit, hortante Sextia uxore, quae incitamentum mortis et particeps fuit.

30. Ac tamen accusatores, si facultas incideret, poenis afficiebantur, ut Servilius Corneliusque perdito Scauro famosi, quia pecuniam a Vario Ligure omittendae delationis ceperant, in insulas interdicto igni atque aqua demoti sunt. et Abudius Ruso functus aedilitate dum Lentulo Gaetulico, sub quo legioni praefuerat, periculum facessit, quod is Seiani filium generum destinasset, ultro damnatur atque urbe exigitur. Gaetulicus ea tempestate

29. *rettuli*] Cf. iv. 47.

urgebatur] The construction here with the genitive seems to arise from the meaning of 'urgeri,' being equivalent to that of 'accusari,' 'argui,' and similar verbs.

culpam invidia velavisse] 'Had cloaked over his guilt by involving Tiberius in all the odium (arising from the manner of his death).' Labeo was guilty of maladministration, and by committing suicide had raised a feeling of dislike against the emperor, and so drawn off attention from his own misdeeds. Cf. iii. 16, "suam invidiam tali morte quaesitam."

argumentum] Dion Cassius (lviii. 24) says that Scaurus got by his writing into a worse plight than the hero of his own tragedy (παθήματι δεινοτέρῳ οὗ συνέγραψε περιέπεσεν). The name of the play was Atreus, and the allusion seems to have been to the line in the Phoenissae of Euripides, τὰς τῶν κρατούντων ἀμαθίας φέρειν χρεών. Below, Livia is the wife of Drusus, the son of Tiberius.

30. *ultro*] Cf. vi. 31, "ultroque potentiam habet." Ruso had the tables turned upon him: so far from success-

superioris Germaniae legiones curabat mirumque amorem adsecutus erat, effusae clementiae, modicus severitate et proximo quoque exercitui per L. Apronium socerum non ingratus. unde fama constans ausum mittere ad Caesarem litteras, adfinitatem sibi cum Seiano hau sponte sed consilio Tiberii coeptam; perinde se quam Tiberium falli potuisse, neque errorem eundem illi sine fraude, aliis exitio habendum. sibi fidem integram et, si nullis insidiis peteretur, mansuram; successorem non aliter quam indicium mortis accepturum. firmarent velut foedus, quo princeps ceterarum rerum poteretur, ipse provinciam retineret. haec, mira quamquam, fidem ex eo trahebant, quod unus omnium Seiani adfinium incolumis multaque gratia mansit, reputante Tiberio publicum sibi odium, extremam aetatem magisque fama quam vi stare res suas.

31. C. Cestio M. Servilio consulibus nobiles Parthi in urbem venere, ignaro rege Artabano. is metu Germanici fidus Romanis, aequabilis in suos, mox superbiam in nos, saevitiam in populares sumpsit, fretus bellis, quae secunda adversum circumiectas nationes exercuerat, et senectutem Tiberii ut inermem despiciens avidusque Armeniae, cui defuncto rege Artaxia Arsacen liberorum suorum veterrimum inposuit, addita contumelia et missis qui gazam a Vonone relictam in Syria Ciliciaque reposcerent; simul veteres Persarum ac Macedonum terminos, seque invasurum possessa primum Cyro et post Alexandro per vaniloquentiam ac minas iaciebat. sed Parthis mittendi secretos nuntios validissimus auctor fuit Sinnaces, insigni familia ac perinde opibus, et proximus huic Abdus ademptae virilitatis. non despectum id apud barbaros ultroque potentiam habet. ii adscitis et aliis primoribus, quia neminem gentis Arsacidarum summae rei inponere poterant, interfectis ab Artabano plerisque aut nondum adultis, Phraaten regis Phraatis filium Roma poscebant: nomine tantum et auctore opus, ut sponte Caesaris, ut genus Arsacis ripam apud Euphratis cerneretur.

fully accusing Gaetulicus, he fell himself a victim. This force of 'ultro' has been mentioned before.

proximo quoque exercitui] Sc. Germaniae Inferioris. Cf. iv. 73.

mira quamquam] Cf. v. 9. Lentulus outlived Tiberius, and was put to death by Caligula (Dio. lix. 22). He was legatus pro praetore of Lower Germany for ten years.

31. *M. Servilio*] M. Servilius Nonianus was an orator and historian (xiv. 19; De Oratoribus, 23; Quint. x. 1, 102). He wrote a history of the early empire.

terminos] This is governed by the sense of 'iaciebat,' which is equivalent to 'inter iactandum, non sine iactatione sibi vindicabat.'

ut sponte Caesaris] There does not seem any great difficulty in the reading of the MS. 'Ut sponte' refers to 'auctore,' 'ut . . cerneretur' to 'nomine.'

32. Cupitum id Tiberio: ornat Phraaten accingitque paternum ad fastigium, destinata retinens, consiliis et astu res externas moliri, arma procul habere. interea cognitis insidiis Artabanus tardari metu, modo cupidine vindictae inardescere. et barbaris cunctatio servilis, statim exequi regium videtur: valuit tamen utilitas, ut Abdum specie amicitiae vocatum ad epulas lento veneno inligaret, Sinnacen dissimulatione ac donis, simul per negotia moraretur. et Phraates aput Syriam dum omisso cultu Romano, cui per tot annos insueverat, instituta Parthorum insumit, patriis moribus impar morbo absumptus est. sed non Tiberius omisit incepta: Tiridatem sanguinis eiusdem aemulum Artabano, reciperandaeque Armeniae Hiberum Mithridaten deligit conciliatque fratri Pharasmani, qui gentile imperium obtinebat; et cunctis quae apud orientem parabantur L. Vitellium praefecit. eo de homine hau sum ignarus sinistram in urbe famam, pleraque foeda memorari, ceterum regendis provinciis prisca virtute egit. unde regressus et formidine C. Caesaris, familiaritate Claudii turpe in servitium mutatus exemplar aput posteros adulatorii dedecoris habetur, cesseruntque prima postremis, et bona iuventae senectus flagitiosa obliteravit.

33. At ex regulis prior Mithridates Pharasmanem perpulit dolo et vi conatus suos iuvare, repertique corruptores ministros Arsacis multo auro ad scelus cogunt; simul Hiberi magnis copiis Armeniam inrumpunt et urbe Artaxata potiuntur. quae postquam Artabano cognita, filium Oroden ultorem parat; dat Parthorum copias, mittit qui auxilia mercede facerent: contra Pharasmanes adiungere Albanos, accire Sarmatas, quorum sceptuchi utrimque donis acceptis more gentico diversa induere. sed Hiberi locorum potentes Caspia via Sarmatam in Armenios raptim effundunt. at

Two things only were necessary, a supporter, and the prestige of a name, to make the plan successful. If Caesar approved the scheme, the first want would be secured: if a scion of the 'Arsacidae' were forthcoming, the second condition would be satisfied. With 'sponte Caesaris' can easily be understood 'res fieret,' or 'aliquis constitueretur,' or similar words, supplied virtually from 'cerneretur.'

32. *destinata*] For an instance of the policy here ascribed to Tiberius, cf. i. 64, 66.

insumit] 'Takes upon him,' as a sort of burdensome appendage. Most of the editors alter it to 'sumit,' but it hardly seems necessary. The Tiridates below was a grandson of Phraates IV. (vi. 37).

regendis provinciis] This is the dative, put rather loosely, to express the indirect object: 'but for the government of his provinces, he conducted himself with old-fashioned virtue.' This L. Vitellius was the consul of the previous year (vi. 34).

33. *Artaxata*] Cf. ii. 59.

sceptuchi] A name given by Xenophon (Cyrop. vii. 3. 16) to the grandees at the Persian court; here the chieftains by whom the Sarmatae were governed under their kings (Strabo, xi. 2. 13).

Caspia via] This is the pass described in H. i. 6, as Claustra Caspia-

qui Parthis adventabant, facile arcebantur, cum alios incessus hostis clausisset, unum reliquum mare inter et extremos Albanorum montes aestas impediret, quia flatibus etesiarum implentur vada: hibernus auster revolvit fluctus pulsoque introrsus freto brevia litorum nudantur.

34. Interim Oroden sociorum inopem auctus auxilio Pharasmanes vocare ad pugnam et detrectantem incessere, adequitare castris, infensare pabula; ac saepe *in* modum obsidii stationibus cingebat, donec Parthi contumeliarum insolentes circumsisterent regem, poscerent proelium. atque illis sola in equite vis: Pharasmanes et pedite valebat. nam Hiberi Albanique saltuosos locos incolentes duritiae patientiaeque magis insuevere; feruntque se Thessalis ortos, qua tempestate Iaso post avectam Medeam genitosque ex ea liberos inanem mox regiam Aeetae vacuosque Colchos repetivit. multaque de nomine eius et oraclum Phrixi celebrant; nec quisquam ariete sacrificaverit, credito vexisse Phrixum, sive id animal seu navis insigne fuit. ceterum directa utrimque acie Parthus imperium orientis, claritudinem Arsacidarum contraque ignobilem Hiberum, mercennario milite disserebat; Pharasmanes integros semet a Parthico dominatu, quanto maiora peterent, plus decoris victores aut, si terga darent, flagitii atque periculi laturos; simul horridam suorum aciem, picta auro Medorum agmina, hinc viros, inde praedam ostendere.

35. Enimvero apud Sarmatas non una vox ducis: se quisque stimulant ne pugnam per sagittas sinerent: impetu et comminus

rum, and elsewhere as the Caspian Gates (Suet. Nero, 19). There are two passes across the Caucasian mountains, one by the centre of the chain, now the pass of Dariel; the other between the eastern extremity of the chain and the Caspian Sea, near Derbend. Here Tacitus is speaking of the first-mentioned pass, and this is more properly called Portae Caucasiae. Cf. Plin. N. H. vi. 11, "portae Caucasiae, magno errore multis Caspiae dictae, ingens naturae opus montibus interruptis repente, ubi fores obditae ferratis trabibus, subter medias amne diri odoris fluente, citraque in rupe castello, quod vocatur Cumania, communito ad arcendas transitu gentes innumeras . . . ex adverso maxime Harmastis, oppidi Hiberum."

34. *infensare*] This word occurs xiii. 37, 41, and I believe in no other writer. Below, 'inanem' is 'left without a master.'

multaque de nomine eius] Cf. i. 15, "ludos qui de nomine Augusti fastis additi Augustales vocarentur." The sense here seems to be, therefore, 'they quote many places as named after him.' This is what Strabo says (xi. 4. 8): 'that Jason's visit to Hiberia, Albania, and parts of Armenia, is attested by remains bearing his name' (ὡς μαρτυρεῖ τά τε Ἰασόνια καὶ ἄλλα ὑπομνήματα πλείω).

Medorum agmina] That is, of the Parthians, whom he speaks of contemptuously by the name of Medes, because they resembled them in their dress. The commentators quote Justinus, xli. 2, "Vestis olim (Parthis) sui moris: postea quam accessere opes, ut Medis, perlucida ac fluida."

35. *sinerent*] The verb is similarly constructed elsewhere: cf. ii. 55, "cum desidiam in castris, licentiam in urbibus sineret;" xiii. 25, "qui rixarum initia modica et quasi privata sinerent;" H. v. 5, "nulla

praeveniendum. variae hinc bellantium species, cum Parthus sequi vel fugere pari arte suetus distraheret turmas, spatium ictibus quaereret, Sarmatae omisso arcu, quo brevius valent, contis gladiisque ruerent; modo equestris proelii more frontis et tergi vices, aliquando ut conserta acies corporibus et pulsu armorum pellerent pellerentur. iamque et Albani Hiberique prensare, detrudere, ancipitem pugnam hostibus facere, quos super eques et propioribus vulneribus pedites adflictabant. inter quae Pharasmanes Orodesque, dum strenuis adsunt aut dubitantibus subveniunt, conspicui eoque gnari, clamore telis equis concurrunt, instantius Pharasmanes; nam vulnus per galeam adegit. nec iterare valuit, praelatus equo et fortissimis satellitum protegentibus saucium: fama tamen occisi falso credita exterruit Parthos victoriamque concessere.

36. Mox Artabanus tota mole regni ultum iit. peritia locorum ab Hiberis melius pugnatum; nec ideo abscedebat, ni contractis legionibus Vitellius et subdito rumore, tamquam Mesopotamiam invasurus, metum Romani belli fecisset. tum omissa Armenia versaeque Artabani res, inliciente Vitellio desererent regem saevum in pace et adversis proeliorum exitiosum. igitur Sinnaces, quem antea infensum memoravi, patrem Abdagaesen aliosque occultos consilii et tunc continuis cladibus promptiores ad defectionem trahit, adfluentibus paulatim qui metu magis quam benivolentia subiecti repertis auctoribus sustulerant animum. nec iam aliud Artabano reliquum quam si qui externorum corpori custodes aderant, suis quisque sedibus extorres, quis neque boni intellectus neque mali cura, sed mercede aluntur ministri sceleribus. his adsumptis in longinqua et contermina Scythiae fugam maturavit, spe auxilii, quia Hyrcanis Carmaniisque per adfinitatem innexus

simulacra urbibus suis nedum templis sinunt;" Virg. Georg. iv. 47, "neu propius tectis sine taxum."

quo brevius valent] The Sarmatae cannot shoot so far as the Parthians: their bows will not carry so far.

frontis et tergi vices] For the omission of 'essent,' see note on i. 2. The Sarmatae sometimes manœuvred like cavalry, facing, then retreating, and so on, whereas an infantry line is comparatively stationary.

quos super] 'Whom from above, the horsemen.' This seems to be the sense of 'super,' so that 'super eques' and 'propioribus vulneribus pedites' balance. This use of 'super' is poetical. Cf. Virg. ix. 168, "haec super e vallo prospectant Troes." By 'quos,' Tacitus means the Parthians, not the Albani and Hiberi.

36. *tamquam Mesopotamiam invasurus*] For the future participle with 'tamquam,' cf. xii. 49, "tamquam recuperaturus Armeniam." For a perfect participle, cf. H. i. 48, "tamquam scyphum aureum furatus." In the same way, 'quasi' (ii. 63), 'velut' (H. iv. 71), 'ut' (i. 47), are used.

Hyrcanis] Hyrcania was at the south-east corner of the Caspian Sea, bounded on the east by the Oxus, west by the Mons Coronus, and south by the Montes Sariphi. Carmania was on the northern shores of the Persian Gulf, bounded by

erat: atque interim posse Parthos absentium aequos, praesentibus mobiles, ad paenitentiam mutari.

37. At Vitellius profugo Artabano et flexis ad novum regem popularium animis, hortatus Tiridaten parata capessere, robur legionum sociorumque ripam ad Euphratis ducit. sacrificantibus, cum hic more Romano suovetaurilia daret, ille equum placando amni adornasset, nuntiavere accolae Euphraten nulla imbrium vi sponte et inmensum attolli, simul albentibus spumis in modum diadematis sinuare orbes, auspicium prosperi transgressus. quidam callidius interpretabantur, initia conatus secunda neque diuturna, quia eorum quae terra caelove portenderentur certior fides, fluminum instabilis natura simul ostenderet omina raperetque. sed ponte navibus effecto tramissoque exercitu primus Ornospades multis equitum milibus in castra venit, exul quondam et Tiberio, cum Delmaticum bellum conficeret, haud inglorius auxiliator eoque civitate Romana donatus, mox repetita amicitia regis multo apud eum honore, praefectus campis qui Euphrate et Tigre inclutis amnibus circumflui Mesopotamiae nomen acceperunt. neque multo post Sinnaces auget copias, et columen partium Abdagaeses gazam et paratus regios adicit. Vitellius ostentasse Romana arma satis ratus monet Tiridaten primoresque, hunc, Phraatis avi et altoris Caesaris quae utrubique pulchra meminerit, illos, obsequium in regem, reverentiam in nos, decus quisque suum et fidem retinerent. exim cum legionibus in Syriam remeavit.

38. Quae duabus aestatibus gesta coniunxi, quo requiesceret animus a domesticis malis; non enim Tiberium, quamquam triennio post caedem Seiani, quae ceteros mollire solent, tempus

Persis on the west, Gedrosia and Drangiana on the east, and by Ariana and Parthia on the north. Below, 'absentium aequos' is 'judging the absent with kindly feeling.' There is no other instance, Draeger says, of the same construction of 'aequus' in this meaning.

37. *daret*] Offered: an unusual word in connexion with sacrifices. The worship of rivers was common amongst the Persians, and, no doubt, amongst others (Herod. i. 138). The Roman general was actually engaged in offering (imperf.) the sacrifice: the Parthian had previously got the horse ready for sacrificing (the pluperf.).

regis] That is, the Parthian king. Ornospades had been an exile, but was afterwards reconciled to his sovereign, and appointed to the government of Mesopotamia.

quae utrubique] Vitellius bade Tiridates remember all the glorious incidents connected with his grandfather Phraates and the Roman Emperor Augustus. Whatever there was deserving imitation in them he was to recall, and not to dim their excellencies by any unworthy conduct on his own part.

38. *triennio*] Sejanus was put to death on the 15th day before the kalends of November (vi. 25), or 18th of October, A.D. 31. The 'triennium' would include any time in A.D. 35, up to 18th

preces satias mitigabant, quin incerta vel abolita pro gravissimis et recentibus puniret. eo metu Fulcinius Trio, ingruentis accusatores hau perpessus, supremis tabulis multa et atrocia in Macronem ac praecipuos libertorum Caesaris conposuit, ipsi fluxam senio mentem et continuo abscessu velut exilium obiectando. quae ab heredibus occultata recitari Tiberius iussit, patientiam libertatis alienae ostentans et contemptor suae infamiae, an scelerum Seiani diu nescius mox quoquo modo dicta vulgari malebat veritatisque, cui adulatio officit, per probra saltem gnarus fieri. isdem diebus Granius Marcianus senator, a C. Graccho maiestatis postulatus, vim vitae suae attulit, Tariusque Gratianus praetura functus lege eadem extremum ad supplicium damnatus.

39. Nec dispares Trebellieni Rufi et Sextii Paconiani exitus: nam Trebellienus sua manu cecidit, Paconianus in carcere ob carmina illic in principem factitata strangulatus est. haec Tiberius non mari, ut olim, divisus neque per longinquos nuntios accipiebat, sed urbem iuxta, eodem ut die vel noctis interiectu litteris consulum rescriberet, quasi aspiciens undantem per domos sanguinem aut manus carnificum. fine anni Poppaeus Sabinus concessit vita, modicus originis, principum amicitia consulatum ac triumphale decus adeptus maximisque provinciis per quattuor et viginti annos inpositus, nullam ob eximiam artem, sed quod par negotiis neque supra erat.

40. Quintus Plautius Sex. Papinius consules sequuntur. eo anno * * * neque quod L. Aruseius morte adfecti forent, adsuetudine malorum ut atrox advertebatur, sed exterruit quod Vibulenus Agrippa eques Romanus, cum perorassent accusatores, in ipsa curia depromptum sinu venenum hausit, prolapsusque ac moribundus festinatis lictorum manibus in carcerem raptus est, faucesque iam exanimis laqueo vexatae. ne Tigranes quidem,

of October, and the four years would only be complete in October. See Nipperdey's note.

continuo abscessu] This is really an instrumental ablative: 'a state which, by reason of his uninterrupted absence, was equivalent to exile.' Below, Tarius Gratianus was son of L. Tarius Rufus, who was consul suffectus 16 A.C., a position to which he attained in spite of his low birth, by his military ability (Plin. N. H. xviii. 6).

39. *mari*] The strait between Capreae and the mainland.

40. *Sex. Papinius*] There is an inscription to "Sexto Papinio Q. f. Allieno, tr. mil. q(uaestori) leg. (legionis) Ti. Caesaris Aug., tr. pl. pr(aetori) leg. Ti. Caesaris Aug., pro pr(aetore) cos. xv. vir sacr. fac."

vexatae] Perhaps the reason of the indecent haste was to secure his property, by confiscation, to the exchequer. In the case of those who despatched themselves, their effects were allowed to remain undisturbed. Possibly also it was done to secure to the informers their blood-money.

Tigranes] This Tigranes seems to

Armenia quondam potitus ac tunc reus, nomine regio supplicia civium effugit. at C. Galba consularis et duo Blaesi voluntario exitu cecidere, Galba tristibus Caesaris litteris provinciam sortiri prohibitus; Blaesis sacerdotia, integra eorum domo destinata, convulsa distulerat, tunc ut vacua contulit in alios, quod signum mortis intellexere et exsecuti sunt. et Aemilia Lepida, quam iuveni Druso nuptam rettuli, crebris criminibus maritum insectata, quamquam intestabilis, tamen impunita agebat, dum superfuit pater Lepidus: post a delatoribus corripitur ob servum adulterum, nec dubitabatur de flagitio: ergo omissa defensione finem vitae sibi posuit.

41. Per idem tempus Clitarum natio Cappadoci Archelao subiecta, quia nostrum in modum deferre census, pati tributa adigebatur, in iuga Tauri montis abscessit locorumque ingenio sese contra imbelles regis copias tutabatur, donec M. Trebellius legatus, a Vitellio praeside Syriae cum quattuor milibus legionariorum et delectis auxiliis missus, duos collis, quos barbari insederant (minori Cadra, alteri Davara nomen est), operibus circumdedit et erumpere ausos ferro, ceteros siti ad deditionem coegit.

At Tiridates volentibus Parthis Nicephorium et Anthemusiada ceterasque urbes, quae Macedonibus sitae Graeca vocabula usurpant, Halumque et Artemitam Parthica oppida recepit, certantibus gaudio qui Artabanum Scythas inter eductum ob saevitiam exsecrati come Tiridatis ingenium Romanas per artes sperabant.

have been the son of Alexander (son of Herod the Great), by the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (ii. 42). See Joseph. Antiq. xviii. 5. 4. The C. Galba, mentioned below, was brother of the Emperor Galba (Suet. Galb. 3.)

convulsa distulerat] Tiberius had promised the sacred offices to the Blaesi, while their house was prosperous, and Sejanus, with whom they were connected, in favour: on the ruin of their house ('domo convulsa'), these offices were withheld, and then bestowed on others.

rettuli] This must have been in a portion of the fifth book of the Annals, now lost. The Drusus here mentioned was the son of Germanicus, who married the daughter of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, consul 6 A.D.

41. *Clitarum natio*] The Clitae were a tribe of Cilicia Trachea. Archelaus, of course, was not the king of Cappadocia mentioned in ii. 42, 56, for he died many years before the date of the present events.

ferro] Here some word can be supplied from 'ad deditionem coegit,' such as 'trucidavit,' 'cecidit,' or the like.

Macedonibus] Apparently this is the dative case, in the sense of the instrumental ablative, a use very common in Tacitus. Cf. ii. 50, xv. 28, H. i. 7. 'Sitae' is for 'conditae,' a usage peculiar to Tacitus, iii. 38, "urbemque Philippopolim a Macedone Philippo sitam." Nicephorium is in Mesopotamia, at the junction of the Billicha with the Euphrates. Anthemusias, Anthemusia, or Anthemus, was also in Mesopotamia, between Edessa and the Euphrates. Artemita was in Assyria, east of the Tigris, and about 60 miles east from Seleucia on the Tigris (Strabo, xvi. 1. 17). Halus is only mentioned by Tacitus.

42. Plurimum adulationis Seleucenses induere, civitas potens, saepta muris neque in barbarum corrupta, sed conditoris Seleuci retinens. trecenti opibus aut sapientia delecti ut senatus, sua populo vis. et quoties concordes agunt, spernitur Parthus: ubi dissensere, dum sibi quisque contra aemulos subsidium vocant, accitus in partem adversum omnes valescit. id nuper acciderat Artabano regnante, qui plebem primoribus tradidit ex suo usu: nam populi imperium iuxta libertatem, paucorum dominatio regiae libidini propior est. tum adventantem Tiridaten extollunt veterum regum honoribus et quos recens aetas largius invenit; simul probra in Artabanum fundebant, materna origine Arsaciden, cetera degenerem. Tiridates rem Seleucensem populo permittit. mox consultans, quonam die sollemnia regni capesseret. litteras Phraatis et Hieronis, qui validissimas praefecturas optinebant, accipit, brevem moram precantium. placitumque opperiri viros praepollentis, atque interim Ctesiphon sedes imperii petita: sed ubi diem ex die prolatabant, multis coram et adprobantibus Surena patrio more Tiridaten insigni regio evinxit.

43. Ac si statim interiora ceterasque nationes petivisset, oppressa cunctantium dubitatio et omnes in unum cedebant: adsidendo castellum, in quod pecuniam et paelices Artabanus contulerat, dedit spatium exsuendi pacta. nam Phraates et Hiero et si qui alii delectum capiendo diademati diem haut concelebraverant, pars metu, quidam invidia in Abdagaesen, qui tum

42. *in barbarum*] That is, εἰς τὸ βάρβαρον. Cf. H. v. 2, "aucto in barbarum cognomento Iudaeos vocitari."

opibus aut sapientia] For this ablative (in the sense of, 'by reason of their influence or wisdom'), see note on iii. 24. Nipperdey quotes Cic. de Fin. i. 13, "gubernatoris ars utilitate non arte laudatur," and also de Fin. ii. 26, "si fructibus et emolumentis et utilitatibus amicitias colemus."

iuxta libertatem] Cf. Germ. 30, "velocitas iuxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiae est."

Surena] The Surena was a dignitary at the Parthian Court, ranking next to the king.

evinxit] 'Evincire' is the word specially used in this connexion. Cf. xi. 4, "Claudium spicea corona evinctum;" xv. 2, "diademate caput Tiridatis evinxit;" and H. iv. 53, "spatium omne evinctum vittis coronisque."

43. *diem haut concelebraverant*] This seems an unusual expression. 'Concelebrare' is often used (as 'celebrare' is also), in the sense of 'to visit in crowds.' 'Concelebrare funus,' 'convivium,' and the like, are found, and are intelligible enough. Also, 'concelebrare diem mero' is 'to mark a day by festivity and indulgence in wine.' But the meaning here appears to be akin to the former rather than the latter sense. Tacitus can hardly imply that Phraates and others had not marked the day as a holiday, but that they had not chosen to attend on the day appointed for the coronation. Below, for the dative of the gerundive and substantive 'reddendae dominationi,' to express the aim or purpose, cf. ii. 21, "subducit ex acie legionem faciendis castris;" H. iii. 57, "Iulianum, permulcendis militum animis delegit;' H. iii. 20, "balineas abluendo cruori propere petit." This use is found mainly, if not entirely, in late writers. Tacitus employs this construction after many

aula et novo rege potiebatur, ad Artabanum vertere; isque in Hyrcanis repertus est, inluvie obsitus et alimenta arcu expediens. ac primo tamquam dolus pararetur territus, ubi data fides reddendae dominationi venisse, adlevatur animum et quae repentina mutatio exquirit. tum Hiero pueritiam Tiridatis increpat, neque penes Arsaciden imperium, sed inane nomen apud inbellem externa mollitia, vim in Abdagaesis domo.

44. Sensit vetus regnandi falsos in amore odia non fingere. nec ultra moratus, quam dum Scytharum auxilia conciret, pergit properus et praeveniens inimicorum astus, amicorum paenitentiam; neque exsuerat paedorem, ut vulgum miseratione adverteret. non fraus, non preces, nihil omissum quo ambiguos inliceret, prompti firmarentur. iamque multa manu propinqua Seleuciae adventabat, cum Tiridates simul fama atque ipso Artabano perculsus distrahi consiliis, iret contra an bellum cunctatione tractaret. quibus proelium et festinati casus placebant, disiectos et longinquitate itineris fessos ne animo quidem satis ad obsequium coaluisse disserunt, proditores nuper hostesque eius, quem rursum foveant. verum Abdagaeses regrediendum in Mesopotamiam censebat, ut amne obiecto, Armeniis interim Elymaeisque et ceteris a tergo excitis, aucti copiis socialibus et quas dux Romanus misisset fortunam temptarent. ea sententia valuit, quia plurima auctoritas penes Abdagaesen et Tiridates ignavus ad pericula erat. sed fugae specie discessum; ac principio a gente Arabum facto ceteri domos abeunt vel in castra Artabani, donec Tiridates cum paucis in Syriam revectus pudore proditionis omnes exsolvit.

45. Idem annus gravi igne urbem adficit, deusta parte circi, quae Aventino contigua, ipsoque Aventino; quod damnum Caesar ad gloriam vertit exsolutis domuum et insularum pretiis. milies

adjectives, as: 'idoneus' (i. 23); 'acer' (H. iv. 1); 'inhabilis' (iii. 43); 'impenetrabilis' (iii. 43). Below, for the omission of 'esset' after 'mutatio,' see note i. 2, under 'postquam.'

44. *falsos in amore*] The love, I think, is the love which the applicants professed to have for Artabanus. The crafty old king thought their hatred against Tiridates was a good deal more genuine than their love for himself.

adverteret] 'Might draw over to himself.' Cf. i. 41, "gemitusque ac planctus etiam militum aures oraque advertere," and iv. 21, "atque illic eadem actitando recentia veteraque odia advertit."

propinqua Seleuciae] This is the accusative, of course governed by the preposition in 'adventabat.' This use of compounded verbs is common in Tacitus: 'advolvi' (i. 13), 'adsidere' (iv. 58, vi. 43) are similarly constructed.

pudore] Cf. H. iii. 61, "Priscus et Alfenus ad Vitellium regressi, pudore proditionis cunctos exsolverent." When a man is untrue to himself, and abandons his own cause, his adherents need hardly feel ashamed if they abandon him too.

45. *insularum*] An 'insula' was a detached dwelling, unconnected by party

sestertium in munificentia conlocatum, tanto acceptius in vulgum, quanto modicus privatis aedificationibus ne publice quidem nisi duo opera struxit, templum Augusto et scenam Pompeiani theatri; eaque perfecta, contemptu ambitionis an per senectutem, hau dedicavit. sed aestimando cuiusque detrimento quattuor progeneri Caesaris, Cn. Domitius, Cassius Longinus, M. Vinicius, Rubellius Blandus delecti additusque nominatione consulum P. Petronius. et pro ingenio cuiusque quaesiti decretique in principem honores; quos omiserit receperitve, in incerto fuit ob propinquum vitae finem. neque enim multo post supremi Tiberio consules, Cn. Acerronius C. Pontius, magistratum occepere, nimia iam potentia Macronis, qui gratiam C. Caesaris numquam sibi neglectam acrius in dies fovebat impuleratque post mortem Claudiae, quam nuptam ei rettuli, uxorem suam Enniam imitando amorem iuvenem inlicere pactoque matrimonii vincire, nihil abnuentem, dum dominationis apisceretur; nam etsi commotus ingenio simulationum tamen falsa in sinu avi perdidicerat.

46. Gnarum hoc principi, eoque dubitavit de tradenda re publica, primum inter nepotes, quorum Druso genitus sanguine et caritate propior, sed nondum pubertatem ingressus, Germanici filio robur iuventae, vulgi studia, eaque aput avum odii causa. etiam de Claudio agitanti, quod is conposita aetate bonarum artium cupiens erat, imminuta mens eius obstitit. sin extra domum successor quaereretur, ne memoria Augusti, ne nomen Caesarum in ludibria et contumelias verterent metuebat: quippe illi non perinde curae gratia praesentium quam in posteros ambitio. mox incertus animi, fesso corpore, consilium, cui impar

walls with any other building. Generally it is used for a block containing several apartments or shops, let out to different tenants, in flats or otherwise.

quattuor progeneri] Domitius married Agrippina (iv. 75); Longinus, Drusilla; Vinicius, Julia; all daughters of Germanicus. Rubellius Blandus married Julia, daughter of Drusus, and granddaughter of Tiberius (vi. 27).

Cn. Acerronius] Cn. Acerronius Proculus was proconsul of Achaia. Caius Petronius Pontius Nigrinus was, according to Borghesi, the adopted son of C. Petronius Umbrinus, who was consul suffectus A.D. 25.

apisceretur] The genitive, only found, I believe, here, is to be explained by the fact that 'apisci' is equivalent in meaning to 'potiri.' So in iii. 55, "rerum adeptus est" occurs where the explanation is the same. Suetonius makes Ennia more sinned against than sinning, "Enniam Naeviam, Macronis uxorem, sollicitavit ad stuprum, pollicitus et matrimonium suum si potitus imperio fuisset" (Calig. 12). Dion Cassius (lviii. 28) agrees with Tacitus. There does not seem to have been much to choose between the two, and it is not always easy to decide which is the seducer and which the victim.

46. *conposita aetate*] Claudius was born 10 A.C., and was therefore 46 years old now (Suet. Claud. 2). Suetonius (Claud. 3) says that Claudius devoted considerable time and attention to literature, and published early specimens of his writings; but in spite of this, could not make people think well of him.

erat, fato permisit, iactis tamen vocibus per quas intellegeretur providus futurorum; namque Macroni non abdita ambage occidentem ab eo deseri, orientem spectari exprobravit. et C. Caesari, forte orto sermone L. Sullam inridenti, omnia Sullae vitia et nullam eiusdem virtutem habiturum praedixit. simul crebris cum lacrimis minorem ex nepotibus conplexus, truci alterius vultu, "occides hunc tu" inquit "et te alius." sed gravescente valitudine nihil e libidinibus omittebat, in patientia firmitudinem simulans solitusque eludere medicorum artes atque eos, qui post tricesimum aetatis annum ad internoscenda corpori suo utilia vel noxia alieni consilii indigerent.

47. Interim Romae futuris etiam post Tiberium caedibus semina iaciebantur. Laelius Balbus Acutiam, P. Vitellii quondam uxorem, maiestatis postulaverat; qua damnata cum praemium accusatori decerneretur, Iunius Otho tribunus plebei intercessit, unde illis odia, mox Othoni exitium. dein multorum amoribus famosa Albucilla, cui matrimonium cum Satrio Secundo coniurationis indice fuerat, defertur inpietatis in principem; conectebantur ut conscii et adulteri eius Cn. Domitius, Vibius Marsus, L. Arruntius. de claritudine Domitii supra memoravi; Marsus quoque vetustis honoribus et inlustris studiis erat. sed testium interrogationi, tormentis servorum Macronem praesedisse commentarii ad senatum missi ferebant, nullaeque in eos imperatoris litterae suspicionem dabant, invalido ac fortasse ignaro ficta pleraque ob inimicitias Macronis notas in Arruntium.

48. Igitur Domitius defensionem meditans, Marsus tamquam inediam destinavisset, produxere vitam: Arruntius, cunctationem et moras suadentibus amicis, non eadem omnibus decora respondit: sibi satis aetatis, neque aliud paenitendum quam quod

non abdita ambage] 'With no hidden circumlocution.' Here was no beating about the bush, Tiberius spoke out his thoughts undisguisedly to Macro.

minorem] That is, Tiberius, son of Drusus (by Livia, sister of Germanicus), and grandson of Tiberius. He was put to death by Caligula immediately after his accession to the throne.

in patientia] 'In the midst of his suffering.'

47. *Laelius Balbus*] Perhaps the son of D. Laelius Balbus, who was consul 6 A.C. and quindecemvir sacris faciundis 17 A.C.

unde illis odia] That is, Otho and Balbus, because the latter was baulked of his expected remuneration for his attack on Acutia.

coniurationis] The conspiracy of Sejanus to get rid of Tiberius, and place himself on the throne.

commentarii] The documents forwarded to the senate with the details and results of the examination of witnesses, spoke of the investigation as conducted under the presidency of Macro, acting on his own responsibility, or at all events without any authority from the senate.

48. *aliud paenitendum*] Draeger remarks that this is a use of 'paeniten-

inter ludibria et pericula anxiam senectam toleravisset, diu Seiano, nunc Macroni, semper alicui potentium invisus, non culpa, sed ut flagitiorum inpatiens. sane paucos et supremos principis dies posse vitari: quem ad modum evasurum imminentis iuventam? an, cum Tiberius post tantam rerum experientiam vi dominationis convulsus et mutatus sit, C. Caesarem vix finita pueritia, ignarum omnium aut pessimis innutritum, meliora capessiturum Macrone duce? qui ut deterior ad opprimendum Seianum delectus plura per scelera rem publicam conflictavisset. prospectare iam se acrius servitium, eoque fugere simul acta et instantia. haec vatis in modum dictitans venas resolvit. documento sequentia erunt bene Arruntium morte usum. Albucilla inrito ictu ab semet vulnerata iussu senatus in carcerem fertur. stuprorum eius ministri, Carsidius Sacerdos praetorius ut in insulam deportaretur, Pontius Fregellanus amitteret ordinem senatorium, et eaedem poenae in Laelium Balbum decernuntur, id quidem a laetantibus, quia Balbus truci eloquentia habebatur, promptus adversum insontes.

49. Isdem diebus Sex. Papinius consulari familia repentinum et informem exitum delegit, iacto in praeceps corpore. causa ad matrem referebatur, quae pridem repudiata adsentationibus atque luxu perpulisset iuvenem ad ea quorum effugium non nisi morte inveniret. igitur accusata in senatu, quamquam genua patrum advolveretur luctumque communem et magis inbecillum tali super casu feminarum animum aliaque in eundem dolorem maesta et miseranda diu ferret, urbe tamen in decem annos prohibita est, donec minor filius lubricum iuventae exiret.

50. Iam Tiberium corpus, iam vires, nondum dissimulatio deserebat: idem animi rigor; sermone ac vultu intentus quaesita

dum' not found in Cicero. He uses the gerundive in an impersonal sense only. Sallust, however, and Livy employ it personally. Cf. Sall. Jug. 85, "num id paenitendum est?" and Liv. i. 35, "sub haud paenitendo magistro."

ut in insulam deportaretur] This depends on 'decernitur,' supplied from 'decernuntur,' and taken of course impersonally.

49. *consulari familia*] He must have been apparently son of Sextus Papinius Allenius, consul 36 A.D. (vi. 40).

luctumque communem] 'Grief felt equally by all,' the grief all feel at the loss of a son, increased in this particular case by the naturally weaker power of a woman to bear up against sorrow. Below, 'ferret' is equivalent to 'proferret,' 'dissereret,' or the like.

lubricum iuventae] Cf. xiii. 2, "quo facilius lubricam principis aetatem, si virtutem aspernaretur, voluptatibus concessis retinerent;" and xiv. 56, "lubricum adulescentiae."

50. *intentus*] The conversation of Tiberius was as vigorous, and his expression as firmly set as ever. There was no rambling talk nor wandering looks, such as one might expect to find in a man sinking into his grave. For 'in villa' below, cf. Phaed. ii. 5, "Caesar Tiberius cum

interdum comitate quamvis manifestam defectionem tegebat. mutatisque saepius locis tandem apud promunturium Miseni consedit in villa, cui L. Lucullus quondam dominus. illic eum adpropinquare supremis tali modo compertum. erat medicus arte insignis, nomine Charicles, non quidem regere valitudines principis solitus, consilii tamen copiam praebere. is velut propria ad negotia digrediens et per speciem officii manum complexus pulsum venarum attigit. neque fefellit: nam Tiberius, incertum an offensus tantoque magis iram premens, instaurari epulas iubet discumbitque ultra solitum, quasi honori abeuntis amici tribueret. Charicles tamen labi spiritum nec ultra biduum duraturum Macroni firmavit. inde cuncta conloquiis inter praesentes, nuntiis apud legatos et exercitus festinabantur. septimum decimum kal. Aprilis interclusa anima creditus est mortalitatem explevisse; et multo gratantum concursu ad capienda imperii primordia C. Caesar egrediebatur, cum repente adfertur redire Tiberio vocem ac visus vocarique qui recreandae defectioni cibum adferrent. pavor hinc in omnes, et ceteri passim dispergi, se quisque maestum aut nescium fingere; Caesar in silentium fixus a summa spe novissima expectabat. Macro intrepidus opprimi senem iniectu multae vestis iubet discedique ab limine. sic Tiberius finivit, octavo et septuagesimo aetatis anno.

51. Pater ei Nero et utrimque origo gentis Claudiae, quamquam mater in Liviam et mox Iuliam familiam adoptionibus transierit. casus prima ab infantia ancipites; nam proscriptum patrem exul secutus, ubi domum Augusti privignus introiit, multis aemulis conflictatus est, dum Marcellus et Agrippa, mox Gaius Luciusque

petens Neapolim in Misenensem villam venisset suam quae monte summo posita Luculli manu."

per speciem officii] Cf. Suet. Tib. 72, "Chariclem medicum quod manum sibi osculandi causa apprehendisset." 'Officium' here is therefore 'a complimentary leave-taking.'

finivit] 'Died.' Compare the sense of τελευτᾶν in Greek. There is no other example of the absolute use of this verb in this meaning, There is some difference of details with respect to the manner and date of the death of Tiberius. Suetonius (Calig. 12) speaks of a belief in an attempt by poison before the final catastrophe. Seneca is said by Suetonius (Tib. 73) to have left on record that he died of natural exhaustion. This account, however, is not found in the existing works of Seneca (the younger). Dion Cassius makes his death to have occurred on the 26th of March, Tacitus on the 16th (lviii. 28). The secrecy and mysteriousness in which the old man shrouded his movements in lifetime seem to have extended to his last moments. These variations in the accounts of even important events described years after their occurrence, will not surprise any one who remembers the extreme difficulty of arriving at certainty in the details of any event narrated by contemporaneous writers.

51. *Pater ei Nero*] This was Tib. Claudius Nero. The mother of Tiberius, Livia Drusilla (afterwards Julia Augusta), passed into the Livia Familia, by the adoption into it of her father, Livius Drusus Claudianus. Cf. v. 1.

Caesares viguere; etiam frater eius Drusus prosperiore civium amore erat. sed maxime in lubrico egit accepta in matrimonium Iulia, inpudicitiam uxoris tolerans aut declinans. dein Rhodo regressus vacuos principis penates duodecim annis, mox rei Romanae arbitrium tribus ferme et viginti obtinuit. morum quoque tempora illi diversa: egregium vita famaque, quaad privatus vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit; occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus, donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuere; idem inter bona malaque mixtus incolumi matre; intestabilis saevitia, sed obtectis libidinibus, dum Seianum dilexit timuitve: postremo in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit, postquam remoto pudore et metu suo tantum ingenio utebatur.

egregium] Sc. 'tempus:' 'it was a period of excellence.' The Drusus below is the son of Tiberius.

CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XI.

CONTENTS.

1. * * nam Valerium Asiaticum, bis consulem, fuisse quondam adulterum eius credidit; pariterque hortis inhians, quos ille a Lucullo coeptos insigni magnificentia extollebat, Suillium accu-

1. *Valerium Asiaticum*] He was consul, for the second time, A.D. 46, and consul suffectus in some year unknown. He was also praefectus urbi (Inscrip. Graec. n. 2587).

eius] Apparently of Poppaea Sabina, daughter of Poppaeus Sabinus (vi. 39). The subject of 'credidit' is Messalina, the wife of Claudius.

extollebat] 'Improved.' Cf. xiii. 21,

sandis utrisque immittit. adiungitur Sosibius Britannici educator, qui per speciem benevolentiae moneret Claudium caveri vim atque opes principibus infensas: praecipuum auctorem Asiaticum interficiendi C. Caesaris non extimuisse contione in populi Romani fateri gloriamque facinoris ultro petere; clarum ex eo in urbe, didita per provincias fama parare iter ad Germanicos exercitus, quando genitus Viennae multisque et validis propinquitatibus subnixus turbare gentiles nationes promptum haberet. at Claudius nihil ultra scrutatus citis cum militibus tamquam opprimendo bello Crispinum praetorii praefectum misit, a quo repertus est apud Baias vinclisque inditis in urbem raptus.

2. Neque data senatus copia: intra cubiculum auditur, Messalina coram et Suillio corruptionem militum, quos pecunia et stupro in omni flagitio obstrictos arguebat, exin adulterium Poppaeae, ac postremum mollitiam corporis obiectante. ad quod victo silentio prorupit reus et "interroga" inquit, "Suilli, filios tuos:

"Baiarum suarum piscinas extollebat." These gardens were a favourite resort of Messalina. Cf. xi. 32, "Messalina Lucullianos in hortos, Silius ad munia fori digrediuntur." The 'gardens' of the wealthy nobles were most luxurious retreats, containing trees, woods, sometimes with boars and deer, walking and driving avenues, fountains, statues, &c. To express this, the plural 'horti' is used generally, 'hortus' being, as a rule, a kitchen-garden. The Britannicus mentioned below is the son of Claudius.

caveri] This is the reading of the MS., and may be correct. It is not quite the same, of course, as 'cavendam esse.' Tacitus uses 'monere' with an infinitive, not as other writers do, in the sense of warning or reminding of a fact, but in the sense of warning to do or leave undone something. Cf. xii. 46, "monet Radamistum obpugnationem celerare." Here, then, Tacitus might have written, 'monet cavere vim;' and I do not see why the same idea might not be turned passively: 'he warns him that violence be guarded against;' he warns him, that is, so to arrange that there may be no room for violence. 'Cavendam esse' would be, 'he warns him, *as a fact*, that violence ought to be guarded against.'

C. Caesaris] The Cod. Med. has only 'Cesaris.' It is clear, I think, that 'Caesaris' without a praenomen could only be used where there could be no ambiguity, and the 'Caesar' would at once be understood to be the reigning princeps, and the natural subject of the narrative. So iv. 6, where 'Caesar,' of course, is the Caesar on the throne (Tiberius); cf. xi. 2. Or it can be used as a brief designation of a Caesar already particularized, as in vi. 50, G. Caesar is mentioned first, and then spoken of by the single name 'Caesar.' Here, consequently, the praenomen could not be omitted, as Ritter justly argues. Below, 'didita' is a Virgilian and Lucretian word: only found in prose here, Draeger says.

2. *in omni flagitio*] This is not the same as 'in omne flagitium,' the sense of which would be 'bound to the committal of any enormity he wanted done.' The meaning here is rather 'bound to him throughout a practice of every enormity.' In short, the 'flagitium' was not prospective, but already practised, and so, by fellowship in crime, the soldiers were said to have become the tools of Asiaticus.

victo silentio] 'His resolve to be silent being overcome.' Asiaticus had previously determined to keep silent, but he could not maintain his resolution. Cf. iv. 8, 'victo gemitu.' Below, for 'Vitellium,' cf. vi. 28; and for 'Scipionem,' cf. iii. 74.

virum esse me fatebuntur." ingressusque defensionem, commoto maiorem in modum Claudio, Messalinae quoque lacrimas excivit. quibus abluendis cubiculo egrediens monet Vitellium ne elabi reum sineret: ipsa ad perniciem Poppaeae festinat, subditis qui terrore carceris ad voluntariam mortem propellerent, adeo ignaro Caesare, ut paucos post dies epulantem apud se maritum eius Scipionem percontaretur, cur sine uxore discubuisset, atque ille functam fato responderet.

3. Sed consultanti super absolutione Asiatici flens Vitellius, commemorata vetustate amicitiae utque Antoniam principis matrem pariter observavissent, dein percursis Asiatici in rem publicam officiis recentique adversus Britanniam militia, quaeque alia conciliandae misericordiae videbantur, liberum mortis arbitrium ei permisit; et secuta sunt Claudii verba in eandem clementiam. hortantibus dehinc quibusdam inediam et lenem exitum, remittere beneficium Asiaticus ait; et usurpatis quibus insueverat exercitationibus, lauto corpore, hilare epulatus, cum se honestius calliditate Tiberii vel impetu C. Caesaris periturum dixisset, quam quod fraude muliebri et inpudico Vitellii ore caderet, venas exsolvit, viso tamen ante rogo iussoque transferri partem in aliam, ne opacitas arborum vapore ignis minueretur: tantum illi securitatis novissimae fuit.

4. Vocantur post haec patres, pergitque Suillius addere reos equites Romanos inlustres, quibus Petra cognomentum. at causa

3. *consultanti*] This dative is easy to explain. It depends on 'permisit,' in the sense of 'permittendum suasit,' for, of course, 'ei' is Asiaticus, and not merely a repetition of 'consultanti' after a long parenthesis. Or, which is much the same thing, it is governed by the general notion of 'reply' in the following words: cf. ii. 76, "igitur quid agendum consultanti M. Piso properandum in urbem censebat."

Antoniam] This was Antonia minor, the wife of the elder Drusus, and the mother of Claudius.

conciliandae misericordiae] This is the genitive case, depending on 'esse' understood. Cf. Sall. Catil. 6, "quod initio conservandae libertatis atque augendae reipublicae fuerat;" also Catil. 46, "impunitatem perdundae reipublicae credebat;" and Jugurth. 88, "quae postquam gloriosa modo neque belli patrandi cognovit."

remittere] 'He said that he declined their kind suggestion.' Cf. i. 8, "remisit Caesar adroganti moderatione."

periturum] Sc. 'fuisse.' Cf. ii. 31, "petiturum se vitam quamvis nocenti, nisi voluntariam mortem properavisset."

securitatis novissimae] 'Of all absence of concern at the close of life.' Cf. xvi. 11, "ne vitam proxime libertatem actam, novissimo servitio foedaret."

4. *inlustres*] Cf. ii. 59.

quibus Petra cognomentum] Tacitus had probably been unable to ascertain the gentile name of these knights. But one would have expected their names to be entered at full length in the 'acta senatus.' For some reason or other, it seems as though Tacitus had not been able to consult them, or, at all events, had consulted them without success, and he must have derived his information from some other source. See Orelli's note. The two words 'ut' and 'verum' introduce the real and the assigned cause of the accusation. The real grievance was that

necis ex eo, quod domum suam Mnesteris et Poppaeae congressibus praebuissent. verum nocturnae quietis species alteri obiecta, tamquam vidisset Claudium spicea corona evinctum, spicis retro conversis, eaque imagine gravitatem annonae dixisset. quidam pampineam coronam albentibus foliis visam atque ita interpretatum tradidere, vergente autumno mortem principis ostendi. illud haud ambigitur, qualicumque insomnio ipsi fratrique perniciem adlatam. sestertium quindecies et insignia praeturae Crispino decreta. adiecit Vitellius sestertium decies Sosibio, quod Britannicum praeceptis, Claudium consiliis iuvaret. rogatus sententiam et Scipio, "cum idem" inquit "de admissis Poppaeae sentiam quod omnes, putate me idem dicere quod omnes," eleganti temperamento inter coniugalem amorem et senatoriam necessitatem.

5. Continuus inde et saevus accusandis reis Suillius multique audaciae eius aemuli; nam cuncta legum et magistratuum munia in se trahens princeps materiam praedandi patefecerat. nec quicquam publicae mercis tam venale fuit quam advocatorum perfidia, adeo ut Samius, insignis eques Romanus, quadringentis nummorum milibus Suillio datis et cognita praevaricatione ferro in domo eius incubuerit. igitur incipiente C. Silio consule designato, cuius de potentia *et* exitio in tempore memorabo, consurgunt patres legemque Cinciam flagitant, qua cavetur antiquitus, ne quis ob causam orandam pecuniam donumve accipiat.

the brothers had allowed Mnester and Poppaea to meet at their house; the ostensible complaint was that one of them had interpreted a dream in a sense unfavourable to the Emperor's policy or health.

eleganti temperamento] 'A well-turned compromise.' Scipio might have stood up boldly for his wife, and declared his belief in her innocence; or, on the other hand, he might have entirely succumbed to the necessity of his position as a senator, and have pronounced distinctly for his wife's condemnation. He did neither one nor the other, but hit upon an ambiguous phrase, which might equally well imply that he did, or did not, believe in her guilt. 'He agreed with other people:' his words could easily imply that he did not think *they* believed Poppaea guilty in their hearts; or his words could equally well bear exactly the opposite interpretation.

5. *praedandi*] The princeps had gradually absorbed the functions of all the magistrates, and become the depository of all power. This opened to the band of informers an opportunity of preying upon their fellow-citizens, because they had to work on the fears and dislikes of one man only, and there were no checks or counterchecks which might otherwise have arisen from the opposing jurisdiction of the various magistrates ('tribuni plebis,' for instance).

C. Silio consule designato] Apparently he was 'consul designatus' for November and December of the next year, A.D. 48; for in that year his consulate is spoken of as 'propinquus' (xii. 28), just before his death in October.

legemque Cinciam] This was a 'plebiscitum' passed when M. Cincius Alimentus was 'tribunus plebis,' 204 A.C. In the time of Augustus this was confirmed by a 'senatus consultum' (xiii. 42, "repetitum credebatur senatus consultum poenaque Cinciae legis:" Dio Cass. liv. 18).

6. Deinde obstrepentibus iis, quibus ea contumelia parabatur, discors Suillio Silius acriter incubuit, veterum oratorum exempla referens, qui famam et posteros praemia eloquentiae cogitavissent. pulcherrimam alioquin et bonarum artium principem sordidis ministeriis foedari; ne fidem quidem integram manere, ubi magnitudo quaestuum spectetur. quod si in nullius mercedem negotia eant, pauciora fore: nunc inimicitias, accusationes, odia et iniurias foveri, ut quo modo vis morborum pretia medentibus, sic fori tabes pecuniam advocatis ferat. meminissent Asinii, Messalae ac recentiorum Arruntii et Aesernini: ad summa provectos incorrupta vita et facundia. talia dicente consule designato, consentientibus aliis, parabatur sententia, qua lege repetundarum tenerentur, cum Suillius et Cossutianus et ceteri, qui non iudicium, quippe in manifestos, sed poenam statui videbant, circumsistunt Caesarem, ante acta deprecantes.

7. Et postquam annuit, agere incipiunt: quem illum tanta superbia esse, ut aeternitatem famae spe praesumat? usui et rebus subsidium praeparari, ne quis inopia advocatorum potentibus obnoxius sit. neque tamen eloquentiam gratuito contingere: omitti curas familiares, ut quis se alienis negotiis intendat. multos militia, quosdam exercendo agros tolerare vitam; nihil a quoquam expeti, nisi cuius fructus ante providerit. facile Asinium et Messallam, inter Antonium et Augustum bellorum praemiis refertos, aut ditium familiarum heredes Aeserninos et Arruntios magnum

6. *negotia eant*] This is the reading of J. F. Gronovius, and is very near the reading of the MS., 'negotiant.' Draeger compares v. 1, "odia in permitiem itura," and xii. 68, "ire in melius valitudinem principis."

Asinii] This is C. Asinius Pollio (iv. 34). For M. Messala Corvinus, cf. vi. 11; for Arruntius, iii. 11, and for Aeserninus, iii. 11. Cossutianus Capito was accused of 'repetundae' by the Cilicians, and condemned (xiii. 33). He was restored to the senate by the influence of his father-in-law, Tigellinus (xiv. 48), and afterwards accused Paetus Thrasea (xvi. 21). Cf. Juv. viii. 92, "quam fulmine iusto et Capito et Numitor ruerint damnante senatu."

ante acta deprecantes] 'Imploring indemnity for the past.' They begged apparently that the law might not be retrospective in its enactments. I do not quite understand whether Suillius and his party really thought there was any probability of a law of the kind being passed, or they only meant that if the Cincia Lex were put in force (for it had never been repealed, although disused), they would be subject to pains and penalties.

7. *quem illum*] Cf. xii. 36, "avebantque visere quis ille tot per annos opes nostras sprevisset." Similarly, xiv. 22, "hunc illum numine deum destinari credebant."

usui et rebus] 'For the interests of society and the purposes of actual life.' A distinction is made between the mere abstract desire of glory and the practical uses for which the oratory of the advocate was cultivated.

providerit] Not 'has foreseen;' *that* would be 'praeviderit;' but 'has arranged for.' Nothing is to be required from any man but that for which he has arranged to secure an adequate return.

animum induisse. prompta sibi exempla, quantis mercedibus P. Clodius aut C. Curio contionari soliti sint. se modicos senatores, quieta re publica nulla nisi pacis emolumenta petere. cogitaret plebem, qua toga enitesceret: sublatis studiorum pretiis etiam studia peritura. ut minus decora haec, ita haud frustra dicta princeps ratus, capiendis pecuniis modum *fecit* usque ad dena sestertia, quem egressi repetundarum tenerentur.

8. Sub idem tempus Mithridates, quem imperitasse Armeniis *iussuque Gai* Caesaris vinctum memoravi, monente Claudio in regnum remeavit, fisus Pharasmanis opibus. is rex Hiberis idemque Mithridatis frater nuntiabat discordare Parthos summaque imperii ambigua, minora sine cura haberi. nam Gotarzes inter pleraque saeva necem fratri Artabano coniugique ac filio eius paraverat, unde metus in ceteros, et accivere Vardanen. ille, ut erat magnis ausis promptus, biduo tria milia stadiorum invadit ignarumque et exterritum Gotarzen proturbat; neque cunctatur quin proximas praefecturas corripiat, solis Seleucensibus dominationem eius abnuentibus. in quos, ut patris sui quoque defectores, ira magis quam ex usu praesenti accensus, inplicatur obsidione urbis validae et munimentis obiecti amnis muroque et commeatibus firmatae. interim Gotarzes Daharum Hyrcanorumque opibus auctus bellum renovat, coactusque Vardanes omittere Seleuciam Bactrianos apud campos castra contulit.

9. Tunc distractis orientis viribus et quonam inclinarent incertis, casus Mithridati datus est occupandi Armeniam, vi militis Ro-

quantis mercedibus] For instance, P. Clodius received a bribe from Catilina, "ut turpissime praevaricaretur" (Cic. de Harusp. resp. c. 20); and C. Curio received a vast amount of money from C. Julius Caesar to defend his interests (Suet. C. Julius Caes. 29).

qua toga enitesceret] 'He must think of the inferior orders, how they were to gain distinction in the gown of peace.' 'Qua' is put for 'quo modo,' 'quo pacto.' For the use of 'enitescere' here, cf. xii. 58. Below, 'teneri' takes the construction of 'damnari,' to which it is equivalent in meaning. So in the Digests, Quintilian, and Cicero (de Leg. iii. 13).

8. *summaque imperii*] 'The great interests of the kingdom (the possession of the throne, &c.) were in a state of uncertainty.' Gotarzes, Artabanus, and Vardanes seem to have been all brothers ('fratri Artabano,' ch. 8; 'Gotarzes fratri patefecit,' ch. 9), and sons of Artabanus III.

invadit] 'Makes an attacking march over three thousand stadia.' 'Invadere' here is used absolutely, and 'tria milia' is an accusative of space, or a cognate accusative like 'ire viam.' The distance traversed was enormous, 375 Roman miles in two days and, of course, two nights. Pliny speaks of Tiberius as having travelled 200 miles in a day and night (N. H. vii. 20).

obiecti amnis] Seleucia was situated on the Tigris, which is the river here spoken of. The Dahae were a nomad race on the steppes east of the Caspian Sea. Bactriana was north of the Mons Paropamisus, or Hindu Kush, and south of Sogdiana.

9. *vi militis*] 'With a force of Roman soldiery (fit) to raze to the ground,' &c. For the construction, cf. H. i. 85, "ea oratio ad perstringendos mulcendosque militum animos." The ablative 'vi' is

mani ad excindenda castellorum ardua, simul Hibero exercitu campos persultante. nec enim restitere Armenii, fuso qui proelium ausus erat Demonacte praefecto. paululum cunctationis attulit rex minoris Armeniae Cotys, versis illuc quibusdam procerum; dein litteris Caesaris coercitus, et cuncta in Mithridaten fluxere, quamquam atrociorem quam novo regno conduceret. at Parthi imperatores cum pugnam pararent, foedus repente iaciunt cognitis popularium insidiis, quas Gotarzes fratri patefecit; congressique primo cunctanter, dein complexi dextras apud altaria deum pepigere fraudem inimicorum ulcisci atque ipsi inter se concedere. potiorque Vardanes visus retinendo regno: at Gotarzes, ne quid aemulationis exsisteret, penitus in Hyrcaniam abiit. regressoque Vardani deditur Seleucia septimo post defectionem anno, non sine dedecore Parthorum, quos una civitas tam diu eluserat.

10. Exin validissimas praefecturas invisit; et reciperare Armeniam avebat, ni a Vibio Marso, Syriae legato, bellum minitante cohibitus foret. atque interim Gotarzes paenitentia concessi regni et vocante nobilitate, cui in pace durius servitium est, contrahit copias. et huic contra itum ad amnem Erinden; in cuius transgressu multum certato pervicit Vardanes, prosperisque proeliis medias nationes subegit ad flumen Sinden, quod Dahas Ariosque disterminat. ibi modus rebus secundis positus: nam Parthi quamquam victores longinquam militiam aspernabantur. igitur exstructis monimentis, quibus opes suas testabatur nec cuiquam ante Arsacidarum tributa illis de gentibus parta, regreditur ingens gloria atque eo ferocior et subiectis intolerantior; qui dolo ante conposito incautum venationique intentum interfecere, primam intra iuventam, sed claritudine paucos inter senum regum, si perinde amorem inter populares quam metum apud hostes quaesivisset. nece Vardanis turbatae Parthorum res inter ambiguos, quis in regnum acciperetur. multi ad Gotarzen inclinabant, quidam ad Meherdaten prolem Phraatis, obsidio nobis datum: dein

really an instrumental one. The Roman troops were partly, at all events, the means whereby he was able to seize on Armenia.

Parthi imperatores] Vardanes and Gotarzes.

repente iaciunt] Tacitus is fond of this word 'iacere.' Cf. xv. 50, "dum scelera principis inter se aut inter amicos iaciunt;" vi. 31, "veteres Persarum ac Macedonum terminos iaciebat." Here the sense is, I think, 'threw out talk of a league,' 'made proposals for one,' equivalent to "sermones de foedere iungendo iaciunt."

10. *paucos inter*] 'Of celebrity such as few of even the long-lived kings attained to.' Orelli compares Liv. xxii. 7, "inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades," and xxxviii. 15, "inter paucas munitae urbes." Below, 'obsidium' occurs only here, in the sense of the position of one who is 'obses.'

praevaluit Gotarzes. potitusque regiam per saevitiam ac luxum adegit Parthos mittere ad principem Romanum occultas preces, quis permitti Meherdaten patrium ad fastigium orabant.

11. Isdem consulibus ludi seculares octingentesimo post Romam conditam, quarto et sexagesimo quam Augustus ediderat spectati sunt. utriusque principis rationes praetermitto, satis narratas libris quibus res imperatoris Domitiani composui. nam is quoque edidit ludos saeculares iisque intentius adfui sacerdotio quindecimvirali praeditus ac tunc praetor. quod non iactantia refero, sed quia collegio quindecimvirum antiquitus ea cura et magistratus potissimum exsequebantur officia caerimoniarum. sedente Claudio circensibus ludis, cum pueri nobiles equis ludicrum Troiae inirent interque eos Britannicus imperatore genitus et L. Domitius adoptione mox in imperium et cognomentum Neronis adscitus, favor plebis acrior in Domitium loco praesagii acceptus est. vulgabaturque adfuisse infantiae eius dracones in modum custodum,

mittere] The infinitive after 'adigere' is common in Tacitus (iv. 29, 45, &c.). Another compound of the same verb 'agere,' viz., 'cogere,' generally takes the infinitive.

permitti] For the construction with 'orare,' cf. Suet. Nero, 47, "vel Aegypti praefecturam concedi sibi oraret." The phrase is equivalent to "orabant ut Meherdates sibi permitteretur (concederetur) quem patrium ad fastigium extollerent." 'They entreated that Meherdates should be granted to them to hold the position belonging to his ancestors.'

Meherdaten] Cf. xii. 10, from whence it appears that Meherdates was son of Vonones, and grandson (prolem) of Phraates.

11. *utriusque principis rationes*] The calculation of Augustus would appear to be as follows, according to Censorinus (de Die natali, xvii. 11) :—

1st celebration of the Ludi Saeculares . . .	456 A.C.
2nd	346 A.C.
3rd	236 A.C.
4th	126 A.C.
5th	17 A.C.

Here the celebrations recur at the close of 110 years (the last being one year short), as Horace says, "Certus undenos decies per annos, orbis ut cantus, referatque ludos" (Carm. Saec.).

Another computation is given by Valerius Antias, the old annalist, as follows :—

1st celebration,	509 A.C. (instituted by P. Valerius Publicola).
2nd „	449 A.C.
3rd „	249 A.C.
4th „	149 A.C.

If Claudius reckoned the games as properly celebrated every 100th year, then they were due in A.D. 52 or A.U.C. 805, and possibly he might have looked on them as really to be celebrated by even centuries, or have thought the reckoning should be computed from the founding of Rome. The last celebration was in the reign of Philippus, in the 1000th year, as was generally supposed, since the founding of the city. For an account of the games, see Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities.

et magistratus] That is, the praetor was especially charged with the celebration of the games. Tacitus was, therefore, present in a double capacity, as a member of the quindecimviral college, and also as praetor. The quindecimviri naturally were concerned, because they had the care of the Sibylline books, in accordance with the directions in which these games were celebrated. Cf. Hor. Carm. Saecul. 70, "quindecim Diana preces virorum curet."

ludicrum Troiae] Cf. Virg. Aen. v. 553; Suet. Aug. 43, and Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities. L. Domitius was the son of Cn. Domitius and Agrippina the younger.

fabulosa et externis miraculis adsimilata: nam ipse, haudquaquam sui detractor, unam omnino anguem in cubiculo visam narrare solitus est.

12. Verum inclinatio populi supererat ex memoria Germanici, cuius illa reliqua suboles virilis; et matri Agrippinae miseratio augebatur ob saevitiam Messalinae, quae semper infesta et tunc commotior, quo minus strueret crimina et accusatores novo et furori proximo amore distinebatur. nam in C. Silium, iuventutis Romanae pulcherrimum, ita exarserat, ut Iuniam Silanam, nobilem feminam, matrimonio eius exturbaret vacuoque adultero poteretur. neque Silius flagitii aut periculi nescius erat: sed certo, si abnueret, exitio et non nulla fallendi spe, simul magnis praemiis, opperiri futura et praesentibus frui pro solacio habebat. illa non furtim, sed multo comitatu ventitare domum, egressibus adhaerescere, largiri opes, honores, postremo, velut translata iam fortuna, servi liberti paratus principis apud adulterum visebantur.

13. At Claudius matrimonii sui ignarus et munia censoria usurpans, theatralem populi lasciviam severis edictis increpuit, quod in P. Pomponium consularem (is carmina scaenae dabat) inque feminas inlustres probra iecerat. et lege lata saevitiam creditorum coercuit, ne in mortem parentum pecunias filiis familiarum faenori darent. fontesque aquarum Simbruinis collibus deductos urbi intulit. ac novas litterarum formas addidit vulgavitque, com-

12. *Germanici*] Germanicus (the younger) was the father of Agrippina the younger, and grandfather of Nero, who is the 'suboles virilis' mentioned just below.

distinebatur] 'Was distracted (from any idea of bringing forward a criminal accusation).' Cf. xiv. 25, "quae facilius proveniebant quia Parthi Hyrcano bello distinebantur;" H. iv. 55, "omnis exercitus suis quemque bellis distineri."

13. *matrimonii sui*] Cf. Juv. x. 342, "dedecus ille domi sciet ultimus." Claudius was ignorant of the position of his own married life; he did not know how faithless his wife had proved, or her intrigue with C. Silius. Similarly H. i. 29, "amicorum libertorumque usque ad culpam ignarus." Claudius was censor with L. Vitellius: the office had been suspended since 22 A.C., when L. Munatius Plancus and Paullus Aemilius Lepidus were censors (Suet. Claud. 16).

in mortem parentum] Cf. Suet. Vesp. 11, "auctor senatui fuit decernendi ne filiorum familias faeneratoribus exigendi crediti ius unquam esset, hoc est ne post patrum quidem mortem." The 'lex' was the 'senatus consultum Macedonianum.' By this, lending on 'post-obits' was forbidden. No usurer was to lend money to sons, to be repaid after their accession to their father's property.

Simbruinis collibus] These hills are about 40 miles east of Rome, near Sublaqueum. One aqueduct was begun by Caligula, and finished by Claudius. It was about 46 miles long, and was supplied by two fountains, about 40 miles from Rome. Besides this, Claudius also built the Anien Novus, by which a portion of the river Anio was brought to Rome. It was about 60 miles long. "Claudiae aquae gelidos et uberes fontes, quorum alteri Caeruleo, alteri Curtio et Albudino nomen est, simulque rivum Anienis Novi lapideo opere in urbem perduxit" (Suet. Claud. 20). The cost of all this, according to Pliny (xxxvi. 15), was "quinquagies quinquies et quingenties," not far from half a million of money.

novas litterarum formas] Claudius introduced three symbols. An inverted

perto Graecam quoque litteraturam non simul coeptam absolutamque.

14. Primi per figuras animalium Aegyptii sensus mentis effingebant—ea antiquissima monimenta memoriae humanae inpressa saxis cernuntur—et litterarum semet inventores perhibent; inde Phoenicas, quia mari praepollebant, intulisse Graeciae gloriamque adeptos, tamquam reppererint quae acceperant. quippe fama est Cadmum classe Phoenicum vectum rudibus adhuc Graecorum populis artis eius auctorem fuisse. quidam Cecropem Atheniensem vel Linum Thebanum et temporibus Troianis Palamedem Argivum memorant sedecim litterarum formas, mox alios ac praecipuum Simoniden ceteras repperisse. at in Italia Etrusci ab Corinthio Demarato, Aborigines Arcade ab Evandro didicerunt; et formae litteris Latinis quae veterrimis Graecorum. sed nobis quoque paucae primum fuere, deinde additae sunt. quo exemplo Claudius tres litteras adiecit, quae usui imperitante eo, post obliteratae, aspiciuntur etiam nunc in aere publicandis plebi SCtis per fora ac templa fixo.

(Ⅎ), 'digamma,' for use in such words as 'vulgus,' or 'servus,' which were written 'uulgus,' and 'seruus,' so that the same letter 'u' had two entirely different sounds. The 'digamma' was, therefore, really useful in such cases. The second was an antisigma,)(, to represent 'ps.' And the third, Ⱶ, possibly to represent a sound midway between 'i' and 'u.' Quintilian (i. 4. 7), remarks that there is a certain sound of a letter between 'u' and 'i;' for we do not pronounce 'optimum' like 'opimum.' Of the use of the first of these, the 'digamma,' there are many instances in Latin inscriptions. The symbol Ⱶ, for the sound between 'i' and 'u,' seems to have been borrowed from the old Oscan alphabet. See Donaldson's Varronianus, iii. § 4. Below, for the sense of 'litteraturam' (the alphabet), cf. Cic. Orat. Partit. c. 7, "illa (litteratura) constat ex notis litterarum et ex eo in quo imprimuntur illae notae."

14. *inde Phoenicas*] That the Phoenicians introduced letters into Greece was the general opinion of the classical writers. Herodotus (v. 57), and Pliny (N.H. vii. 56), both assert this. One need only compare the names of the Greek letters, Alpha, Beta, Gamma, Delta, &c., with the Hebrew Aleph, Beth, Gimmel, Daleth, &c., to see the certainty of the Semitic origin of the Greek alphabet. Pliny remarks that Palamedes, in the Trojan war, added four, Θ, Ξ, Φ, Χ, and Simonides the remaining four, Ζ, Η, Ψ, Ω. The assertion of the Egyptians that the Phoenicians borrowed their letters from them, is without foundation.

Aborigines] It is apparently impossible to say whether the Etruscans obtained their alphabet from the Phoenicians (or Asia), or from the Greeks. Lanzi and Müller believe the latter, Bruni and Sharpe the former. The fact that their writing ran from right to left proves nothing; for the Greeks originally wrote in the same manner. However, if the Etrusci were really, as seems probable, a tribe who descended from the Rhaetian Alps, and conquered the Pelasgic inhabitants of the low country which they entered, they most likely received their alphabet from the Greek settlers along the western and southern shores of Italy.

paucae primum fuere] The old Latin alphabet consisted of the sixteen Kadmean letters; or, according to Dr. Donaldson (Varronianus vii. § 1), of nineteen, viz., the aforesaid sixteen and the vocalized consonants 'i' and 'u,' and 'x' (sh). Below, 'usui' is not quite equivalent to 'in usu,' 'in actual use;' but rather, '(adopted) for convenience,' 'invented with a view to usefulness.'

plebi SCtis] The reading of the Codex Mediceus is 'plebiscitis.' A plebiscitum was properly an enactment passed by

15. Rettulit deinde ad senatum super collegio haruspicum, ne vetustissima Italiae disciplina per desidiam exolesceret: saepe adversis rei publicae temporibus accitos, quorum monitu redintegratas caerimonias et in posterum rectius habitas; primoresque Etruriae sponte aut patrum Romanorum inpulsu retinuisse scientiam et in familias propagasse; quod nunc segnius fieri publica circa bonas artes socordia, et quia externae superstitiones valescant: et laeta quidem in praesens omnia, sed benignitati deum gratiam referendam, ne ritus sacrorum inter ambigua culti per prospera obliterarentur. factum ex eo senatus consultum, viderent pontifices quae retinenda firmandaque haruspicum.

16. Eodem anno Cheruscorum gens regem Roma petivit, amissis per interna bella nobilibus et uno reliquo stirpis regiae, qui apud urbem habebatur nomine Italicus. paternum huic genus e Flavo fratre Arminii, mater ex Catumero principe Chattorum erat; ipse forma decorus et armis equisque in patrium nostrumque morem exercitus. igitur Caesar auctum pecunia, additis stipatoribus, hortatur gentile decus magno animo capessere: illum primum Romae ortum nec obsidem, sed civem ire externum ad imperium. ac primo laetus Germanis adventus, atque eo quod nullis discordiis imbutus pari in omnes studio ageret celebrari, coli, modo comitatem et temperantiam, nulli invisa, saepius vinulentiam ac libidines, grata barbaris, usurpans. iamque apud proximos, iam longius clarescere, cum potentiam eius suspectantes qui factionibus floruerant discedunt ad conterminos populos ac testificantur adimi veterem Germaniae libertatem et Romanas opes insurgere. adeo

the Comitia Tributa on the rogation of a Tribune, and not binding on the Patricii until after the passing of the Lex Hortensia, 286 A.C. Under the emperors there were no 'plebiscita,' properly so called, and as it is unlikely that Tacitus would have used the word as convertible with 'leges,' the reading is probably corrupt, and I have adopted the emendation of Grotius, who for 'plebiscitis' reads 'plebi SCtis' ('senatus consultis'). Cf. xii. 53, "fixum est aere publico senatus consultum."

15. *circa bonas artes*] For the use of 'circa,' cf. Germ. 28, "circa affectationem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosi;" xi. 29, "circa Caesaris necem narratus." This is a use of the word found mainly, if not entirely, in the silver age.

ne ritus sacrorum] Cf. xii. 47, "visui tamen consuluit, ne coram interficerentur." The sentence is elliptical, and 'qui prohibuissent' is easily supplied from the general sense of the passage; and in xii. 47, 'prohibendo,' or similar word.

16. *equisque*] Cf. Germ. 6, "equi non forma non velocitate conspicui: sed nec variare gyros in morem nostrum docentur. In rectum aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita coniuncto orbe ut nemo posterior sit."

gentile decus] 'The glory attached to his tribe' (the Cherusci). Cf. vi. 32, "qui gentile imperium obtinebat." Tacitus observes elsewhere (Germ. 36), that the Cherusci, once regarded as all that was good, were at a later period looked on as indolent and foolish.

grata barbaris] Cf. Germ. 22, "diem noctemque continuare potando, nulli probrum. Crebrae ut inter vinolentos rixae, raro conviciis, saepius caede et vulneribus transiguntur."

neminem isdem in terris ortum, qui principem locum impleat, nisi exploratoris Flavi progenies super cunctos attollatur? frustra Arminium praescribi: cuius si filius hostili in solo adultus in regnum venisset, posse extimesci, infectum alimonio, servitio, cultu, omnibus externis: at si paterna Italico mens esset, non alium infensius arma contra patriam ac deos penates quam parentem eius exercuisse.

17. His atque talibus magnas copias coegere; nec pauciores Italicum sequebantur. non enim inrupisse ad invitos, sed accitum memorabat, quando nobilitate ceteros anteiret: virtutem experirentur, an dignum se patruo Arminio, avo Catumero praeberet. nec patrem rubori, quod fidem adversus Romanos volentibus Germanis sumptam numquam omisisset. falso libertatis vocabulum obtendi ab iis, qui privatim degeneres, in publicum exitiosi, nihil spei nisi per discordias habeant. adstrepebat huic alacre vulgus; et magno inter barbaros proelio victor rex, dein secunda fortuna ad superbiam prolapsus pulsusque ac rursus Langobardorum opibus refectus, per laeta per adversa res Cheruscas adflictabat.

18. Per idem tempus Chauci, nulla dissensione domi, et morte Sanquinii alacres, dum Corbulo adventat, inferiorem Germaniam incursavere duce Gannasco, qui natione Caninefas, auxiliaris et diu meritus, post transfuga, levibus navigiis praedabundus Gallorum maxime oram vastabat, non ignarus dites et inbelles esse. at Corbulo provinciam ingressus magna cum cura et mox gloria, cui principium illa militia fuit, triremes alveo Rheni, ceteras navium, ut quaeque habiles, per aestuaria et fossas adegit; lintri-

frustra Arminium praescribi] 'The name of Arminius was put forward to very little purpose.' Italicus was put forward as the nephew of the German hero Arminius, and so possessing a claim on the favourable consideration of his countrymen. According to these malcontents it was an idle boast. If he were the son of Arminius, instead of being only his nephew, his patriotism would have been worn away by his contact with Roman habits and ideas. And his father, Flavus, had been an admitted traitor to his country.

17. *magno inter barbaros*] 'Great considering it was amongst barbarians.' This would generally be expressed by 'ut inter barbaros.'

18. *Chauci*] These people were neighbours of the Frisii on the east, and lived between the Ems and the Elbe, in Oldenburg and Hanover. The Weser divided them into Maiores on the west of the river, and Minores on the east. They were subdued by Tiberius (Vell. Pat. ii. 106)) and after remaining faithful for a considerable period, rose against the Romans. Gabinius Secundus gained some successes against them (Suet. Claud. 24), and after the war with Corbulo, they joined Civilis (H. iv. 79). Afterwards they were members of the Saxon Confederacy. Pliny (N. H. xvi. 1. 2) speaks of them as a half-drowned race, which may be true of the dwellers in the fen portion of the district. In Beowulf they are apparently mentioned under the name of Hocingas.

cui] Sc. 'gloriae.' This campaign laid the foundation of his reputation. He was put to death by Nero, H. ii. 76.

per aestuaria et fossas] These are the

busque hostium depressis et exturbato Gannasco, ubi praesentia satis composita sunt, legiones operum et laboris ignavas, populationibus laetantes, veterem ad morem reduxit, ne quis agmine decederet nec pugnam nisi iussus iniret. stationes, vigiliae, diurna nocturnaque munia in armis agitabantur. feruntque militem, quia vallum non accinctus, atque alium, quia pugione tantum accinctus foderet, morte punitos. quae nimia et incertum an falso iacta originem tamen e severitate ducis traxere; intentumque et magnis delictis inexorabilem scias, cui tantum asperitatis etiam adversus levia credebatur.

19. Ceterum is terror milites hostesque in diversum adfecit: nos virtutem auximus, barbari ferociam infregere. et natio Frisiorum, post rebellionem clade L. Apronii coeptam infensa aut male fida, datis obsidibus consedit apud agros a Corbulone descriptos: idem senatum, magistratus, leges inposuit. ac ne iussa exuerent, praesidium immunivit, missis qui maiores Chaucos ad deditionem pellicerent, simul Gannascum dolo adgrederentur. nec inritae aut degeneres insidiae fuere adversus transfugam et violatorem fidei. sed caede eius motae Chaucorum mentes, et Corbulo semina rebellionis praebebat, ut laeta apud plerosque, ita apud quosdam sinistra fama. cur hostem conciret? adversa in rem publicam casura: sin prospere egisset, formidolosum paci virum insignem et ignavo principi praegravem. igitur Claudius adeo novam in Germanias vim prohibuit, ut referri praesidia cis Rhenum iuberet.

20. Iam castra in hostili solo molienti Corbuloni eae litterae redduntur. ille re subita, quamquam multa simul offunderentur, metus ex imperatore, contemptio ex barbaris, ludibrium apud socios, nihil aliud prolocutus quam beatos quondam duces Romanos, signum receptui dedit. ut tamen miles otium exueret, inter Mosam Rhenumque trium et viginti milium spatio fossam

shallow waters now forming the Zuyder Zee, and the fossae Drusianae. Cf. ii. 8.

laboris ignavas] The construction of 'ignavus' is akin to that with 'impiger' (iii. 48), 'segnis' (xiv. 33), 'praecipuus' (vi. 4). So Horace, "integer vitae scelerisque purus" (Carm. ii. 10).

stationes, vigiliae] Cf. i. 28, for the difference between these words.

19. *clade L. Apronii*] Cf. iv. 72.

immunivit] 'Fortified amongst them.' The verb seems used in the sense of ἐντειχίζειν. Draeger compares 'incenare' (Suet. Tib. 39).

20. *beatos quondam*] As Dio Cassius (lx. 30), adds, ἐς δήλωσιν ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἀκινδύνως ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι ἐξῆν, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος διὰ τὸν φθόνον ἐνεποδίσθη.

fossam perduxit] This canal ran from the Maas, near the mouth of the river, to the northern branch of the Rhine, near Leyden. It was parallel to the coast, and still, I believe, forms a principal drain of the district between Leyden and the village of Sluys, on the Maas. The length assigned to this work by Tacitus, three-and-twenty miles, corresponds very nearly with the hundred and seventy stadia of Dio Cassius (lx. 30). 'Vitarentur' is the emendation of Vertranius for

perduxit, qua incerta Oceani vitarentur. insignia tamen triumphi indulsit Caesar, quamvis bellum negavisset.

Nec multo post Curtius Rufus eundem honorem adipiscitur, qui in agro Mattiaco recluserat specus quaerendis venis argenti. unde tenuis fructus nec in longum fuit. At legionibus cum damno labor, effodere rivos, quaeque in aperto gravia, humum infra moliri. quis subactus miles, et quia plures per provincias similia tolerabantur, componit occultas litteras nomine exercituum, precantium imperatorem ut, quibus permissurus esset exercitus, triumphalia ante tribueret.

21. De origine Curtii Rufi, quem gladiatore genitum quidam prodidere, neque falsa prompserim et vera exequi pudet. postquam adolevit, sectator quaestoris cui Africa optigerat, dum in oppido Adrumeto vacuis per medium diei porticibus secretus agitat, oblata ei species muliebris ultra modum humanum et audita est vox "tu es, Rufe, qui in hanc provinciam pro consule venies." tali omine in spem sublatus degressusque in urbem largitione amicorum, simul acri ingenio quaesturam et mox nobiles inter candidatos praeturam principis suffragio assequitur, cum hisce verbis Tiberius dedecus natalium eius velavisset: "Curtius Rufus videtur mihi ex se natus." longa post haec senecta, et adversus superiores tristi adulatione, adrogans minoribus, inter pares difficilis, consulare imperium, triumphi insignia ac postremo Africam obtinuit; atque ibi defunctus fatale praesagium implevit.

'vetarentur,' the reading of the Cod. Med.

in agro Mattiaco] The Mattiaci were settled in the duchy of Nassau, near Wiesbaden, between the Main, Lahn, and Rhine.

effodere rivos] The 'rivi' are, I think, the canal excavated by Corbulo's troops, and 'quaeque . . . . moliri' are the underground works of the forces under Curtius Rufus, 'legatus pro praetore' of Germania Superior. In this way 'legionibus' embrace those of both armies, not, as the editors generally consider, those of Rufus only. The objection to 'et fodere quaeque' (of the MS.), is that Tacitus does not seem to use this combination in a distributive sense, although he uses 'quae . . et' often. Cicero (Tusc. iii. 3) has "at et morbi perniciosiores pluresque sunt animi quam corporis," and possibly Tacitus may have so written; but I have adopted 'effodere' as more probable. Ernesti makes 'rivos' mean the trenches cut for draining the mines, which I do not think right.

21. *sectator*] Cf. Plin. Ep. vii. 27, "Tenuis adhuc et obscurus obtinenti Africam comes haeserat."

Adrumeto] Adrumetum was a town of Africa Propria, on the Sinus Neapolitanus. It was a Phoenician colony (Sall. Jug. 19), and was made a 'colonia' by Trajan. It was the great export town for the wheat of Byzacium.

natalium] Cf. Agric. 6, "splendidis natalibus ortam."

ex se natus] 'To have been the architect of his own fortune.' Any distinction Rufus may have had was due to himself, and not to his ancestors, who were not of the kind to lend distinction to any descendant.

tristi adulatione] In iv. 20, Tacitus speaks of "saevae adulationes;" and from these two passages, the meaning seems to be in both, an ill-boding, ruthless flattery, making ruin and distress to others.

22. Interea Romae, nullis palam neque cognitis mox causis, Cn. Nonius eques Romanus ferro accinctus reperitur in coetu salutantum principem. nam postquam tormentis dilaniabatur, de se non *infitiatus* conscios non edidit, incertum an occultans.

Isdem consulibus P. Dolabella censuit spectaculum gladiatorum per omnes annos celebrandum pecunia eorum qui quaesturam adipiscerentur. apud maiores virtutis id praemium fuerat, cunctisque civium, si bonis artibus fiderent, licitum petere magistratus; ac ne aetas quidem distinguebatur, quin prima iuventa consulatum et dictaturas inirent. sed quaestores regibus etiam tum imperantibus instituti sunt, quod lex curiata ostendit ab L. Bruto repetita. mansitque consulibus potestas deligendi, donec eum quoque honorem populus mandaret. creatique primum Valerius Potitus et Aemilius Mamercus sexagesimo tertio anno post Tarquinios exactos, ut rem militarem comitarentur. dein gliscentibus negotiis duo additi, qui Romae curarent; mox duplicatus numerus, stipendiaria iam Italia et accedentibus provinciarum vectigalibus. post lege Sullae viginti creati supplendo senatui, cui iudicia tradiderat. et quamquam equites iudicia reciperavissent, quaestura tamen ex dignitate candidatorum aut facilitate tribuentium

22. *adipiscerentur*] This enactment was repealed by Nero (xiii. 5, "ne designatis quaestoribus edendi gladiatores necessitas esset"), and came again into force under Domitian. Cf. Suet. Domit. 4, "quaestoriis muneribus quae olim omissa revocaverat semper interfuit." For P. Dolabella, cf. iii, 47.

ne aetas quidem] It appears from this passage that until the Lex Villia of L. Villius Tappulus, 180 A.C., any one could be a candidate for any office after completing his 27th year. This Lex Villia fixed 30 years of age for the quaestorship, 33 for the tribunate, 36 for the aedileship, 39 for the praetorship, and 42 or 43 for the consulship.

lex curiata] A Lex Curiata was required in order to bestow on the kings, and afterwards on dictators, consuls, &c., the 'imperium.' This was passed at the 'comitia curiata' as the assembly of the old 'populus,' or burghers, in which no plebeian had the right of voting.

populus mandaret] Tacitus implies in this account that the consuls at first presented the new quaestors to the 'curiae' for appointment, and that from 447 A.C. the quaestors were elected by the people, without presentation by the consuls, and probably, therefore, in the 'comitia tributa,' or 'centuriata.' These quaestors, however, were 'quaestores parricidii,' not 'quaestores classici,' and, as far as I understand Tacitus, he seems to have confused the two. In 421 A.C. four quaestors were appointed ('quaestores classici'), two remaining at Rome, as before ('urbani'), and two attending the consuls on their military expeditions. According to Livy (iv. 43), the military quaestors were the latest chosen, "praeter duos urbanos quaestores duo qui consulibus ad ministeria belli praesto essent;" whereas Tacitus reverses the matter, making the original two quaestors 'militares,' and the additional two 'urbani.' Perhaps, as Ernesti suggests, at first the quaestors combined civil and military duties, and then, on the increase of the latter, two more were appointed, who might be said either to have been created for civil or military functions. It was about 266 A.C. that the number was increased to eight ('mox duplicatus numerus'). Sulla appointed twenty to enlarge the number of senators, for all quaestors became members of that body.

gratuito concedebatur, donec sententia Dolabellae velut venundaretur.

23. A. Vitellio L. Vipstano consulibus cum de supplendo senatu agitaretur primoresque Galliae, quae comata appellatur, foedera et civitatem Romanam pridem adsecuti, ius adipiscendorum in urbe honorum expeterent, multus ea super re variusque rumor. et studiis diversis apud principem certabatur adseverantium non adeo aegram Italiam ut senatum suppeditare urbi suae nequiret. suffecisse olim indigenas consanguineis populis, nec paenitere veteris rei publicae. quin adhuc memorari exempla quae priscis moribus ad virtutem et gloriam Romana indoles prodiderit. an parum quod Veneti et Insubres curiam inruperint, nisi coetus alienigenarum velut captivitas inferatur? quem ultra honorem residuis nobilium, aut si quis pauper e Latio senator foret? oppleturos omnia divites illos, quorum avi proavique hostilium nationum duces exercitus nostros ferro vique ceciderint, divum Iulium apud Alesiam obsederint. recentia haec: quid si memoria eorum ore-

gratuito] The quaestor was bestowed either in accordance with the claims of the candidates, or the promptings of good nature on the part of the electors ('tribuentium,' the people, and the senate under the emperors), without any authorized expense being inflicted on the successful candidates.

23. *A. Vitellio*] This was the son of L. Vitellius, and the future emperor. L. Vipstanus Publicola was perhaps father of C. Vipstanus Apronianus, consul 59 A.D.

comata] I. e., Transalpine Gaul, as distinguished from Cisalpine or 'togata.'

foedera et civitatem] The 'civitas' had been long before given to individuals in the Gallic states, in return for eminent services to Rome; and when Augustus visited Gaul (cf. Suet. Aug. 47; Dio liv. 25), he bestowed it (though without the 'suffragium et honores') on the leading men of several states; but it had not been given to the entire population of the towns.

suffecisse] 'In the olden times, the native inhabitants were amply sufficient, although the peoples round them were of kindred blood.' The words 'consanguineis populis' are a sort of ablative absolute. Cf. xii. 13, "praecipua religione Herculis;" xiv. 37, "difficili effugio."

inruperint] C. Julius Caesar (49 A.C.) bestowed the 'civitas' on the Transpadani (all between the Po and the Alps). Cf. Dio Cass. xli. 36, καὶ τοῖς Γαλάταις τοῖς ἐντὸς τῶν Ἄλπεων ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἠριδανὸν οἰκοῦσι τὴν πολιτείαν ἅτε καὶ ἄρξας αὐτῶν ἀπέδωκεν.

velut captivitas] This seems an incorrectly worded sentence. Comparing xii. 51, "ut morte honesta contumeliis captivitatis eximeretur," the word has a passive meaning, not an active one: it expresses the being taken captive (or being in a state of captivity), not the act of taking captive. It is the state of the Romans invaded by a horde of foreigners, which is represented by 'captivitas;' but as the sentence stands, it is 'coetus alienigenarum' who are made a 'captivitas.' Orelli explains 'captivitas' to be equivalent to 'a horde of men conquered in war, and made a prey of by the Romans;' but I do not think he is right, and I believe rather that Tacitus wrote confusedly. Ancient authors were not probably any more exempt than modern writers from occasional haziness in the use of words and turns of expression.

apud Alesiam] Alesia was a town of the Mandubii. For the siege, cf. Caesar, B. G. vii. 68—90. C. Julius Caesar blockaded Alesia, and many Galli came to relieve the town and compel him to raise the siege.

retur, qui Capitolio et ara Romana manibus eorundem per se satis * * * * ? fruerentur sane vocabulo civitatis: insignia patrum, decora magistratuum ne vulgarent.

24. His atque talibus haud permotus princeps et statim contra disseruit et vocato senatu ita exorsus est: "maiores mei, quorum antiquissimus Clausus origine Sabina simul in civitatem Romanam et in familias patriciorum adscitus est, hortantur uti paribus consiliis *in* re publica capessenda, transferendo huc quod usquam egregium fuerit. neque enim ignoro Iulios Alba, Coruncanios Camerio, Porcios Tusculo, et ne vetera scrutemur, Etruria Lucaniaque et omni Italia in senatum accitos, postremo ipsam ad Alpes promotam, ut non modo singuli viritim, sed terrae, gentes in nomen nostrum coalescerent. tunc solida domi quies et adversus externa floruimus, cum Transpadani in civitatem recepti cum specie deductarum per orbem terrae legionum additis provincialium validissimis fesso imperio subventum est. num paenitet Balbos ex Hispania nec minus insignes viros e Gallia Narbonensi transivisse? manent posteri eorum nec amore in hanc patriam nobis concedunt. quid aliud exitio Lacedaemoniis et Atheniensibus fuit, quamquam armis pollerent, nisi quod victos pro alienigenis arcebant? at conditor nostri Romulus tantum sapientia valuit, ut plerosque populos eodem die hostes, dein cives habuerit. advenae in nos regnaverunt: libertinorum filiis magistratus mandari non, ut plerique falluntur, repens, sed priori populo factita-

24. *Clausus*] Cf. iv. 9, Suet. Tiber. 1, "Patricia gens Claudia orta est ex Regillis oppido Sabinorum. Inde Romam recens conditam cum magna clientum manu commigravit auctore Tito Tatio consorte Romuli: vel quod magis constat, Atta Claudio gentis principe post reges exactos sexto fere anno a patribus in patricios cooptata."

Camerio] Camerium, or Cameria, was a town of Latium, colonized from Alba Longa. It was destroyed 502 A.C., for espousing the cause of the banished Tarquin. The cognomen of Camerinus was borne by one of the families of the 'gens Sulpicia.' There was a Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus consul 500 A.C. Ti. Coruncanius was dictator 246 A.C.

deductarum] 'Deducere' is the technical word for planting colonies; and the allusion apparently is to the establishment of these colonies of military occupation in different parts of the Roman empire.

Balbos] Cf. xii. 60, and Cic. pro Balbo, c. 2, &c. Below, 'in nos regnaverunt,' as Draeger observes, is modelled after the form 'dominari in aliquem.'

libertinorum filiis] Cf. Suet. Claud. 24, "Appium Caecum censorem libertinorum filios in senatum allegisse docuit, ignarus temporibus Appii et deinceps aliquamdiu libertinos dictos non ipsos qui manumitterentur sed ingenuos ex his procreatos." Claudius quoted this fact to justify his own bestowal of the 'laticlave' on a 'libertini filio.' The effect of the measure of Appius Claudius was, that his colleague was so ashamed that he resigned his office (cf. Liv. x. 20). Still in 303 A.C., Cn. Flavius, 'patre libertino,' was made curule aedile. C. Julius Caesar admitted into the senate the sons of freedmen; but 'priori populo' would refer to an earlier date than this, as the custom was not unknown, as we have seen, long before.

tum est. at cum Senonibus pugnavimus : scilicet Vulsci et Aequi numquam adversam nobis aciem instruxere. capti a Gallis sumus : sed et Tuscis obsides dedimus et Samnitium iugum subîmus. ac tamen, si cuncta bella recenseas, nullum breviore spatio quam adversus Gallos confectum : continua inde ac fida pax. iam moribus artibus adfinitatibus nostris mixti aurum et opes suas inferant potius quam separati habeant. omnia, patres conscripti, quae nunc vetustissima creduntur, nova fuere : plebei magistratus post patricios, Latini post plebeios, ceterarum Italiae gentium post Latinos. inveterascet hoc quoque, et quod hodie exemplis tuemur, inter exempla erit."

25. Orationem principis secuto patrum consulto primi Aedui senatorum in urbe ius adepti sunt. datum id foederi antiquo, et quia soli Gallorum fraternitatis nomen cum populo Romano usurpant.

Isdem diebus in numerum patriciorum adscivit Caesar vetustissimum quemque e senatu aut quibus clari parentes fuerant, paucis iam reliquis familiarum, quas Romulus maiorum et L. Brutus minorum gentium appellaverant, exhaustis etiam quas dictator Caesar lege Cassia et princeps Augustus lege Saenia sublegere;

at cum Senonibus] This is the statement of a supposed objection : 'but some one will say, we have met the Senones in battle as enemies;' and the reply is given by 'scilicet,' &c., 'well, yes, of course we have ; but then we met the Vulsci and Aequi too in the same way, and yet they were admitted to the citizenship : why not the Senones? And as for the fact of the Gauls having taken Rome, why, for the matter of that, Porsenna and C. Pontius, at the Caudine Forks, defeated us.'

breviore spatio] Tacitus is speaking of Gallia Comata or Transalpina, the conquest of which occupied C. Julius Caesar for about eight years, from 58 A.C. to 51 A.C.

25. *primi Aedui*] The words of Tacitus do not imply, I imagine, that the Aedui alone obtained the right of aspiring to senatorial honours at Rome. This right was sought for all the peoples of Gallia Comata, judging from the language of Claudius himself ("iam comatae Galliae causa agenda est, in qua si quis hoc intuetur quod bello per decem annos exercuerunt divum Iulium") ; but there would only be a limited number of vacancies in the senatorial body, and from all the eligible candidates, consisting of those, namely, who had filled some magistracy at home, and so obtained the franchise of Rome, a preference was given to those who belonged to the Aedui. This compliment was paid them in return for their old connexion with Rome. They had long before had the name of 'fratres' given them. Cf. Cic. ad Fam. vii. 10, 4, "fratres nostri Hedui," and Caesar, B. G. i. 33, "Haeduos fratres consanguineosque saepe numero a senatu appellatos."

minorum gentium] Livy (i. 35), says, that the hundred senators appointed by Tarquinius Priscus (from the Luceres), were called by this name. Those appointed by Lucius Brutus were 'conscripti' (Livy, ii. 1). Tacitus perhaps combined under one head those appointed by Tarquinius and Brutus, as alike distinguished from the old Rhamnenses and Titienses of Romulus, and termed them 'minorum gentium.'

lege Cassia] This law was passed apparently by the direction of Caesar, about 45 A.C., by C. Cassius (cf. Dio Cass. xliii. 47), its object being to fill up vacancies in the senate. The Lex Saenia was most likely passed about 29 A.C., with the same object (cf. Dion. Cass. lii. 42).

laetaque haec in rem publicam munia multo gaudio censoris inibantur. famosos probris quonam modo senatu depelleret anxius, mitem et recens repertam quam ex severitate prisca rationem adhibuit, monendo secum quisque de se consultaret peteretque ius exuendi ordinis: facilem eius rei veniam. et motos senatu excusatosque simul propositurum, ut iudicium censorum ac pudor sponte cedentium permixti ignominiam mollirent. ob ea Vipstanus consul rettulit patrem senatus appellandum esse Claudium: quippe promiscum patris patriae cognomentum; nova in rem publicam merita non usitatis vocabulis honoranda. sed ipse cohibuit consulem ut nimium adsentantem. condiditque lustrum, quo censa sunt civium LVIIII. LXXXIIII. LXXII. isque illi finis

recens repertam] Sc. by Augustus, cf. Suet. August. 35, "quosdam (e senatoribus) ad excusandi se verecundiam compulit."

permixti] This is altogether unusual, for as 'pudor' and 'iudicium' are impersonal, the neuter 'permixta' would be the common form.

civium] The number of citizens given here is 5,984,072, i. e., quinquagies novies centena octoginta quattuor milia septuaginta duo. This is, of course, the number of Roman citizens all over the world, not of the inhabitants at Rome, of military age, between 17 and 60. Assuming the proportion of men of this age to be one quarter of the whole, this would give a Roman population of about 24,000,000. Calculating in the same manner, the numbers about 35 years before were something like 17,000,000, and the increase was no doubt due to a considerable extent to the rapid extension of the boon of citizenship beginning to be lavishly given by the Roman emperors. With regard to the argument by which Claudius supported his proposed extension of this privilege, a fragment of his speech on the occasion was found A.D. 1529, at Lyon, inscribed on a brazen tablet. The contents of this are given by Lipsius, and the comparison of what Claudius did say with what Tacitus represents him as saying, is of interest, because it shows that the historian did not profess to confine himself to an exact account of the speeches really made by his personages. Thucydides, at the beginning of his History of the Peloponnesian war, explains his views on this point (i. 22), χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων διαμνημονεῦσαι ἦν, ὡς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστα εἰπεῖν, ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων οὕτως εἴρηται. And this was clearly the plan of Tacitus: if he knew what was said actually, he put it down, if not, what might have been said.

The speech of Claudius runs as follows:—

"Eqvidem primam omnivm illam cogitationem hominvm qva(m) maxime primam occvrsvram mihi provideo deprecor ne qvasi novam istam rem introdvci exhorrescatis sed illa potivs cogitetis qvam mvlta in hac civitate novata sint e(t) qvidem statim ab origine vrbis nostrae in qvod (i. e. qvot) formas statvsque res p. nostra didvcta sit. Qvondam reges hanc tenvere vrbem, nec tamen domesticis svcc(es)oribus eam tradere contigit svpervenere alieni et qvidem ext(er)ni vt Nvma Romvlo svccesserit ex Sabinis veniens vicinvs q(vi)dem sed tvnc externvs vt Anco Marcio Priscvs Tarqvinivs (is) propter temeratvm sangvinem qvod patre Demaratho C(o)rinthio natvs erat et Tarqviniensi matre generosa sed inopi vt qvae tali marito necesse habverit svccvmbere cvm domi repelleretur a gerendis honoribus postqvam Romam migravit regnvm adeptvs est hvic qvoqve et filio nepotive eivs nam et hoc inter avctores discrepat insertvs Servivs Tvllivs si nostros seqvimvr captiva natvs Ocresia si Tvscos Caeli qvondam Vivennae sodalis fidelissimvs omnisque eivs casvs comes postqvam varia fortvna exactvs cvm omnibvs reliqvis Caelian(i) exercitvs Etrvria excessit montem Caelivm occvpavit et a dvce svo Caelio ita appellitatvs mvtatoqve nomine nam Tvsce Mastarna ei nomen erat ita

inscitiae erga domum suam fuit. haud multo post flagitia uxoris noscere ac punire adactus, ut deinde ardesceret in nuptias incestas.

26. Iam Messalina facilitate adulteriorum in fastidium versa ad incognitas libidines profluebat, cum abrumpi dissimulationem etiam Silius, sive fatali vaecordia an imminentium periculorum remedium ipsa pericula ratus, urgebat: quippe non eo ventum, ut

appellatvs est vt dixi et regnvm summa cvm rei p. vtilitate optinvit deinde postqvam Tarqvini Svperbi mores (in)visi civitati nostrae esse coepervnt qva ipsivs qva filiorvm e(ivs) nempe pertaesvm est mentes regni et ad consvles annvos mag(is)tratvs administratio rei p. translata est Qvid nvnc commemorem dictatvrae hoc ipso consvlari (imp)erivm valentivs repertvm apvd maiores nostros qvo in a(s)perioribus bellis avt in civili motv difficiliore vterentv(r) avt in avxilivm plebis creatos tribvnos plebei qvid a con(s)vlibvs ad decemviros translatvm imperivm solvtoque po(st)ea decemvirali regno ad consvles rvsvs (i. e. rursus) reditvm qvid in (pl)vris distribvtvm consvlare imperivm tribvnosqve mi(litvm) consvlari imperio appellatos qvi seni et saepe octoni crearentvr qvid commvnicatos postremo cvm plebe honores non imperii solvm sed sacerdotiorvm qvoqve iam si narrem bella a qvibvs coeperint maiores nostri et qvo processerimvs vereor ne nim(i)o insolentior esse videar et qvaesisse iactationem gloriae prolati imperi vltra oceanvm sed illoc potivs revertar civitat(e)m."

COL. II.

"isi . . . sane novo . . . . divvs Avg . . . no . . i . . set patrvvs . . Ti Caesar omnem florem vbiqve coloniarvm ac mvnicipiorvm bonorvm scilicet virorvm et locvpletivm in hac cvria esse volvit qvid ergo non Italicvs senator provinciali potior est iam vobis cvm hanc partem censvrae meae adprobare coepero qvid de ea re sentiam rebvs ostendam sed ne provinciales qvidem si modo ornare cvriam poterint reiciendos pvto ornatissima ecce colonia valentissimaqve Viennensivm qvam longo iam tempore Senatores hvic cvriae confert ex qva colonia inter pavcos eqvestris ordinis ornamentvm L. Vestinvm familiarissime diligo et hodieqve in rebvs meis detineo cvivs liberi frvantvr qvaeso primo sacerdotiorvm gradv post modo cvm annis promotvri dignitatis svae incrementa vt dirvm nomen latronis nomen taceam et odi illvd palaestricvm prodigivm qvod ante in domvm consvlatvm intvlit qvam colonia sva solidvm civitatis Romanae beneficivm consecvta est idem de fratre eivs possvm dicere miserabili qvidem indignissimoqve hoc casv vt vobis vtilis senator esse non possit. tempvs est jam Ti. Caesar Germanice detegere te patribvs conscriptis qvo tendat oratio tva iam enim ad extremos fines Galliae Narbonensis venisti.

"Tot ecce insignes ivvenes qvot intveor non magis svnt paenitendi senatores quam paenitet Persicvm nobilissimvm virvm amicvm mevm inter imagines maiorvm svorvm Allobrogici nomen legere qvod si haec ita esse consentitis qvid vltra desideratis qvam vt vobis digito demonstrem solvm ipsvm vltra fines provinciae Narbonensis iam vobis senatores mittere qvando ex Lvgdvno habere nos nostri ordinis viros non paenitet timide qvidem P. C. egressvs adsvetos familiares qve vobis provinciarvm terminos svm sed destricte iam Comatae Galliae cavsa agenda est in qva si qvis hoc intvetvr qvod bello per decem annos exercvervnt divom Ivlivm idem opponat centvm annorvm immobilem fidem obseqvivmqve mvltis trepidis rebvs nostris plvsqvam expertvm illi patri meo Drvso Germaniam svbigenti tvtam qviete sva secvramqve a tergo pacem praestitervnt et qvidem cvm adcensvs novo tvm opere et inadsveto Gallis ad bellvm avocatvs esset qvod opvs qvam ardvvm sit nobis nvnc cvm maxime qvamvis nihil vltra qvam vt pvblice notae sint facvltates nostrae exqviratvr nimis magno experimento cognoscimvs."

26. *sive . . . . an*] Cf. xiv. 59, "sed Plautum ea non movere sive nullam opem providebat . . . . seu taedio ambiguae spei, an amore coniugis."

non eo ventum] Cf. xv. 27, "nec enim adhuc eo ventum ut certamine extremo opus esset." Silius meant to say that there were other ways of securing their

senectam principis opperiretur. insontibus innoxia consilia, flagitiis manifestis subsidium ab audacia petendum. adesse conscios paria metuentes. se caelibem, orbum, nuptiis et adoptando Britannico paratum. mansuram eandem Messalinae potentiam, addita securitate, si praevenirent Claudium, ut insidiis incautum, ita irae properum. segniter eae voces acceptae, non amore in maritum, sed ne Silius summa adeptus sperneret adulteram scelusque inter ancipitia probatum veris mox pretiis aestimaret. nomen tamen matrimonii concupivit ob magnitudinem infamiae, cuius apud prodigos novissima voluptas est. nec ultra expectato quam dum sacrificii gratia Claudius Ostiam proficisceretur, cuncta nuptiarum sollemnia celebrat.

27. Haud sum ignarus fabulosum visum iri tantum ullis mortalium securitatis fuisse in civitate omnium gnara et nihil reticente, nedum consulem designatum cum uxore principis, praedicta die, adhibitis qui obsignarent, velut suscipiendorum liberorum causa convenisse, atque illam audisse auspicum verba, subisse,

end than by waiting for the Emperor's death, which might be long in coming. There were other schemes possible: their ingenuity was not at so low an ebb as to leave them without any plan but that. Silius felt the danger of the position in which Messalina and he were placed, and wished to secure themselves by despatching Claudius. Messalina, however, was not so eager, for reasons stated by Tacitus, to carry out his scheme, and yet was anxious to have the pleasure of perpetrating an act of enormity of unprecedented effrontery; so great, indeed, that it is difficult to believe it. That the Emperor's wife, during his lifetime, undivorced, should have not only dared to contract a formal marriage, but have found others to take part in such a scheme, appears almost incredible. And yet all writers concur in their account of it. Nevertheless, if the narrative was originally derived from the memoirs of Agrippina (cf. Tacitus, iv. 53), the successful rival of Messalina, the account of the matter may well be exaggerated, and, in some details, simply untrue. Suetonius (Claud. 29), says, "nam illud omnem fidem excesserit quod nuptiis quas Messalina cum adultero Silio fecerat tabellas dotis et ipse consignaverit, inductus quasi de industria simularentur ad avertendum transferendumque periculum quod imminere ipsi per quaedam ostenta portenderetur." According to this, there was clearly a story current that Claudius had been induced to allow a sham marriage to take place, with all due formalities, between Messalina and Silius, in order to transfer to him the danger which was said to threaten himself as the husband of Messalina. Suetonius treats this as a device of Messalina; but it may possibly have been a distorted representation of a fact, that Claudius really did arrange the marriage, perhaps intending it to be a matter of form only. Messalina may have converted it into a reality, and then her conduct may easily have been turned by the displaced freedmen, her former paramours, into a cause for accusation.

insontibus innoxia consilia] 'The guiltless only could form plans without crime.' Below, in 'irae properum,' 'irae' is the genitive case. Cf. xii. 66, "oblatae occasionis propera."

nec ultra expectato] Cf. xii. 7, "nec Claudius ultra expectato obvius," &c.

27. *obsignarent*] Cf. Suet. Claud. 26, "dote inter auspices consignata," and 28, "tabellas dotis ipse consignaverit."

subisse] The text seems doubtful. If it be correct, either 'subisse' has some technical meaning, perhaps equivalent to 'in manu viri convenisse,' of which there is no proof, or it must be equivalent to 'sustinuisse,' 'ventured to,' although 'subisse audisse' in the sense

sacrificasse apud deos; discubitum inter convivas, oscula complexus, noctem denique actam licentia coniugali, sed nihil compositum miraculi causa, verum audita scriptaque senioribus tradam.

28. Igitur domus principis inhorruerat, maximeque quos penes potentia et, si res verterentur, formido, non iam secretis conloquiis, sed aperte fremere, dum histrio cubiculum principis exsultaverit, dedecus quidem inlatum, sed excidium procul afuisse: nunc iuvenem nobilem dignitate, forma, vi mentis ac propinquo consulatu maiorem ad spem adcingi; nec enim occultum, quid post tale matrimonium superesset. subibat sine dubio metus reputantes hebetem Claudium et uxori devinctum multasque mortes iussu Messalinae patratas: rursus ipsa facilitas imperatoris fiduciam dabat, si atrocitate criminis praevaluissent, posse opprimi damnatam ante quam ream; sed in eo discrimen verti, si defensio audiretur, utque clausae aures etiam confitenti forent.

29. Ac primo Callistus, iam mihi circa necem *C.* Caesaris narratus, et Appianae caedis molitor Narcissus flagrantissimaque eo in tempore gratia Pallas agitavere, num Messalinam secretis minis depellerent amore Silii, cuncta alia dissimulantes. dein metu, ne ad perniciem ultro traherentur, desistunt, Pallas per ignaviam, Callistus prioris quoque regiae peritus et potentiam cautis quam acribus consiliis tutius haberi: perstitit Narcissus, ut solum id immutans, ne quo sermone praesciam criminis et

of 'had the effrontery to hear,' would be, I imagine, an ungrammatical continuation; for as the time of the two verbs is contemporaneous, 'audire' would be required. No doubt the text is corrupt: perhaps 'audisse' is a gloss.

discubitum] Cf. Juv. ii. 119, "signatae tabulae: dictum feliciter, ingens cena sedet, gremio jacuit nova nupta marito."

28. *exsultaverit*] This reading may, I think, be correct. Ἐξορχεῖσθαι τὰ ἀπόρρητα is used by Lucian for 'to dance out,' 'betray secrets,' and Tacitus may have used 'exultare' in the same meaning, as appropriate to the profession of the 'histrio Mnester.' He had betrayed the secrets of the Imperial bed-chamber, by his intrigues with Messalina.

atrocitate criminis] 'By the enormity of the charge brought against Messalina.' In the case of a less heinous charge, Claudius would have allowed his wife an opportunity of self-defence, and so have been talked over by her persuasive tongue. The more atrocious the charge against her, the less chance there would be of this happening.

utque clausae, &c.] Tacitus has carried his extreme brevity to the verge of obscurity here. 'Discrimen' only applies to the first clause, and some word has to be supplied for it, to suit the second part of the sentence. 'The danger was the possibility of her defence being heard, and the point to aim at was that his ears should be closed even against her admission of guilt.'

29. *Appianae caedis*] Appius Silanus fell a victim to the scheme devised by Narcissus and Messalina, who pretended to have dreamed simultaneously that he offered violence to Claudius. On his appearance shortly after, as though this were a corroboration of the dream, he was put to death.

ut solum] Narcissus stood his ground, so far at least as he could be said to do

accusatoris faceret: ipse ad occasiones intentus, longa apud Ostiam Caesaris mora, duas pelices, quarum is corpori maxime insueverat, largitione ac promissis et uxore deiecta plus potentiae ostentando perpulit delationem subire.

30. Exim Calpurnia (id pelici nomen), ubi datum secretum, genibus Caesaris provoluta nupsisse Messalinam Silio exclamat; simul Cleopatram, quae idem opperiens adstabat, an comperisset interrogat, atque illa annuente cieri Narcissum postulat. is veniam in praeteritum petens, quod cis Vettios, Plautios dissimulavisset, nec nunc adulteria obiecturum ait, ne domum servitia et ceteros fortunae paratus reposceret. frueretur immo his, et redderet uxorem rumperetque tabulas nuptiales. 'an discidium' inquit 'tuum nosti? nam matrimonium Silii vidit populus et senatus et miles; ac ni propere agis, tenet urbem maritus.'

31. Tum potissimos amicorum vocat, primumque rei frumentariae praefectum Turranium, post Lusium Getam praetorianis inpositum percunctatur. quis fatentibus certatim ceteri circumstrepunt, iret in castra, firmaret praetorias cohortes, securitati ante quam vindictae consuleret. satis constat eo pavore offusum Claudium, ut identidem interrogaret, an ipse imperii potens, an Silius privatus esset. at Messalina non alias solutior luxu, adulto autumno simulacrum vindemiae per domum celebrabat. urgeri prela, fluere lacus; et feminae pellibus accinctae adsultabant ut sacrificantes vel

so, while making one solitary alteration. Another way of expressing this would be, "ita perstitit ut solum id immutaret." The use of 'ut' here seems to me very like that in Horace, Sat. i. 6. 78, "vestem servosque sequentes, in magno ut populo si quis vidisset," i. e. so far as one can be seen in a large concourse of people.

30. *genibus provoluta*] So. xii. 18, xiv. 61. The usual construction is 'ad,' with an accusative; 'advolvi' occurs with a dative in i. 23.

cis Vettios] Vettius and Plautius (xi. 35, 36) were lovers of Messalina. In all cases up to their amours with her, Narcissus had made no sign; when the Empress's intrigues went beyond them, and extended to men like Silius, he could no longer hold his peace. The only difficulty is that Vettius and Plautus are included in those whose amours were kept secret; but perhaps if we suppose Tacitus to have had a circle in his thoughts, Vettius and Plautius as the circumference, might be spoken of as themselves included in the circular area, and Silius, distinctly outside, so far be contrasted with them. The same meaning would have been conveyed more naturally by 'cis Silium.'

ne . . . reposceret] 'Much less did he want him to demand back.' For 'ne,' in the sense of 'nedum,' cf. Sall. Catil. 11, "quippe secundae res sapientium animos fatigant, ne illi corruptis moribus victoriae temperarent;" Liv. iii. 52, "novam inexpertamque eam potestatem eripuere patribus nostris, ne nunc dulcedine semel capti ferant desiderium." Also Cic. ad Fam. ix. 26, "me vero nihil istorum ne iuvenem quidem movit unquam ne nunc senem." Below, 'an discidium tuum nosti' is 'or can it be, that you acquiesce in your severance (from Messalina)?' Narcissus had previously assumed ignorance of the marriage on the part of Claudius, now he indicates that there might be, not ignorance, but connivance or acquiescence.

31. *adulto autumno*] Cf. ii. 23, and the note there.

pellibus] Cf. Eurip. Bacch. iii., στικ-

insanientes Bacchae; ipsa crine fluxo thyrsum quatiens, iuxtaque Silius hedera vinctus, gerere cothurnos, iacere caput, strepente circum procaci choro. ferunt Vettium Valentem lascivia in praealtam arborem conisum, interrogantibus quid aspiceret, respondisse tempestatem ab Ostia atrocem, sive coeperat ea species, seu forte lapsa vox in praesagium vertit.

32. Non rumor interea, sed undique nuntii incedunt, qui gnara Claudio cuncta et venire promptum ultioni adferrent. igitur Messalina Lucullianos in hortos, Silius dissimulando metu ad munia fori digrediuntur. ceteris passim dilabentibus adfuere centuriones, inditaque sunt vincla, ut quis reperiebatur in publico aut per latebras. Messalina tamen, quamquam res adversae consilium eximerent, ire obviam et aspici a marito, quod saepe subsidium habuerat, haud segniter intendit misitque ut Britannicus et Octavia in complexum patris pergerent. et Vibidiam, virginum Vestalium vetustissimam, oravit pontificis maximi aures adire, clementiam expetere. atque interim, tribus omnino comitantibus (id repente solitudinis erat) spatium urbis pedibus emensa, vehiculo, quo purgamenta hortorum excipiuntur, Ostiensem viam intrat, nulla cuiusquam misericordia, quia flagitiorum deformitas praevalebat.

33. Trepidabatur nihilo minus a Caesare: quippe Getae praetorii praefecto haud satis fidebant, ad honesta seu prava iuxta levi. ergo Narcissus, adsumptis quibus idem metus, non aliam spem incolumitatis Caesaris adfirmat, quam si ius militum uno illo die in aliquem libertorum transferret, seque offert suscepturum. ac ne, dum in urbem revehitur, ad paenitentiam a L. Vitellio et Largo Caecina mutaretur, in eodem gestamine sedem poscit assumitque.

τῶν τ' ἐνδυτὰ νεβρίδων, στεφέτε λευκοτρίχων πλοκάμων μαλλοῖς. Below, for 'hedera vinctus,' cf. Eurip. Bacch. 702, *ἐπὶ δ' ἔθεντο κισσίνους στεφάνους δρυός τε σμίλακος τ' ἀνθεσφόρου.*

sive coeperat] 'Whether symptoms of the kind had really begun to show themselves.'

32. *dissimulando metu*] 'In a state of fear requiring concealment,' nearly equivalent to 'for the sake of concealing his fear.' Cf. xiv. 4, "sive explenda simulatione," and iii. 19, "ulciscenda Germanici morte." Of course, 'metu' might be the dative for 'metui,' as Tacitus often uses that form (cf. xiv. 4, "ut occultando facinori nox adhiberetur"); but it is probably the ablative. This construction seems peculiar to Tacitus, as far as I know.

pontificis maximi] Sc. of Claudius himself, cf. iii. 58. Below, 'vehiculo quo purgamenta,' &c., is a vehicle used to cart away garden refuse, leaves, worthless vegetables, and the like.

33. *ius militum*] That is, the command of the Praetorian guard. Cf. H. ii. 92, "reversis ab exsilio iura libertorum concessisset," i. e. 'the rights usually exercised over freedmen by their late masters.'

et Largo Caecina] The reading of the Cod. Med. is p. Largo Caecina: but his 'praenomen' was Caius (Dio lx. 10). He was consul A.D. 42 with Claudius.

in eodem gestamine] In xiv. 4, and

34. Crebra post haec fama fuit, inter diversas principis voces, cum modo incusaret flagitia uxoris, aliquando ad memoriam coniugii et infantium liberorum revolveretur, non aliud prolocutum Vitellium quam 'o facinus! o scelus!' instabat quidem Narcissus aperire ambages et veri copiam facere: sed non ideo pervicit, quin suspensa et quo ducerentur inclinatura responderet exemploque eius Largus Caecina uteretur. et iam erat in aspectu Messalina clamitabatque audiret Octaviae et Britannici matrem, cum obstreperet accusator, Silium et nuptias referens; simul codicillos libidinum indices tradidit, quis visus Caesaris averteret. nec multo post urbem ingredienti offerebantur communes liberi, nisi Narcissus amoveri eos iussisset. Vibidiam depellere nequivit, quin multa cum invidia flagitaret, ne indefensa coniux exitio daretur. igitur auditurum principem et fore diluendi criminis facultatem respondit: iret interim virgo et sacra capesseret.

35. Mirum inter haec silentium Claudii, Vitellius ignaro propior: omnia liberto obediebant. patefieri domum adulteri atque illuc deduci imperatorem iubet. ac primum in vestibulo effigiem patris Silii consulto senatus abolitam demonstrat, tum quidquid avitum Neronibus et Drusis in pretium probri cessisse. incensumque et ad minas erumpentem castris infert, parata contione militum; apud quos praemonente Narcisso pauca verba fecit: nam etsi iustum dolorem pudor impediebat. continuus dehinc cohortium clamor nomina reorum et poenas flagitantium; admotusque Silius tribunali non defensionem, non moras temptavit, precatus ut mors acceleraretur. eadem constantia et illustres equites Romani [cupido maturae necis fuit]. Et Titium Proculum, custodem a Silio Messalinae datum et indicium offerentem, Vettium Valentem confessum et Pompeium Urbicum ac Saufeium Trogum ex consciis

xv. 57, Tacitus uses 'gestamen sellae' for a sedan chair; but as four people are spoken of as travelling together, one would suppose a carriage of some kind to be intended.

34. *aperire ambages*] 'To unfold these enigmatical utterances,' to commit himself to something more definite and decided. Vitellius confined himself judiciously to vague remarks, which might imply any thing—detestation of Messalina's crime, or the conduct of Narcissus in betraying her. Vitellius was a trimmer.

multa cum invidia] 'With many reproaches.' This use of 'invidia' has been noticed already.

35. *patris Silii*] Cf. iv. 19. Below, 'Neronibus et Drusis,' because Claudius was grandson of Tib. Claudius Nero, and Livia, daughter of Marcus Livius Drusus Claudianus.

in pretium probri cessisse] 'Had gone to swell the profits of the crime' of Silius. Cf. H. i. 11, "provinciae in pretium belli cessurae erant."

praemonente Narcisso] Narcissus gave a short address to the soldiers, suggesting them the proper line to pursue under the circumstances, and then Claudius made his speech. Cf. xii. 69, "monente praefecto faustis vocibus exceptus inditur

tradi ad supplicium iubet. Decius quoque Calpurnianus vigilum praefectus, Sulpicius Rufus ludi procurator, Iuncus Vergilianus senator eadem poena adfecti.

36. Solus Mnester cunctationem attulit, dilaniata veste clamitans aspiceret verberum notas, reminisceretur vocis, qua se obnoxium iussis Messalinae dedisset: aliis largitione aut spei magnitudine, sibi ex necessitate culpam; nec cuiquam ante pereundum fuisse, si Silius rerum poteretur. commotum his et pronum ad misericordiam Caesarem perpulere liberti ne tot illustribus viris interfectis histrioni consuleretur: sponte an coactus tam magna peccavisset, nihil referre. ne Trauli quidem Montani equitis Romani defensio recepta est. is modesta iuventa, sed corpore insigni, accitus ultro noctemque intra unam a Messalina proturbatus erat, paribus lasciviis ad cupidinem et fastidia. Suillio Caesonino et Plautio Laterano mors remittitur, huic ob patrui egregium meritum: Caesoninus vitiis protectus est, tamquam in illo foedissimo coetu passus muliebria.

37. Interim Messalina Lucullianis in hortis prolatare vitam, componere preces, nonnulla spe et aliquando ira: tantum inter extrema superbiae gerebat. ac ni caedem eius Narcissus properavisset, verterat pernicies in accusatorem. nam Claudius domum regressus et tempestivis epulis delenitus, ubi vino incaluit, iri iubet nuntiarique miserae (hoc enim verbo usum ferunt) dicendam ad causam postero die adesset. quod ubi auditum et languescere ira, redire amor ac, si cunctarentur, propinqua nox et uxorii cubiculi memoria timebantur, prorumpit Narcissus denuntiatque centurionibus et tribuno, qui aderat, exequi caedem: ita imperatorem iubere. custos et exactor e libertis Euodus datur. isque raptim in hortos praegressus repperit fusam humi, assidente

lecticae." Claudius was too good a speaker to require actual prompting.

vigilum] Not the Praetorians, but a body of police, consisting of seven cohorts, whose duty it was to guard the city from fires, robberies, &c.

ludi procurator] 'The manager of a gladiatorial school,' not the 'manager of games,' which would require 'ludorum.' Cf. xiii. 22, "cura ludorum quia Caesare parabantur Arruntio Stellae permittuntur."

36. *qua se obnoxium*] Cf. Dio Cass. lx. 22, εἰπόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Κλαυδίου πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν προστάττηται ὑπὸ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης ποιεῖν συνῆν αὐτῇ ὡς καὶ τοῦτο ὑπ' ἐκείνου κεκελευσμένος.

patrui] That is, Aulus Plautius, the conqueror of Britain. Cf. Agric. 14.

37. *verterat*] For the intransitive sense, cf. vi. 19, "ne dubium haberetur magnitudinem pecuniae malo vertisse." Also ii. 20; iv. 81, &c.

ubi auditum] For the combination of finite and infinite verbs, cf. ii. 4, "ubi minitari Artabanus et parum subsidii in Armeniis erat." Also xii. 51, "ubi quati uterus et viscera vibrantur:" iii. 26, "postquam exui aequalitas et pro modestia et pudore ambitio et vis incedebat."

matre Lepida, quae florenti filiae haud concors supremis eius necessitatibus ad miserationem evicta erat suadebatque ne percussorem opperiretur: transisse vitam neque aliud quam morti decus quaerendum. sed animo per libidines corrupto nihil honestum inerat; lacrimaeque et questus inriti ducebantur, cum impetu venientium pulsae fores astititque tribunus per silentium, at libertus increpans multis et servilibus probris.

38. Tunc primum fortunam suam introspexit ferrumque accepit, quod frustra iugulo aut pectori per trepidationem admovens ictu tribuni transigitur. corpus matri concessum. nuntiatumque Claudio epulanti perisse Messalinam, non distincto sua an aliena manu. nec ille quaesivit, poposcitque poculum et solita convivio celebravit. ne secutis quidem diebus odii gaudii, irae tristitiae, ullius denique humani affectus signa dedit, non cum laetantes accusatores aspiceret, non cum filios maerentes. iuvitque oblivionem eius senatus censendo nomen et effigies privatis ac publicis locis demovendas. decreta Narcisso quaestoria insignia, levissimum fastidii eius, cum supra Pallantem et Callistum ageret. [honesta quidem, sed ex quis deterrima orerentur tristitiis multis.]

matre Lepida] L. Domitia Lepida was daughter of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus by Antonia *Major* (Suetonius—*Minor*, Tacitus says), and so granddaughter of the triumvir M. Antonius and Octavia. She was also sister to Cn. Domitius, the father of Nero. Her husband was Messala Barbatus (Suet. Claud. 26), son of M. Valerius Messala Barbatus Appianus, consul 12 A.C.

38. *filios maerentes*] That is, her son Britannicus, and daughter Octavia (cf. xii. 2). So 'fratres,' of a brother and sister, in xii. 4.

levissimum fastidii eius] Cf. xii. 28, "decretusque Pomponio triumphalis honos, modica pars famae eius apud posteros." 'The most trifling element in his haughty pride.' He was haughty enough to despise or think very little of such honours.

CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XII.

CONTENTS.

1. Caede Messalinae convulsa principis domus, orto apud libertos certamine, quis deligeret uxorem Claudio, caelibis vitae intoleranti et coniugum imperiis obnoxio. nec minore ambitu feminae exarserant: suam quaeque nobilitatem formam opes contendere ac digna tanto matrimonio ostentare. sed maxime ambigebatur inter Lolliam Paulinam M. Lollii consularis et Iuliam Agrippinam Germanico genitam: huic Pallas, illi Callistus fautores aderant; at Aelia Paetina e familia Tuberonum Narcisso fovebatur. ipse huc modo, modo illuc, ut quemque suadentium audierat, promptus, discordantes in consilium vocat ac promere sententiam et adicere rationes iubet.

2. Narcissus vetus matrimonium, familiam communem (nam Antonia ex Paetina erat), nihil in penatibus eius novum disserebat, si sueta coniux rediret, haudquaquam novercalibus odiis visura Britannicum *et* Octaviam, proxima suis pignora. Callistus inprobatam longo discidio, ac si rursum assumeretur, eo ipso superbam; longeque rectius Lolliam induci, quando nullos liberos genuisset, vacuam aemulatione et privignis parentis loco futuram. at Pallas id maxime in Agrippina laudare, quod Germanici nepotem secum traheret, dignum prorsus imperatoria fortuna, stirpem nobilem, et familiae Claudiae quae posteros coniungeret, ne femina expertae fecunditatis, integra iuventa, claritudinem Caesarum aliam in domum ferret.

3. Praevaluere haec adiuta Agrippinae inlecebris, *quae* ad eum per speciem necessitudinis crebro ventitando pellicit patruum, ut praelata ceteris et nondum uxor potentia uxoria iam uteretur.

1. *M. Lollii*] 'Filiam' can easily be supplied from 'genitam' in the next clause, but in truth it is hardly necessary to do so. Cf. iv. 11, "Apicatam Sejani (uxorem)." Draeger quotes Cic. de Deo. i. 46, Caeciliam Metelli (filiam). Of course, the ellipse can only be permissible when from the circumstances no ambiguity can arise. Lollia Paulina was the grand-daughter of M. Lollius (iii. 48), consul 21 A.C. and daughter of M. Lollius, consul suffectus in some year unknown.

2. *vetus matrimonium*] Claudius married first Plautia Urgulanilla, and then Aelia Paetina, both of whom he divorced, the latter on very trivial grounds (Suet. Claud. 26).

familiam communem] 'Familia' is used of one daughter Antonia. Perhaps as this daughter was married, Tacitus may have used the word, as including herself, children, &c. Antonia was betrothed first to Cn. Pompeius Magnus, and then to Faustus Sulla (Suet. Claud. 27).

quae coniungeret] I do not see any reason for altering the text here. The construction is "et ne femina . . . quae coniungeret posteros ferret," &c. There is an inversion of clauses very much like this in vi. 7, "aut quae ipsis nimia et maesta fuerant ne pari taedio lecturos adficerent verentur." 'Et ne' is 'and there was the fear (to be taken into account) lest, &c.' Claudius, a member of the Claudia gens, was brother of Germanicus, and Agrippina was the daughter of the same Germanicus: if they married, in their children the two lines would converge.

nam ubi sui matrimonii certa fuit, struere maiora nuptiasque Domitii, quem ex Cn. Ahenobarbo genuerat, et Octaviae Caesaris filiae moliri; quod sine scelere perpetrari non poterat, quia L. Silano desponderat Octaviam Caesar, iuvenemque et alia clarum insigni triumphalium et gladiatorii muneris magnificentia protulerat ad studia vulgi. sed nihil arduum videbatur in animo principis, cui non iudicium, non odium erat nisi indita et iussa.

4. Igitur Vitellius, nomine censoris serviles fallacias obtegens ingruentiumque dominationum provisor, quo gratiam Agrippinae pararet, consiliis eius implicari, ferre crimina in Silanum, cuius sane decora et procax soror, Iunia Calvina, haud multum ante Vitellii nurus fuerat. hinc initium accusationis, fratrumque non incestum, sed incustoditum amorem ad infamiam traxit. et praebebat Caesar aures, accipiendis adversus generum suspicionibus caritate filiae promptior. at Silanus insidiarum nescius ac forte eo anno praetor, repente per edictum Vitellii ordine senatorio movetur, quamquam lecto pridem senatu lustroque condito. simul affinitatem Claudius diremit, adactusque Silanus eiurare magistratum, et reliquus praeturae dies in Eprium Marcellum conlatus est.

5. C. Pompeio Q. Veranio consulibus pactum inter Claudium et Agrippinam matrimonium iam fama, iam amore inlicito firmabatur; necdum celebrare sollemnia nuptiarum audebant, nullo exemplo deductae in domum patrui fratris filiae: quin et incestum

3. *alia clarum*] For the accusative cf. iv. 28, vi. 5, and Germ. 17. L. Iunius Silanus was son of Appius Silanus (iv. 68, Suet. Claud. 29) and Aemilia Lepida, daughter of L. Aemilius Paulus and Iulia, grand-daughter of Augustus. He was yet quite young (nondum puber) when the triumphalia were given him (Suet. Claud. 24). Below 'protulerat' is equivalent to 'extulerat.'

4. *Vitellii nurus*] Iunia Calvina probably married L. Vitellius, consul suffectus A.D. 48. For Suetonius (Vitell. 6) mentions the wives of A. Vitellius (the Emperor) without any allusion to Iunia Calvina. Below, in 'hinc initium accusationis,' the meaning is that the fact that Silanus had a sister, was pressed into service, and made the starting-point of the accusation against him. That Calvina had been once daughter-in-law of Vitellius, is mentioned to explain why Vitellius had had unusual opportunities of observing the conduct of the brother and sister towards each other.

fratrumque] Cf. xi. 38, and the note there. Facciolati quotes Paulus in Dig. x. 2. 38, "Lucius et Titia fratres emancipati." So 'reges' is used for a king and queen, a royal pair.

in Eprium Marcellum] Eprius Marcellus was a notorious 'delator.' He was twice consul suffectus (for the second time 74 A.D.), augur, curio maximus, sodalis Augustalis, praetor peregrinus, proconsul of Asia (Lat. Inscrip. n. 5425). See xiii. 33, xvi. 22; H. ii. 53, H. iv. 7, 43.

5. *C. Pompeio*] This was C. Pompeius Gallus. For Veranius, cf. ii. 56.

firmabatur] The marriage was already cemented by popular rumour and by unlawful endearments. People said the marriage was complete, and the endearments which passed between them gave colour to the report, as they were only such as befitted a married pair.

incestum] This depends on 'metue-

ac, si sperneretur, ne in malum publicum erumperet metuebatur. nec ante omissa cunctatio quam Vitellius suis artibus id perpetrandum sumpsit. percontatusque Caesarem an iussis populi, an auctoritati senatus cederet, ubi ille unum se civium et consensui imparem respondit, opperiri intra palatium iubet. ipse curiam ingreditur, summamque rem publicam agi obtestans veniam dicendi ante alios exposcit orditurque: gravissimos principis labores, quis orbem terrae capessat, egere adminiculis, ut domestica cura vacuus in commune consulat. quod porro honestius censoriae mentis levamentum quam assumere coniugem, prosperis dubiisque sociam, cui cogitationes intimas, cui parvos liberos tradat, non luxui aut voluptatibus adsuefactus, sed qui prima ab iuventa legibus obtemperavisset.

6. Postquam haec favorabili oratione praemisit multaque patrum assentatio sequebatur, capto rursus initio, quando maritandum principem cuncti suaderent, deligi oportere feminam nobilitate puerperiis · sanctimonia insignem. nec diu anquirendum quin Agrippina claritudine generis anteiret: datum ab ea fecunditatis experimentum et congruere artes honestas. id vero egregium, quod provisu deum vidua iungeretur principi sua tantum matrimonia experto. audivisse a parentibus, vidisse ipsos abripi coniuges ad libita Caesarum: procul id a praesenti modestia. statueretur immo documentum, quo uxorem imperator acciperet. at enim nova nobis in fratrum filias coniugia: sed aliis gentibus sollemnia, neque lege ulla prohibita; et sobrinarum diu ignorata

batur,' or some word suggested by it, such as 'videbatur,' or the like.

censoriae mentis] Claudius was censor at this time, and Vitellius alludes to this fact: 'a mind equal to his position as censor.' The expression could without impropriety have been used if Claudius had not been censor. Cf. Plin. Epist. iii. 20. 6, "audiebat Senatus gravitate censoria."

6. *praemisit . . . . sequebatur*] The change of tense is easily explained: the speech of Vitellius was a single address, the flattery of the senators was expressed in many successive remarks or demonstrations.

nec diu anquirendum] The construction is after the model of 'non dubitari poterat quin.' 'There was no long inquiry needed to remove any doubt of Agrippina's surpassing the others in nobility of descent.' Below, the words 'principi sua,' &c., imply that Claudius had been content with his own wives, and not carried off those of other people.

statueretur immo] 'Nay it would be advisable to establish a precedent in accordance with which every future emperor might receive his bride.' The marriage of Claudius was to be a pattern for all future bridals,—a model for all emperors in after days, of a sober choice of a partner, instead of a lustful abduction of other men's wives. An addition suggested by different editors of 'a republica, a Senatu, &c.,' seems to me entirely unnecessary. Below, for 'in fratrum filias coniugia,' cf. xii. 25, "adoptio in Domitium festinatur," ii. 48, "magnificam in publicum largitionem." The accusative with the preposition in these instances points out the *sphere* of the action. The marriages spoken of in the text had nieces in view: they were affected by it.

sobrinarum] Properly 'sobrini' are

tempore addito percrebuisse. morem accommodari prout conducat, et fore hoc quoque in iis quae mox usurpentur.

7. Haud defuere qui certatim, si cunctaretur Caesar, vi acturos testificantes erumperent curia. conglobatur promisca multitudo populumque Romanum eadem orare clamitat. nec Claudius ultra exspectato obvius apud forum praebet se gratantibus, senatumque ingressus decretum postulat, quo iustae inter patruos fratrumque filias nuptiae etiam in posterum statuerentur. nec tamen repertus est nisi unus talis matrimonii cupitor, T. Alledius Severus eques Romanus, quem plerique Agrippinae gratia inpulsum ferebant. versa ex eo civitas et cuncta feminae obediebant, non per lasciviam, ut Messalina, rebus Romanis inludenti. adductum et quasi virile servitium: palam severitas ac saepius superbia; nihil domi inpudicum, nisi dominationi expediret. cupido auri immensa obtentum habebat, quasi subsidium regno pararetur.

8. Die nuptiarum Silanus mortem sibi conscivit, sive eo usque spem vitae produxerat, seu delecto die augendam ad invidiam. Calvina soror eius Italia pulsa est. addidit Claudius sacra ex legibus Tulli regis piaculaque apud lucum Dianae per pontifices danda, irridentibus cunctis, quod poenae procurationesque incesti id temporis exquirerentur. at Agrippina, ne malis tantum facinoribus notesceret, veniam exilii pro Annaeo Seneca, simul praeturam impetrat, laetum in publicum rata ob claritudinem studiorum eius, utque Domitii pueritia tali magistro adolesceret et consiliis eiusdem ad spem dominationis uterentur, quia Seneca fidus in

'qui ex fratribus patruelibus aut consobrinis aut amitinis propagantur,' i.e. second cousins. It seems here to be used for cousins generally, whether first or second. A marriage of this kind is mentioned by Livy, xlii. 34, "cum primum in aetatem veni, pater mihi uxorem fratris sui filiam dedit." It is, however, a curious popular idea, that although first cousins may marry, second cousins may not legally do so.

7. *nuptiae*] Although Claudius legalized marriages between an uncle and his niece by the father's side, he forbade them between an uncle and his niece by the mother's side; and this distinction was in force so late as the time of Gaius (i. § 62).

adductum] 'Drawn tight,' 'stringent.' Cf. iii. 7, "adductius quam civili bello imperitabats," and xiv. 4, "modo familiaritate iuvenili Nero et rursus adductus." The idea is that of a bow tightly strung.

8. *Die nuptiarum*] Claudius and Agrippina were married very early in the year. Cf. Suet. Claud. 29, "Silanus abdicare se praetura ante quartum Kal. Ian. morique initio anni coactus est die ipso Claudii et Agrippinae nuptiarum."

ex legibus Tulli] Lipsius supposes these rites to be the same as those directed by Tullus Hostilius to expiate the murder of the sister of Horatius. But one does not quite see why the expiation of incest should be the same as that of murder. The grove of Diana is probably that of Aricia. These expiatory rites were very ill timed, just at a moment when Claudius himself had been guilty of an incestuous marriage with his niece.

veniam exilii] Annaeus Seneca had

Agrippinam memoria beneficii et infensus Claudio dolore iniuriae credebatur.

9. Placitum dehinc non ultra cunctari, sed designatum consulem Memmium Pollionem ingentibus promissis inducunt sententiam expromere, qua oraretur Claudius despondere Octaviam Domitio; quod aetati utriusque non absurdum et maiora patefacturum erat. Pollio haud disparibus verbis ac nuper Vitellius censet; desponděturque Octavia, ac super priorem necessitudinem sponsus iam et gener Domitius aequari Britannico studiis matris, arte eorum quis ob accusatam Messalinam ultio ex filio timebatur.

10. Per idem tempus legati Parthorum ad expetendum, ut rettuli, Meherdaten missi senatum ingrediuntur mandataque in hunc modum incipiunt: non se foederis ignaros nec defectione a familia Arsacidarum venire, sed et filium Vononis, nepotem Phraatis accedere adversus dominationem Gotarzis nobilitati plebique iuxta intolerandam. iam fratres, iam propinquos, iam longius sitos caedibus exhaustos; adici coniuges gravidas, liberos parvos, dum socors domi, bellis infaustus ignaviam saevitia tegat. veterem sibi ac publice coeptam nobiscum amicitiam, et subveniendum sociis virium aemulis cedentibusque per reverentiam. ideo regum obsides liberos dari ut, si domestici imperii taedeat, sit regressus ad principem patresque, quorum moribus assuefactus rex melior adscisceretur.

11. Ubi haec atque talia dissertavere, incipit orationem Caesar de fastigio Romano Parthorumque obsequiis: seque divo Augusto

been banished by Messalina, on the alleged ground of adultery with Iulia, niece of Claudius (Dio, lv. 8.: cf. xiii. 42).

9. *Memmium Pollionem*] He was consul suffectus in A.D. 49, with Q. Aelius Maximus. There is, I believe, no other instance of the infinitive after 'inducere,' but Tacitus is only following the analogy of similar verbs. See note on 'inlectus ducere,' ii. 37.

priorem necessitudinem] Claudius was already Nero's stepfather, and also his great-uncle, as will be seen by the annexed table:—

Drusus

Germanicus m. Agrippina. — Claudius.

Agrippina.

Nero.

10. *ut rettuli*] Cf. xi. 10. Below, for 'defectione,' cf. iii. 24, and the note on 'potentia.'

sed et filium Vononis] 'but even applied to the son of Vonones.' The Parthians represented that they were so far from intending to secede from the family of the Arsacidae, that they were actually then making application to a scion of that house. Below, 'longius sitos,' those who were less nearly connected with him, neither 'fratres' nor 'propinqui.'

adaequabat, petitum ab eo regem referens, omissa Tiberii memoria, quamquam is quoque miserat. addidit praecepta (etenim aderat Meherdates), ut non dominationem et servos, sed rectorem et cives cogitaret, clementiamque ac iustitiam, quanto ignota barbaris, tanto laetiora capesseret. hinc versus ad legatos extollit laudibus alumnum urbis, spectatae ad id modestiae: ac tamen ferenda regum ingenia, neque usui crebras mutationes. rem Romanam huc satietate gloriae provectam, ut externis quoque gentibus quietem velit. datum posthac C. Cassio, qui Suriae praeerat, deducere iuvenem ripam ad Euphratis.

12. Ea tempestate Cassius ceteros praeminebat peritia legum: nam militares artes per otium ignotae, industriosque aut ignavos pax in aequo tenet. ac tamen quantum sine bello dabatur, revocare priscum morem, exercitare legiones, cura provisu perinde agere ac si hostis ingrueret: ita dignum maioribus suis et familia Cassia *ratus* per illas quoque gentes celebrata. igitur excitis quorum de sententia petitus rex, positisque castris apud Zeugma, unde maxime pervius amnis, postquam inlustres Parthi rexque Arabum Acbarus advenerat, monet Meherdaten, barbarorum impetus acres cunctatione languescere aut in perfidiam mutari: ita urgueret coepta. quod spretum fraude Acbari, qui iuvenem ignarum et summam fortunam in luxu ratum multos per dies attinuit apud oppidum Edessam. et vocante Carene promptasque res ostentante, si citi advenissent, non comminus Mesopotamiam, sed flexu Armeniam petívit, id temporis inportunam, quia hiemps occipiebat.

13. Exim nivibus et montibus fessi, postquam campos propinquabant, copiis Carenis adiunguntur, tramissoque amne Tigri

11. *is quoque miserat*] Cf. vi. 31, 32.

ad id] Sc. temporis; cf. xii. 38, "prosperis ad id rebus eius mox ambiguis."

C. Cassio] C. Cassius Longinus was consul suffectus A.D. 30. He seems to have succeeded Vibius Marsus as legatus pro praetore of Syria. Cf. xi. 10.

12. *ceteros praeminebat*] For the accusative after praeminere, cf. iii. 56, xii. 33, xv. 34. Below, for the use of 'aut in industriosque aut ignavos,' cf. i. 8, ii. 47, and the notes there.

celebrata] Cassius (afterwards one of the conspirators against C. Julius Caesar) rescued the remnant of the army of Crassus from destruction, and secured to the Romans the possession of Syria. Cf. Vell. Paterc. ii. 46.

Zeugma] A town on the Euphrates, about 72 miles below Samosata (Plin. N. H. v. 21). Below, 'Edessa' was a town of Osrhoene, in the north of Mesopotamia. Pliny (N. H. v. 24) speaks of it as in Arabia, which tallies with the designation here given to Acbarus, as 'rex Arabum.' The name Acbarus, or Abgarus, was the local title of the kings of Edessa, and so common to them all.

comminus] 'Forthwith,' 'at once.' Servius so translates the word in Virg. Georg. i. 104, "iacto qui semine comminus arva insequitur," and adds that it is so used generally in Cisalpine Gaul, where 'vade ad eum sed comminus' is a common form of expression.

13. *campos propinquabant*] For the

permeant Adiabenos, quorum rex Izates societatem Meherdatis palam induerat, in Gotarzen per occulta et magis fida inclinabat. sed capta in transitu urbs Ninos, vetustissima sedes Assyriae, *et* castellum insigne fama, quod postremo inter Darium atque Alexandrum proelio Persarum illic opes conciderant. interea Gotarzes apud montem cui nomen Sanbulos vota dis loci suscipiebat, praecipua religione Herculi, qui tempore stato per quietem monet sacerdotes, ut templum iuxta equos venatui adornatos sistant. equi ubi pharetras telis onustas accepere, per saltus vagi nocte demum vacuis pharetris multo cum anhelitu redeunt. rursum deus, qua silvas pererraverit, nocturno visu demonstrat, reperiunturque fusae passim ferae.

14. Ceterum Gotarzes, nondum satis aucto exercitu, flumine Corma pro munimento uti, et quamquam per insectationes et nuntios ad proelium vocaretur, nectere moras, locos mutare et missis corruptoribus exuendam ad fidem hostes emercari. ex quis Izates Adiabenus, mox Acbarus Arabum cum exercitu abscedunt, levitate gentili, et quia experimentis cognitum est barbaros malle Roma petere reges quam habere. at Meherdates validis auxiliis nudatus, ceterorum proditione suspecta, quod unum reliquum, rem in casum dare proelioque experiri statuit. nec detrectavit pugnam Gotarzes deminutis hostibus ferox; concursumque magna caede et ambiguo eventu, donec Carenem profligatis obversis longius evectum integer a tergo globus circumveniret. tum omni spe perdita Meherdates, promissa Parracis paterni clientis secutus, dolo eius vincitur traditurque victori. atque ille non propinquum neque Arsacis de gente, sed alienigenam et Romanum increpans, auribus decisis vivere iubet, ostentui

accusative, the commentators quote a fragment of Sallust (iv. 20), "tum vero Bithyni propinquantes iam amnem Tartanium." The usual construction is the dative. Cf. xv. 39, i. 63, H. ii. 71, &c. Below, 'Adiabene' is in Assyria, immediately east of the Tigris.

et castellum] This was apparently some fort erected as a memorial perhaps of the victory gained by Alexander over Darius, at Gaugamela. The insertion of 'et,' or some connecting particle, is necessary, because Ninus could hardly be termed a fort, nor was it on the spot of the battle.

praecipua religione Herculi] An ablative absolute. For the dative, cf. ii. 9, "aram Druso sitam," 'in honour of Drusus,' of course. Here the dative follows 'religione,' without any participle, which is easily supplied mentally: 'the chief worship being paid to Hercules.'

14. *emercari*] This is a word peculiar to Tacitus. Cf. xii. 45, xiii. 44, xvi. 1. It occurs, however, with a passive meaning in Ammianus Marcellinus (xxi. 6).

profligatis obversis] This combination of participles is curious. 'Obversi' is used of course substantively. Below, 'non propinquum . . . increpans' is equivalent to 'eum non propinquum esse inter increpandum dicens . . . sed alienigenam . . . increpans.'

clementiae suae et in nos dehonestamento. dein Gotarzes morbo obiit, accitusque in regnum Vonones Medos tum praesidens. nulla huic prospera aut adversa quis memoraretur: brevi et inglorio imperio perfunctus est, resque Parthorum in filium eius Vologesen translatae.

15. At Mithridates Bosporanus amissis opibus vagus, postquam Didium ducem Romanum roburque exercitus abisse cognoverat, relictos in novo regno Cotyn iuventa rudem et paucas cohortium cum Iulio Aquila equite Romano, spretis utrisque concire nationes, illicere perfugas; postremo exercitu coacto regem Dandaridarum exturbat imperioque eius potitur. quae ubi cognita et iam iamque Bosporum invasurus habebatur, diffisi propriis viribus Aquila et Cotys, quia Zorsines Siracorum rex hostilia resumpserat, externas et ipsi gratias quaesivere missis legatis ad Eunonen, qui Aorsorum genti praecellebat. nec fuit in arduo societas potentiam Romanam adversus rebellem Mithridaten ostentantibus. igitur pepigere, equestribus proeliis Eunones certaret, obsidia urbium Romani capesserent.

16. Tunc composito agmine incedunt, cuius frontem et terga Aorsi, media cohortes et Bosporani tutabantur nostris in armis. sic pulsus hostis, ventumque Sozam, oppidum Dandaricae, quod desertum a Mithridate ob ambiguos popularium animos optineri relicto ibi praesidio visum. exim in Siracos pergunt, et transgressi amnem Pandam circumveniunt urbem Uspen, editam loco et moenibus ac fossis munitam, nisi quod moenia non saxo sed cratibus et vimentis ac media humo adversum irrumpentes inva-

Medos tum praesidens] Cf. iii. 39 and the note there.

Vologesen] This was the first of the five kings of the Arsacidae, who bore the name of Vologeses, or Vologesus. Both forms occur. On Parthian coins I find it stated (see Nipperdey's note) that the genitive is Βολογάσου or Ὀλαγάσου. Tacitus has 'Vologesi,' xiii. 37, and H. iv. 51; 'Vologeso' in xiii. 7, and H. iv. 51, and 'Vologaesum' in H. i. 40. Pliny, N. H. vi. 30, has 'Vologesus.' 'Vologeses' occurs xii. 50, xv. 1, &c.

15. *Mithridates Bosporanus*] This is a different man from the Armenian Mithridates of xi. 8. He was descended from Mithridates the Great, and obtained the kingdom of the Bosporus from Claudius (Dio lx. 8).

Didium] A. Didius Gallus was consul suffectus in some year unknown (he is called 'consularis' in Agric. 14), and 'legatus pro praetore' of Britain, xii. 40. Below, the Dandaridae and other tribes are situated along the Palus Maeotis and the Tanais. See Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Geography.

praecellebat] 'Governed,' a sense not found, as far as I know, elsewhere, but not unnaturally springing from its usual meaning of 'excelling.'

16. *nostris in armis*] That is, the Bosporani were equipped like Roman troops, not in the accoutrements of their countrymen.

nisi quod] Cf. i. 33, and the note there. Below, 'saxo,' 'cratibus,' &c., are ablatives of quality or material.

lida erant; eductaeque altius turres facibus atque hastis turbabant obsessos. ac ni proelium nox diremisset, coepta patrataque expugnatio eundem intra diem foret.

17. Postero misere legatos, veniam liberis corporibus orantes: servitii decem milia offerebant. quod aspernati sunt victores, quia trucidare deditos saevum, tantam multitudinem custodia cingere arduum, ut belli potius iure caderent; datumque militibus, qui scalis evaserant, signum caedis. excidio Uspensium metus ceteris iniectus, nihil tutum ratis, cum arma, munimenta, impediti vel eminentes loci amnesque et urbes iuxta perrumperentur. igitur Zorsines, diu pensitato Mithridatisne rebus extremis an patrio regno consuleret, postquam praevaluit gentilis utilitas, datis obsidibus apud effigiem Caesaris procubuit, magna gloria exercitus Romani, quem incruentum et victorem tridui itinere afuisse ab amne Tanai constitit. sed in regressu dispar fortuna fuit, quia navium quasdam (quippe mari remeabant) in litora Taurorum delatas circumvenere barbari, praefecto cohortis et plerisque auxiliarium interfectis.

18. Interea Mithridates nullo in armis subsidio consultat, cuius misericordiam experiretur. frater Cotys, proditor olim, deinde hostis, metuebatur: Romanorum nemo id auctoritatis aderat, ut promissa eius magni penderentur. ad Eunonen convertit, propriis odiis *non* infensum et recens coniuncta nobiscum amicitia validum. igitur cultu vultuque quam maxime ad praesentem fortunam comparato regiam ingreditur genibusque eius provolutus "Mithridates" inquit "terra marique Romanis per tot annos

17. *ut belli potius iure*] Ernesti erases 'ut,' and makes 'caderent' an imperative, but this is unnecessary: the sense is, 'so that they must fall,' and the words really depend on some word like 'statuerunt,' suggested by the turn 'quod aspernati sunt victores.'

apud effigiem Caesaris] Cf. xv. 24, 'iturum ad signa et effigies principis.' Cf. Suet. Calig. 14, "aquilas et signa Romana Caesarumque imagines adoravit."

interfectis] This use of a perfect participle is to be noticed. The sense usually would be 'several . . . having previously been killed:' here the meaning is not apparently that the barbarians surrounded the Romans, having first killed some of them, but that they surrounded them, 'killing some in the process.' In fact, the participial phrase points out a contemporaneous rather than a previous occurrence. Cf. i. 77, "licentia erupit occisis non modo e plebe sed militibus;" and iv. 34, "quod editis annalibus laudatoque M. Bruto C. Cassium Romanorum ultimum dixisset;" iv. 55, "auctamque adhuc Lydorum opulentiam missis in Græciam populis." Also vi. 45, "annus gravi igne urbem adficit deusta parte Circi." So xv. 45, Agric. 14; H. i. 63. This is called an Aoristic use of the perfect participle, the object being not to compare the events introduced by it and the main verb in point of time between themselves, but to indicate that both the events are past compared with the time of narrative.

18. *id auctoritatis*] This expression is formed on the model of 'id temporis' and 'id aetatis.' Below, for 'genibus provolutus,' cf. xi. 30, and the note there.

quaesitus sponte adsum: utere, ut voles, prole magni Achaemenis, quod mihi solum hostes non abstulerunt."

19. At Eunones claritudine viri, mutatione rerum et prece haud degeneri permotus, adlevat supplicem laudatque quod gentem Aorsorum, quod suam dextram petendae veniae delegerit. simul legatos litterasque ad Caesarem in hunc modum mittit: populi Romani imperatoribus, magnarum nationum regibus primam ex similitudine fortunae amicitiam, sibi et Claudio etiam communionem victoriae esse. bellorum egregios fines, quotiens ignoscendo transigatur: sic Zorsini victo nihil ereptum. pro Mithridate, quando gravius mereretur, non potentiam neque regnum precari, sed ne triumpharetur neve poenas capite expenderet.

20. At Claudius, quamquam nobilitatibus externis mitis, dubitavit tamen, accipere captivum pacto salutis an repetere armis rectius foret. hinc dolor iniuriarum et libido vindictae adigebat: sed disserebatur contra suspici bellum avio itinere, inportuoso mari; ad hoc reges feroces, vagos populos, solum frugum egenum, taedium ex mora, pericula ex properantia, modicam victoribus laudem ac multum infamiae, si pellerentur. quin arriperet oblata et servaret exulem, cui inopi quanto longiorem vitam, tanto plus supplicii fore. his permotus scripsit Eunoni, meritum quidem novissima exempla Mithridatem, nec sibi vim ad exequendum deesse: verum ita maioribus placitum, quanta pervicacia in hostem, tanta beneficentia adversus supplices utendum: nam triumphos de populis regnisque integris acquiri.

21. Traditus posthac Mithridates vectusque Romam per Iunium Cilonem, procuratorem Ponti, ferocius quam pro fortuua disse-

prole magni Achaemenis] Achaemenes was the great-grandfather of Cyrus the Great (Herod. vii. 11). Mithridates the Great (from whom Mithridates Bosporanus was descended, xii. 15) claimed descent on the father's side from Cyrus and Darius, the founders of the Persian kingdom, and on the mother's, from Alexander the Great and Nicator Seleucus (Justinus xxxviii. 7, a reference I borrow from Orelli).

19. *transigatur*] The word is used absolutely and impersonally. Cf. ii. 65, "posse de controversiis conloquio transigi," and Germ. 19, "cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur." The use is a late one, belonging to the silver age.

20. *nobilitatibus externis mitis*] For the dative after the adjective, cf. xi. 21, "arrogans minoribus," and Agric. 16, "paenitentia mitis." Nipperdey quotes Livy, xxi. 20, 21, "ne illi quidem ipse satis mitem gentem fore."

hinc dolor] 'On this side . . . urged him on.' 'Hinc' corresponds to 'contra.'

integris] 'not already impaired.' Mithridates had already been driven from his kingdom by his brother Cotys, and to triumph over one who was previously half conquered, would be no glory to the Roman arms.

21. *per Iunium Cilonem*] Cilo was indebted to Narcissus for a prolongation of his procuratorship (Dio Cas. lx. 33). The Bithyni clamoured against him at the tribunal of Claudius, for maladministration, and when Claudius, who was unable for the uproar to hear, inquired the purport of their remarks, Narcissus told him that the Bithynians were pass-

ruisse apud Caesarem ferebatur, elataque vox eius in vulgum hisce verbis "non sum remissus ad te, sed reversus: vel si non credis, dimitte et quaere." vultu quoque interrito permansit, cum rostra iuxta custodibus circumdatus visui populo praeberetur. consularia insignia Ciloni, Aquilae praetoria decernuntur.

22. Isdem consulibus atrox odii Agrippina ac Lolliae infensa, quod secum de matrimonio principis certavisset, molitur crimina et accusatorem, qui obiceret Chaldaeos, magos interrogatumque Apollinis Clarii simulacrum super nuptiis imperatoris. exim Claudius inaudita rea multa de claritudine eius apud senatum praefatus, sorore L. Volusii genitam, maiorem ei patruum Cottam Messalinum esse Memmio quondam Regulo nuptam (nam de C. Caesaris nuptiis consulto reticebat), addidit permitiosa in rem publicam consilia et materiem sceleri detrahendam: proin publicatis bonis cederet Italia. ita quinquagies sestertium ex opibus inmensis exuli relictum. et Calpurnia illustris femina pervertitur, quia formam eius laudaverat princeps, nulla libidine, sed fortuito sermone, unde ira Agrippinae citra ultima stetit. in Lolliam mittitur tribunus, a quo ad mortem adigeretur. damnatus et lege repetundarum Cadius Rufus accusantibus Bithynis.

23. Galliae Narbonensi ob egregiam in patres reverentiam datum, ut senatoribus eius provinciae non exquisita principis sententia, iure quo Sicilia haberetur, res suas invisere liceret. Itu-

ing a vote of thanks to Cilo, whereupon Claudius gave him two years more of office. This Mithridates was put to death by Galba, for taking part in the conspiracy of Nymphidius (Plut. Galb. 15).

22. *atrox odii*] This is the only instance of a genitive after 'atrox.' For an explanation of the construction, cf. i. 7, and the note on 'imperandi.'

Apollinis Clarii simulacrum] Cf. ii. 54.

L. Volusii] L. Volusius Saturninus, consul suffectus in the year A.D. 3, was son of L. Volusius Saturninus, consul suffectus 12 A.C. (iii. 30). He lived to a great age, with an unblemished character, and died A.D. 57 (xiii. 30). Below, for 'Cotta Messalinus,' cf. ii. 32; and for 'Memmius Regulus,' cf. v. 11.

ex opibus inmensis] Lollia Paulina inherited her wealth from her grandfather, Marcus Lollius, infamous for his rapacity during his proconsular government in the East. Pliny (N. H. ix. 58) speaks of having seen her covered with emeralds and pearls, in rings, necklaces, &c., to the amount of something like 325,000*l.* (quadringenties H.S.).

citra ultima] As Claudius had only praised the beauty of Calpurnia incidentally, Agrippina was satisfied with a vengeance which stopped short of extreme measures. Therefore Calpurnia's life was spared. Below, Cadius Rufus was proconsul of Bithynia and Pontus. Cf. i. 74.

23. *liceret*] Any senator of Gallia Narbonensis was to be allowed to visit the province to look after his interests without especial leave from the Emperor, just as the senators were allowed to visit Sicily. Cf. Dio Cass. lii. 42, *προσαπεῖπε πᾶσι τοῖς βουλεύουσι μὴ ἐκδημεῖν ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἂν μὴ αὐτός τινι κελεύσῃ ἢ καὶ ἐπιτρέψῃ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ δεῦρο ἀεὶ φυλάσσεται, πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι ἔς τε τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα οὐδαμόσε ἀλλόσε βουλευτῇ ἀποδημῆσαι ἔξεστιν.* The reason of the exceptions was the propinquity and tranquillity of the two countries.

raeique et Iudaei defunctis regibus, Sohaemo atque Agrippa, provinciae Suriae additi. Salutis augurium quinque et xx. annis omissum repeti ac deinde continuari placitum. et pomerium urbis auxit Caesar, more prisco, quo iis qui protulere imperium etiam terminos urbis propagare datur. nec tamen duces Romani, quamquam magnis nationibus subactis, usurpaverant, nisi L. Sulla et divus Augustus.

24. Regum in eo ambitio vel gloria varie vulgata: sed initium condendi, et quod pomerium Romulus posuerit, noscere haud absurdum reor. igitur a foro boario, ubi aereum tauri simulacrum aspicimus, quia id genus animalium aratro subditur, sulcus designandi oppidi coeptus, ut magnam Herculis aram amplecteretur; inde certis spatiis interiecti lapides per ima montis Palatini ad aram Consi, mox curias veteres, tum ad sacellum Larum; forum-

Sohaemo atque Agrippa] Sohaemus obtained his kingdom of Ituraea, in the North of Palestine, from Caligula (Dio lix. 12). The Herod is Herod Agrippa, the elder son of Aristobulus, and grandson of Herod the Great, whose death is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, xi. 21.

Suriae additi] Judæa had been appended to Syria so early as A.D. 5, by Augustus, but Caligula had given Agrippa two tetrarchies, and Claudius had increased his dominions until he possessed nearly as much as Herod the Great (Joseph. Antiq. xix. 5).

salutis augurium] This was a kind of augury to ascertain whether it was permissible to pray for the prosperity of the Roman people. (ὑγίειαν τῷ δήμῳ αἰτῆσαι, Dio xxxvii. 24.) It could only be done in time of peace, when no enemy was in the field against Rome. It was taken under Augustus, 29 A.C. (Dio li. 20), and there is no further mention of it until the year A.D. 49, between which dates there are 76 years. To bring the reading to tally with this, it is generally altered to lxx., but even then it is a year wrong. If the reading be correct, the date would be A.D. 14, at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, and although Tacitus does not mention it as having been taken then, perhaps it was. At all events I do not think it wise to alter the text, when the matter is uncertain.

pomerium urbis auxit] Claudius enclosed the Aventine within the Pomerium. Cf A. Gellius xiii. 14, "Aventinum antea extra pomerium exclusum post auctore divo Claudio receptum et intra pomerii fines observatum." Of course, this does not imply that the Aventine was not occupied at a very early period. For the fact here mentioned cf. Inscrip. Lat. n. 710, "Ti. Claudivs . . . . auctis popvli Romani finibvs pomerivm ampliavit terminavitque." Caius Julius Caesar also enlarged, or intended to enlarge, the Pomerium. Cf. Dio Cass. xliii. 50; Cic. ad Attic. xiii. 20. 1.

24. *a foro boario*] This forum was between the Palatine and the Tiber. Propertius derives the name from the oxen of Hercules, stolen by Cacus (v. 9. 19), "Arvaque mugitu sancite boaria longo. Nobile erunt Romae pascua vestra forum." The statue of the ox mentioned here was brought from Aegina (Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 5).

ad aram Consi] This was at the southern extremity of the Palatine. It was in honour of Consus that the Consualia were celebrated at Rome on the 21st of August. Cf. Ovid, Fasti, iii. 199. See Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities.

mox curias veteres] These were probably near the subsequent site of the arch of Constantine. These curiae were the buildings in which the religious rites were performed which helped to bind together the members of the thirty curiae. Those built by Romulus were called veteres, because, on their eventually being too small for use, others were built, which were termed curiae novae (Ovid, Fast. ii. 615). The Sacellum Larum was at the top of the Via Sacra. The route here described simply enclosed the Palatine Hill.

que Romanum et Capitolium non a Romulo, sed a Tito Tatio additum urbi credidere. mox pro fortuna pomerium auctum. et quos tum Claudius terminos posuerit, facile cognitu et publicis actis perscriptum.

25. C. Antistio M. Suillio consulibus adoptio in Domitium auctoritate Pallantis festinatur, qui obstrictus Agrippinae ut conciliator nuptiarum et mox stupro eius inligatus, stimulabat Claudium consuleret rei publicae, Britannici pueritiam robore circumdaret: sic apud divum Augustum, quamquam nepotibus subnixum, viguisse privignos; a Tiberio super propriam stirpem Germanicum adsumptum: se quoque accingeret iuvene partem curarum capessituro. his evictus biennio maiorem natu Domitium filio anteponit, habita apud senatum oratione eundem in quem a liberto acceperat modum. adnotabant periti nullam antehac adoptionem inter patricios Claudios reperiri, eosque ab Atto Clauso continuos duravisse.

26. Ceterum actae principi grates, quaesitiore in Domitium adulatione; rogataque lex qua in familiam Claudiam et nomen Neronis transiret. augetur et Agrippina cognomento Augustae. quibus patratis nemo adeo expers misericordiae fuit, quem non

25. *C. Antistio M. Suillio consulibus*] C. Antistius Vetus was probably son of C. Antistius Vetus, consul A.D. 23 (iv. 1), and grandson of C. Antistius Vetus, consul 6 A.C. The C. Antistius in the text was consul for the second time in this year, and must have been therefore previously consul suffectus. M. Suillius Nerullinus was son of P. Suillius Rufus (cf. iv. 31 and xi. 2), and brother of Suillius Caesoninus (cf. xi. 36). He was proconsul of Asia under Vespasian.

robore circumdaret] 'Surround with additional support.' The position of the young Britannicus was to be strengthened by the adoption of Domitius, who was senior in point of years.

biennio] Suetonius (Claud. 27) says that Britannicus was born on the twentieth day after the accession of Claudius to the throne (January 24), that is, in the middle of February 41 A.D. Nero was born in December, 37 A.D. (Suet. Nero, 6), whence in 53 A.D. Tacitus speaks of him as "sedecim annos natus," (xii. 58), and in 54 A.D. "vix septendecim annos egressum," (xiii. 6). Tacitus also (xiii. 15) in 55 A.D. speaks of Britannicus as completing his fourteenth year. Consequently Nero was three years and two months older. One would suppose 'biennium' to be wrong, and 'triennium' to be the correct reading. Suetonius says that Britannicus was born in his second consulate, which would apparently put the date to 42 A.D., although how he can say 'vigesimo imperii die, inque secundo consulatu' I do not understand. Dio Cassius, however (lx. 12), puts the birth in the second year of his reign; and if there were both accounts afloat, perhaps Tacitus here confused them, and is inconsistent with himself.

patricios Claudios] Cf. Suet. Tib. 1, "Patricia gens Claudia (fuit enim et alia plebeia nec potentia minor nec dignitate) orta est ex Regillis."

26. *lex*] The Lex Curiata necessary for 'adrogatio,' which originally could only be effected by the vote of the 'populus' in the comitia curiata, who decided whether 'adrogatio' should be allowed or not. Nero was 'sui iuris,' as his father, Domitius, was dead, and therefore 'adrogatio' was the proper word, not 'adoptio,' except in its wider sense. Cf. H. i. 15, "si te privatus lege curiata apud pontifices ut moris est adoptarem."

Britannici fortuna maerore afficeret. desolatus paulatim etiam servilibus ministeriis perintempestiva novercae officia in ludibria vertebat, intellegens falsi. neque enim segnem ei fuisse indolem ferunt, sive verum, seu periculis commendatus retinuit famam sine experimento.

27. Sed Agrippina quo vim suam sociis quoque nationibus ostentaret, in oppidum Ubiorum, in quo genita erat, veteranos coloniamque deduci impetrat, cui nomen inditum e vocabulo ipsius. ac forte acciderat ut eam gentem Rheno transgressam avus Agrippa in fidem acciperet.

Isdem temporibus in superiore Germania trepidatum adventu Chattorum latrocinia agitantium. dein l * * Pomponius legatus auxiliares Vangionas ac Nemetas, addito equite alario, monitos ut anteirent populatores vel dilapsis inprovisi circumfunderentur. et secuta consilium ducis industria militum, divisique in duo agmina, qui laevum iter petiverant, recens reversos praedaque per luxum usos et somno graves circumvenere. aucta laetitia, quod quosdam e clade Variana quadragensimum post annum servitio exemerant.

28. At qui dextris et propioribus compendiis ierant, obvio hosti et aciem auso plus cladis faciunt, et praeda famaque onusti ad montem Taunum revertuntur, ubi Pomponius cum legionibus opperiebatur, si Chatti cupidine ulciscendi casum pugnae praebe-

vertebat] This can scarcely be a neuter verb here, although Tacitus uses it as such elsewhere (vi. 46, "ne memoria Augusti, ne nomen Caesarum in ludibria et contumelias verterent." As Ritter observes, Britannicus was not an object of ridicule, but pity from his position; and I do not see how 'intellegens falsi' is appropriate, if the sense of the passage is 'he was made to look ridiculous.' His perception of the hypocrisy of the whole proceeding would be a reason for his turning them into ridicule, but no reason why he should be ridiculed by others. Tacitus has 'peridoneus' (iv. 12), 'persimplex' (xv. 15), "pervigil' (i. 65). Agrippina no doubt deprived him of the attendance of slaves, under pretence of herself performing some of their duties as a proof of her great affection.

27. *coloniamque deduci*] In Germ. 28, Tacitus seems to imply that the founder of the colony was Vipsanius Agrippa. If so, the colony was no doubt reconstituted by Agrippina, and received from her its name, 'Colonia Claudia Augusta Agrippinensium.' The construction here formed after 'impetrat' occurs nowhere else.

Chattorum] The Chatti occupied the district between the Main and the sources of the Elison (Alme) and Visurgis (Weser), and from the Westerwald, in the west, to Franconia. 'Hessen' is the modern form of 'Chatti.' They are probably the Suevi of Caesar. Cf. Germ. 30, and Dr. Latham's note in his edition of the Germania. Below, the Vangiones and Nemetes were situated on the Rhine, about Worms and Spires.

28. *ad montem Taunum*] This range of hills stretches from the Rhine to Homburg. The Cherusci occupied probably the district stretching from the Weser to the Elbe, and from Mons Melibocus on the north to the Sudeti on the south, or Luneburg, Brunswick, Magdeburg, &c.

si . . . praeberent] See note (iv. 59) on 'si . . . auderent.'

rent. illi metu, ne hinc Romanus, inde Cherusci, cum quis aeternum discordant, circumgrederentur, legatos in urbem et obsides misere; decretusque Pomponio triumphalis honos, modica pars famae eius apud posteros, in quis carminum gloria praecellit.

29. Per idem tempus Vannius Suevis a Druso Caesare impositus pellitur regno, prima imperii aetate clarus acceptusque popularibus, mox diuturnitate in superbiam mutans et odio accolarum, simul domesticis discordiis circumventus. auctores fuere Vibilius Hermundurorum rex et Vangio ac Sido sorore Vannii geniti. nec Claudius, quamquam saepe oratus, arma certantibus barbaris interposuit, tutum Vannio perfugium promittens, si pelleretur; scripsitque Palpelio Histro, qui Pannoniam praesidebat, legionem ipsaque e provincia lecta auxilia pro ripa componeret, subsidio victis et terrorem adversus victores, ne fortuna elati nostram quoque pacem turbarent. nam vis innumera Lugii aliaeque gentes adventabant, fama ditis regni, quod Vannius triginta per annos praedationibus et vectigalibus auxerat. ipsi manus propria pedites, eques e Sarmatis Iazygibus erat, impar multitudini hostium, eoque castellis sese defensare bellumque ducere statuerat.

30. Sed Iazyges obsidionis impatientes et proximos per campos vagi necessitudinem pugnae attulere, quia Lugius Hermundurusque illic ingruerant. igitur degressus castellis Vannius funditur proelio, quamquam rebus adversis laudatus, quod et pugnam manu capessiit et corpore adverso vulnera excepit. ceterum ad classem in Danuvio opperientem perfugit; secuti mox clientes et acceptis agris in Pannonia locati sunt. regnum Vangio ac Sido inter se partivere, egregia adversus nos fide, subiectis, suone an servitii ingenio, dum adipiscerentur dominationis, multa caritate, et maiore odio, postquam adepti sunt.

29. *Vannius*] Cf. ii. 63.

mutans] For the intransitive use of 'mutare,' cf. ii. 23, 'mutabat aestus.'

Palpelio Histro] According to an inscription (Inscrip. Lat. n. 693), Sextus Palpelius Hister was legatus of Pannonia under Claudius, proconsul, praetor, tribunus plebis, quaestor, decemvir stlitibus iudicandis, tribunus militum legionis xiv. He was consul suffectus in some year unknown (Plin. N. H. x 16). Below, the 'ripa' is that of the Danube.

Lugii] This people lived between the Oder and Vistula, in Silesia and Western Poland. If they are the same as the Lekhs of later writers they were a Slavonic race. Below, the Sarmatae Iazyges were between the Danube and Theiss, where these rivers are parallel to each other.

30. *servitii ingenio*] Vangio and Sido, either altered in character or remaining the same, became less popular among their subjects, in accordance with the result always found in the case of those who are ruled like slaves by despots. People of this sort always like their rulers while they are gaining power, and dislike them when they have obtained it, with natural fickleness. The dative 'subjectis' depends on 'multa caritate,' equivalent to 'carissimi.'

31. At in Britannia P. Ostorium pro praetore turbidae res excepere, effusis in agrum sociorum hostibus eo violentius, quod novum ducem exercitu ignoto et coepta hieme iturum obviam non rebantur. ille gnarus primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam gigni, citas cohortes rapit, et caesis qui restiterant, disiectos consectatus, ne rursus conglobarentur infensaque et infida pax non duci, non militi requiem permitteret, detrahere arma suspectis cunctaque castris Aufonam *inter* et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat. quod primi Iceni abnuere, valida gens nec proeliis contusi, quia societatem nostram volentes accesserant. hisque auctoribus circumiectae nationes locum pugnae delegere, saeptum agresti aggere et aditu angusto, ne pervius equiti foret. ea munimenta dux Romanus, quamquam sine robore legionum sociales copias ducebat, perrumpere aggreditur et distributis cohortibus turmas quoque peditum ad munia accingit. tunc dato signo perfringunt aggerem suisque claustris impeditos turbant. atque illi conscientia rebellionis et obsaeptis effugiis multa et clara facinora fecere, qua pugna filius legati M. Ostorius servati civis decus meruit.

32. Ceterum clade Icenorum compositi qui bellum inter et pacem dubitabant; et ductus inde Cangos exercitus. vastati agri, praedae passim actae, non ausis aciem hostibus, vel si ex occulto carpere agmen temptarent, punito dolo. iamque ventum haud procul mari quod Hiberniam insulam aspectat, cum ortae apud Brigantas discordiae retraxere ducem, destinationis certum,

31. *P. Ostorium*] P. Ostorius Scapula (consul suffectus A.D. 46) succeeded Aulus Plautius (Agric. 14). The legatus of Britain was apparently a 'consularis' as a rule.

Aufonam] The Gloucestershire Avon would suit the passage, and Camden's emendation of Aufonam instead of Antonam, the reading of the MS., is probably correct.

Iceni] It is not at all clear why the fortifications of Ostorius, near the Severn and Avon, should rouse the anger or alarm of the Iceni. It seems possible that the Silures, in spite of their remote position in South Wales, were connected by descent with the Trinobantes, or in dependence on them. Caractacus is spoken of by Dion Cassius (lx. 20) as son of Cunobelin, king of the Trinobantes; which would seem to indicate some connexion between the inhabitants of the east and west.

peditum ad munia] The genitive 'peditum' depends on 'munia.' Ostorius dismounted his cavalry, and kept them in hand to perform infantry duties when needed.

facinora] The word is used here simply for 'a bold deed.' Cf. iii. 21, "raro ea tempestate et e vetere memoria facinore." Below for M. Ostorius, cf. xiv. 48. He was put to death by Nero (xvi. 15).

32. *inde Cangos*] This is the reading of the MS., but I doubt whether it ought not to be 'in Decangos.' However, cf. xii. 51, "Hiberos ad patrium regnum pervadit," although the words 'ad patrium regnum' may be supposed to make the omission of 'ad' with 'Hiberos' less singular. In Curtius the preposition is certainly omitted (ix. 31), "inde Praestos preventum est," quoted by Nipperdey. The locality of the 'Cangi' is unknown.

apud Brigantas] This tribe occupied the district between the Humber and

ne nova moliretur nisi prioribus firmatis. et Brigantes quidem, paucis qui arma coeptabant interfectis, in reliquos data venia, resedere: Silurum gens non atrocitate, non clementia mutabatur, quin bellum exerceret castrisque legionum premenda foret. id quo promptius veniret, colonia Camulodunum valida veteranorum manu deducitur in agros captivos, subsidium adversus rebelles et inbuendis sociis ad officia legum.

33. Itum inde in Siluras, super propriam ferociam Carataci viribus confisos, quem multa ambigua, multa prospera extulerant, ut ceteros Britannorum imperatores praemineret. sed tum astu locorum fraude prior, vi militum inferior, transfert bellum in Ordovicas, additisque qui pacem nostram metuebant, novissimum casum experitur, sumpto ad proelium loco, ut aditus, abscessus, cuncta nobis inportuna et suis in melius essent, hinc montibus arduis, et si qua clementer accedi poterant, in modum valli saxa praestruit. et praefluebat amnis vado incerto, catervaeque armatorum pro munimentis constiterant.

34. Ad hoc gentium ductores circumire, hortari, firmare animos minuendo metu, accendenda spe aliisque belli incitamentis: enimvero Caratacus huc illuc volitans illum diem, illam aciem testabatur aut reciperandae libertatis aut servitutis aeternae

the Tyne. Below, for 'in reliquos data venia,' cf. i. 78, "datumque in omnes provincias exemplum;" xii. 35, "plus vulnerum in nos et pleraeque caedes oriebantur." The idea of course is that the pardon, the example, &c., extended to (embraced) the rest, the provinces, &c. The 'Silures' are supposed to have occupied Hereford, Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Radnor.

id] What 'id' means is not quite clear. Apparently the words 'castris legionum,' &c., suggested the general idea of repressive force, succours, help, or the like; and 'id' refers to this: 'that this repressive force might arrive the more quickly.'

Camulodunum] This was probably Maldon, near Colchester, a long way certainly from the Silures, in South Wales. But if there was the relation spoken of in a note on the previous chapter between the two peoples, the distance is not so important. Besides, as Dr. Latham (Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Geography, under 'Colonia') suggests, Tacitus may have had imperfect ideas of the eastern counties, his knowledge derived from his father, Agricola, extending rather to localities of the west and north, or Wales and Scotland. Camulodunum, or Camalodunum (Plin. N. H. ii. 75), is said to derive its name from Camulus, a Keltic war-god.

33. *Carataci*] So the MS. Cataratacus in xii. 36, and Dio Cassius lx. 20. The form in the text approaches nearest to the Keltic 'Caratauc,' or 'Karaduc.'

astu] It is a little difficult to determine whether 'locorum' depends on 'astu' or on 'fraude.' Tacitus has 'astus oppugnationum' (xii. 45); but 'astu' can more easily stand alone, I think, than 'fraude.' Virgil has 'fraude loci,' and Curtius 'locorum fraude.' For the chiasmus in 'locorum fraude vi militum,' cf. xii. 1, "ipse huc modo, modo illuc." Below, the Ordovices were settled in North Wales.

pacem nostram] 'Peace with us,' followed by the usual train of imposts, taxes, and various burdens.

montibus arduis] The construction here is confused. The sentence should have been "hinc montibus arduis, illinc si qua clementer accedi poterant, in modum valli saxis munitis." But the participial turn in the second clause is

initium fore; vocabatque nomina maiorum, qui dictatorem Caesarem pepulissent, quorum virtute vacui a securibus et tributis intemerata coniugum et liberorum corpora retinerent. haec atque talia dicenti adstrepere vulgus, gentili quisque religione obstringi, non telis, non vulneribus cessuros.

35. Obstupefecit ea alacritas ducem Romanum; simul obiectus amnis, additum vallum, inminentia iuga, nihil nisi atrox et propugnatoribus frequens terrebat. sed miles proelium poscere, cuncta virtute expugnabilia clamitare; praefectique *et* tribuni paria disserentes ardorem exercitus intendebant. tum Ostorius, circumspectis quae inpenetrabilia quaeque pervia, ducit infensos amnemque haud difficulter evadit. ubi ventum ad aggerem, dum missilibus certabatur, plus vulnerum in nos et pleraeque caedes oriebantur: postquam facta testudine rudes et informes saxorum conpages distractae parque comminus acies, decedere barbari in iuga montium. sed eo quoque irrupere ferentarius gravisque miles, illi telis adsultantes, hi conferto gradu, turbatis contra Britannorum ordinibus, apud quos nulla loricarum galearumve tegmina; et si auxiliaribus resisterent, gladiis ac pilis legionariorum, si huc verterent, spathis et hastis auxiliarium sternebantur. clara ea victoria fuit, captaque uxor et filia Carataci fratresque in deditionem accepti.

36. Ipse, ut ferme intuta sunt adversa, cum fidem Cartimanduae reginae Brigantum petivisset, vinctus ac victoribus traditus est, nono post anno quam bellum in Britannia coeptum. unde

abandoned, and a finite verb employed instead. So Thucyd. viii. 45, *ὡς οἱ μὲν Χῖοι ἀναίσχυντοι εἶεν, πλουσιώτατοι ὄντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐπικουρίᾳ δὲ ὅμως σωζόμενοι ἀξιοῦσι*, &c., where *ἀξιοῦντες* ought to follow.

34. *religione*] The reading of the MS. is 'religioni,' which I think possibly may be right, although I have not retained it. Pliny has 'obstringere alteri fidem suam,' and perhaps the sense here may be, that each man was pledged to the particular superstition of his race, regarding that superstition as a kind of personified goddess, to whom he devoted himself. Nipperdey considers 'religioni' to be ablative, on the strength of an inscription (Lat. Inscript. n. 737), "Veteranis qui militaverunt in legioni I adiutrice."

35. *nihil nisi atrox*] 'The fact that there was nothing except what was threatening,' equivalent to 'quod nihil . . . erat.' Cf. iii. 9, "fuit inter inritamenta invidiae . . . et celebritate loci nihil occultum."

amnemque haud difficulter evadit] Ovid (Metam. iii. 19) has the same construction, 'vada Cephisi evaserat.' Various spots have been selected for the site of this decisive battle. Coxall Knoll, on the Teme, near Leintwardine, seems to have as good a claim as any other place; but nothing can be definitely fixed.

36. *nono post anno*] Aulus Plautius began the conquest of Britain A.D. 43 (Dio lx. 19); and Tacitus has reached the year A.D. 50 in his narrative. But in ch. 40, as Ritter observes, the historian tells us that he has compressed into one narrative the events of several years, and then resumes the proper chronological arrangements. Consequently,

fama eius evecta insulas et proximas provincias pervagata per Italiam quoque celebrabatur avebantque visere, quis ille tot per annos opes nostras sprevisset. ne Romae quidem ignobile Carataci nomen erat; et Caesar dum suum decus extollit, addidit gloriam victo. vocatus quippe ut ad insigne spectaculum populus: stetere in armis praetoriae cohortes campo qui castra praeiacet. tunc incedentibus regiis clientelis phalerae torques quaeque bellis externis quaesiverat traducta, mox fratres et coniux et filia, postremo ipse ostentatus. ceterorum preces degeneres fuere ex metu. at non Caratacus aut vultu demisso aut verbis misericordiam requirens, ubi tribunali astitit, in hunc modum locutus est.

37. 'Si quanta nobilitas et fortuna mihi fuit, tanta rerum prosperarum moderatio fuisset, amicus potius in hanc urbem quam captus venissem, neque dedignatus esses, claris maioribus ortum, pluribus gentibus inperitantem foedere pacem accipere. praesens sors mea ut mihi informis, sic tibi magnifica est. habui equos viros, arma opes: quid mirum, si haec invitus amisi? nam si vos omnibus imperitare vultis, sequitur ut omnes servitutem accipiant? si statim deditus traderer, neque mea fortuna neque tua gloria inclaruisset; et supplicium mei oblivio sequeretur: at si incolumem servaveris, aeternum exemplar clementiae ero.' ad ea Caesar veniam ipsique et coniugi et fratribus tribuit. atque illi vinclis absoluti Agrippinam quoque, haud procul alio suggestu con-

he may here be speaking of what happened A.D. 51. Below, 'praeiacere' with an accusative occurs nowhere else; but is found with a dative in Pliny, N. H. iv. 24, "vastum mare praeiacens Asiae."

at non Caratacus] The negative 'non' only, of course, applies to 'aut vultu . . . requirens;' but Caratacus, not asking for compassion either by downcast look or words. Cf. xiv. 58, "nec milites aut animo validos aut animo promptos ad spes novas transisse."

37. *traderer*] This could have been 'traditus essem.' One explanation of such imperfects as the one found here is, that although the act is passed, its results are regarded as continuing up to the present moment. But here, perhaps, the idea is rather, 'if having at the beginning of the war been betrayed, I were now being put into your power.' Nipperdey reads 'traherer,' which I do not think necessary.

supplicium mei] Tacitus uses the genitive of the personal pronoun (instead of the possessive agreeing with the substantive) both objectively and subjectively. The words here, 'supplicium mei,' are an instance of the former sense, in which indeed the genitive of the pronoun is usually found in the earlier writers. For the latter meaning, not common except in late writers, cf. ii. 13, "sui fama frui;" ii. 54, "nostri origine veneranda;" iv. 24, "primo sui incessu;" vi. 22, "initia nostri;" xv. 36, "non longam sui absentiam." Some passages usually quoted as examples of this construction seem to me different in kind. In iii. 67, "defensionem sui;" in vi. 7, "ad subsidium sui," and in xv. 9, "hunc sui finem," are rather instances of quasi objective genitives, the sense being the defence or aid applied *to* himself as the object—the termination put to his own existence—rather than the defence or aid supplied *by* himself, and the end put (to his life) *by* his own hand. Of course in such phrases as "quinta sui parte," iii. 43, "summa sui parte," xiv. 6, and the

spicuam, isdem quibus principem laudibus gratibusque venerati sunt. novum sane et moribus veterum insolitum, feminam signis Romanis praesidere: ipsa semet parti a maioribus suis imperii sociam ferebat.

38. Vocati posthac patres multa et magnifica super captivitate Carataci disseruere, neque minus id clarum quam quod Syphacem P. Scipio, Persen L. Paulus, et si qui alii vinctos reges populo Romano ostendere. censentur Ostorio triumphi insignia, prosperis ad id rebus eius, mox ambiguis, sive amoto Carataco, quasi debellatum foret, minus intenta apud nos militia fuit, sive hostes miseratione tanti regis acrius ad ultionem exarsere. praefectum castrorum et legionarias cohortes extruendis apud Siluras praesidiis relictas circumfundunt. ac ni cito nuntiis et castellis proximis subventum foret copiarum obsidioni, obcubuissent: praefectus tamen et octo centuriones ac promptissimus quisque e manipulis cecidere. nec multo post pabulantis nostros ipsos missasque ad subsidium turmas profligant.

39. Tum Ostorius cohortes expeditas exposuit; nec ideo fugam sistebat, ni legiones proelium excepissent: earum robore aequata pugna, dein nobis pro meliore fuit. effugere hostes tenui damno, quia inclinabat dies. crebra hinc proelia, et saepius in modum latrocinii per saltus per paludes, ut cuique sors aut virtus, temere proviso, ob iram ob praedam, iussu et aliquando ignaris ducibus, ac praecipua Silurum pervicacia. quos accendebat vulgata inperatoris Romani vox, ut quondam Sygambri excisi aut in Gallias

like, the idea being 'self' ('entire self'), no other construction would be admissible. Below, 'gratibus' occurs nowhere else.

38. *Syphacem*] This was 201 A.C. Livy (xxx. 45) says that Syphax died at Tibur before the triumph, but adds that Polybius makes the king actually led in the procession. Perses was led in triumph by Aemilius Paullus 167 A.C. (Liv. xlv. 40).

ad id] Cf. xii. 11, for a note on this expression.

nuntiis] For the absolute use of the word here, cf. xiii. 9, "uterque ad Vologesen regem nuntiis monebant." The reading 'nuntiis *et* castellis proximis' is a little difficult. There were two things which helped to bring succour—the possibility of sending messages, which might have been impossible, and the proximity of fortified stations. These two reasons Tacitus joins together co-ordinately, 'through the agency of messages despatched and the nearest stations. Most of the editors read 'ex castellis,' which is very much simpler; but I have preferred to retain the reading of the MS.

nostros ipsos, &c.] 'Our men themselves, as well as the squadrons sent to aid them.'

39. *exposuit*] 'Exponere' is often used for disembarking troops. Here that meaning is out of the question. Cicero, Divinat. in Caecil. 8, says, "Vitam in oculis conspectuque omnium exponere;" and this suggests that the force is 'brought into action,' 'turned out his troops,' as we should say.

pro meliore] 'Was in our favour.' Draeger compares Livy's phrases, "pro haud dubia expectare victoriam, pro victis esse."

traiecti forent, ita Silurum nomen penitus extinguendum. igitur duas auxiliares cohortes avaritia praefectorum incautius populantes intercepere; spoliaque et captivos largiendo ceteras quoque nationes ad defectionem trahebant, cum taedio curarum fessus Ostorius concessit vita, laetis hostibus, tamquam ducem haud spernendum etsi non proelium, at certe bellum absumpsisset.

40. At Caesar cognita morte legati, ne provincia sine rectore foret, A. Didium suffecit. is propere vectus non tamen integras res invenit, adversa interim legionis pugna, cui Manlius Valens praeerat, auctaque est apud hostes eius rei fama, quo venientem ducem exterrerent, atque illo augente audita, ut maior laus compositi vel, si duravissent, venia iustior tribueretur. Silures id quoque damnum intulerant, lateque persultabant, donec adcursu Didii pellerentur. sed post captum Caratacum praecipuus scientia rei militaris Venutius, e Brigantum civitate, ut supra memoravi, fidusque diu et Romanis armis defensus, cum Cartimanduam reginam matrimonio teneret; mox orto discidio et statim bello etiam adversus nos hostilia induerat. sed primo tantum inter ipsos certabatur, callidisque Cartimandua artibus fratrem ac propinquos Venutii intercepit. inde accensi hostis, stimulante ignominia, ne feminae imperio subderentur, valida et lecta armis

tamquam ducem haud spernendum] 'On the ground that, if not a battle, yet at all events the war had carried off no despicable general.' For 'tamquam' in the above sense, cf. H. i. 48, "tamquam scyphum aureum in convivio Claudii furatus;" xvi. 13, "equitum senatorumque interitus . . . minus flebiles, tamquam communi mortalitate saevitiam principis praevenirent;" xiii. 43, "intercessit princeps tamquam satis expleta ultione." In all these passages the meaning of 'tamquam' is 'on the ground that,' 'under the view that:' the usual force being 'just as if.' Cf. Cic. ad Famil. xii. 9, "tamquam Asia clausa sit." Very similarly 'quasi' is found. Cf. xii. 47, "arcanum habetur quasi multo cruore sacratum," and xiii. 18, "pecunias quasi in subsidium corripiens," on the ground of its being necessary for her security; and 'velut,' xi. 27, "velut suscipiendorum liberorum causa."

40. *Manlius Valens*] He was legatus of the legio Italica A.D. 70 (H. i. 64), and consul A.D. 96. Just below, in 'auctaque est,' &c., the construction appears to be, 'auctaque est apud hostes eius rei fama, atque (fama aucta est) illo augente,' &c., so that 'apud hostes' and 'illo augente,' &c., are awkwardly opposed to each other: 'the reports of the event were increased by the enemy . . . and by the general magnifying,' &c.

compositi] The nominative plural: 'if they were reduced to peace they might be a source of greater praise.' 'Laus' might have been 'laudi;' but cf. Germ. 13, "nec rubor inter comites aspici."

feminae] The Britons did not object to be ruled by women. Cf. Agric. 16, "neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt;" and xiv. 35, "solitum Britannis feminarum ductu bellare." There must have been some especial motive at work in this case. Perhaps the reason was that the Britons did not choose to be coerced into submitting to a woman's rule in preference to that of Venutius, who might have won their confidence by his military skill.

lecta armis] Cf. H. iii. 55, "tot milia armatorum lecta equis virisque," 'choice troops in the matter of their arms,' 'choicely equipped.'

iuventus regnum eius invadunt. quod nobis praevisum, et missae auxilio cohortes acre proelium fecere, cuius initio ambiguo finis laetior fuit. neque dispari eventu pugnatum a legione, cui Caesius Nasica praeerat; nam Didius, senectute gravis et multa copia honorum, per ministros agere et arcere hostem satis habebat. haec, quamquam a duobus pro praetoribus plures per annos gesta, coniunxi, ne divisa haud perinde ad memoriam sui valerent: ad temporum ordinem redeo.

41. Ti. Claudio quintum Servio Cornelio Orfito consulibus virilis toga Neroni maturata, quo capessendae rei publicae habilis videretur. et Caesar adulationibus senatus libens cessit, ut vicesimo aetatis anno consulatum Nero iniret atque interim designatus proconsulare imperium extra urbem haberet ac princeps iuventutis appellaretur. additum nomine eius donativum militi, congiarium plebei. et ludicro circensium, quod acquirendis vulgi studiis edebatur, Britannicus in praetexta, Nero triumphali veste travecti sunt. spectaret populus hunc decore imperatorio, illum puerili habitu, ac proinde fortunam utriusque praesumeret. simul qui centurionum tribunorumque sortem Britannici miserabantur, remoti fictis causis et alii per speciem honoris; etiam libertorum si quis incorrupta fide, depellitur tali occasione. obvii inter se Nero Britannicum nomine, ille Domitium salutavere. quod ut discordiae initium Agrippina multo questu ad maritum defert: sperni quippe adoptionem, quaeque censuerint patres, iusserit populus, intra penates abrogari; ac nisi pravitas tam infensa

41. *Servio Cornelio Orfito*] For the designation of the consul by three names, cf. ii. 1, and the note there.

maturata] Nero was now in his fourteenth year, having been born A.D. 37. The usual age for taking the toga virilis was properly on the completion of the seventeenth year; but under the Caesars apparently during the fifteenth. At least, in the Marm. Ancyr. (ii. 44) Augustus seems to imply that he introduced his sons into the forum while they were in their fifteenth year, "filios meos . . . senatus populusque Romanus, annum quintum decimum agentis consules designavit."

spectaret] Some of the editors insert 'ut,' but it is not perhaps necessary to do so. The words are intended to convey the intention with which the arrangement spoken of was made. 'Let the Roman people,' they said, 'see the difference between the two youths, and from that infer their future destinies.' The display of the two boys in their contrasted positions was meant to give the cue to the thoughts to be entertained about them. Below, for 'et alii,' cf. i. 63, "ut opus et alii praelium inciperent:" the general form would be 'alii . . . alii.'

tali occasione] 'On an opportunity like the following.' Tacitus gives one instance as a specimen of the rest. Below, of course, the meaning is that Nero saluted Britannicus by that name, and Britannicus saluted Nero by the name of Domitius.

iusserit populus] Cf. xii. 26. Below, 'eruptura' is the neuter plural, apparently, otherwise 'erupturam' would be required, to correspond with 'adoptionem:' 'every thing would break out.'

docentium arceatur, eruptura in publicam perniciem. commotus his quasi criminibus optimum quemque educatorem filii exilio ac morte afficit datosque a noverca custodiae eius inponit.

42. Nondum tamen summa moliri Agrippina audebat, ni praetoriarum cohortium cura exolverentur Lusius Geta et Rufrius Crispinus, quos Messalinae memores et liberis eius devinctos credebat. igitur distrahi cohortes ambitu duorum et, si ab uno regerentur, intentiorem fore disciplinam adseverante uxore, transfertur regimen cohortium ad Burrum Afranium, egregiae militaris famae, gnarum tamen cuius sponte praeficeretur. suum quoque fastigium Agrippina extollere altius: carpento Capitolium ingredi, qui honos sacerdotibus et sacris antiquitus concessus venerationem augebat feminae, quam imperatore genitam, sororem eius qui rerum potitus sit et coniugem et matrem fuisse, unicum ad hunc diem exemplum est. inter quae praecipuus propugnator eius Vitellius, validissima gratia, aetate extrema (adeo incertae sunt potentium res) accusatione corripitur, deferente Iunio Lupo senatore. is crimina maiestatis et cupidinem imperii obiectabat; praebuissetque aures Caesar, nisi Agrippinae minis magis quam precibus mutatus esset, ut accusatori aqua atque igni interdiceret. hactenus Vitellius voluerat.

43. Multa eo anno prodigia evenere. insessum diris avibus Capitolium, crebris terrae motibus prorutae domus, ac dum latius metuitur, trepidatione vulgi invalidus quisque obtriti; frugum quoque egestas et orta ex eo fames in prodigium accipiebatur.

exilio ac morte] So the MS., although in iii. 24 Tacitus has "adulterosque eorum morte aut fuga punivit," and in vi. 9, "ut accusatores exilio aut morte multarentur." But perhaps the text is correct: the methods of punishment were exile and death, the former in some cases, the latter in others.

42. *cuius sponte*] Cf. ii. 59, "sponte principis;" also iv. 7 and 51, vi. 31, xiii. 39 and 42, H. iii. 16, H. iv. 19. Lucan has the same construction; but it is not found in the Augustan writers, who use 'sponte' either with a possessive pronoun or alone.

carpento] The carpentum was a two-wheeled carriage, rectangular in shape, with an arched or sloping top. In the case in question, Agrippina's carpentum was richly decorated, and the head is supported at the four corners by caryatides. Messalina had enjoyed the same privilege before (Dio lx. 22). For a wood-cut of this carpentum, see Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities. The 'sacra' mentioned below seem to be the 'sacred vessels, or images,' &c., which were carried to the capitol at certain times of the year. Cf. Varro, L. L. v. § 47, "qua sacra quotquot mensibus feruntur in arcem."

imperatore genitam] Agrippina was the daughter of Germanicus, an 'Imperator,' in the old sense of a victorious general in command of an army, sister of Caligula, wife of Claudius, and mother of Nero. It could hardly be said of her, as of Archedice, that she was one, ἣ πατρός τέ καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀδελφῶν τ' οὖσα τυράννων παίδων τ' οὐκ ἤρθη νοῦν ἐς ἀτασθαλίην. (Thucyd. vi. 59.)

hactenus] 'To this extent only had Vitellius wished (Lupus to be punished).' Cf. xiv. 3. 51, "hactenus respondisse."

nec occulti tantum questus, sed iura reddentem Claudium circumvasere clamoribus turbidis, pulsumque in extremam fori partem vi urguebant, donec militum globo infensos perrupit. quindecim dierum alimenta urbi, non amplius, superfuisse constitit, magnaque deum benignitate et modestia hiemis rebus extremis subventum. at hercule olim Italia legionibus longinquas in provincias commeatus portabat, nec nunc infecunditate laboratur. sed Africam potius et Aegyptum exercemus, navibusque et casibus vita populi Romani permissa est.

44. Eodem anno bellum inter Armenios Hiberosque exortum Parthis quoque ac Romanis gravissimorum inter se motuum causa fuit. genti Parthorum Vologeses imperitabat, materna origine ex pelice Graeca, concessu fratrum regnum adeptus; Hiberos Pharasmanes vetusta possessione, Armenios frater eius Mithridates optinebat opibus nostris. erat Pharasmanis filius nomine Radamistus, decora proceritate, vi corporis insignis et patrias artes edoctus, claraque inter accolas fama. is modicum Hiberiae regnum senecta patris detineri ferocius crebriusque iactabat, quam ut cupidinem occultaret. igitur Pharasmanes iuvenem potentiae promptum et studio popularium accinctum, vergentibus iam annis suis metuens, aliam ad spem trahere et Armeniam ostentare, pulsis Parthis datam Mithridati a semet memorando: sed vim differendam et potiorem dolum, quo incautum opprimerent. ita Radamistus simulata adversus patrem discordia tamquam novercae odiis impar pergit ad patruum, multaque ab eo comitate in speciem liberum cultus primores Armeniorum ad res novas illicit, ignaro et ornante insuper Mithridate.

45. Reconciliationis specie assumpta regressusque ad patrem, quae fraude confici potuerint, prompta nuntiat, cetera armis ex-

43. *iura reddentem*] Claudius devoted himself with extreme assiduity to judicial duties, giving up to them even his holidays, and allowing himself, on leaving the bench, to be dragged back by eager suitors (cf. Suet. Claud. 14, 15). Below, 'modestia hiemis' occurs nowhere else.

infecunditate] The real cause has been spoken of before. It was the gradual increase of slave culture, and the massing of land in huge farms under pasture instead of the plough. For the idea, 'navibusque,' &c., cf. iii. 54, "at Hercule nemo refert quod vita populi R. per incerta maris et tempestatum cotidie volvitur."

44. *fratrum*] Tiridates (xii. 50) and Pacorus (xv. 2). For Pharasmanes and Mithridates, cf. vi. 32, xi. 8.

potentiae promptum] For the dative with 'promptus,' cf. i. 48, "seditioni promptum;" iv. 46, "promptum libertati;" and xi. 32, xv. 45. Elsewhere it is followed by 'ad' (xvi. 14), and by 'in' (xv. 25). Some editions have 'promptae,' which is nearer the reading of the Cod. Med. (prompte), and perhaps right.

in speciem liberum] 'After the fashion of children.' Radamistus was treated with the kindness shown by a father to his children.

equenda. interim Pharasmanes belli causas confingit: proeliant sibi adversus regem Albanorum et Romanos auxilio vocanti fratrem adversatum, eamque iniuriam excidio ipsius ultum iturum; simul magnas copias filio tradidit. ille irruptione subita territum exutumque campis Mithridaten compulit in castellum Gorneas, tutum loco ac praesidio militum, quis Caelius Pollio praefectus, centurio Casperius praeerat. nihil tam ignarum barbaris quam machinamenta et astus oppugnationum: at nobis ea pars militiae maxime gnara est. ita Radamistus frustra vel cum damno temptatis munitionibus obsidium incipit; et cum vis neglegeretur, avaritiam praefecti emercatur, obtestante Casperio ne socius rex, ne Armenia donum populi Romani scelere et pecunia verterentur. postremo quia multitudinem hostium Pollio, iussa patris Radamistus obtendebant, pactus indutias abscedit, ut, nisi Pharasmanem bello absterruisset, Ummidium Quadratum praesidem Syriae doceret quo in statu Armenia foret.

46. Digressu centurionis velut custode exsolutus praefectus hortari Mithridaten ad sanciendum foedus, coniunctionem fratrum ac priorem aetate Pharasmanen et cetera necessitudinum nomina referens, quod filiam eius in matrimonio haberet, quod ipse Radamisto socer esset: non abnuere pacem Hiberos quamquam in tempore validiores; et satis cognitam Armeniorum perfidiam, nec aliud subsidii quam castellum commeatu egenum: ne dubitaret armis incruentas condiciones malle. cunctante ad ea Mithridate et suspectis praefecti consiliis, quod pelicem regiam polluerat inque omnem libidinem venalis habebatur, Casperius interim ad Pharasmanen pervadit, utque Hiberi obsidio decedant expostulat.

45. *exutumque campis*] It is not necessary to alter 'campis' into 'castris.' 'Exuere sedibus' occurs in xiii. 39. Below, 'Gorneae' is identified by D'Anville with 'Khorien,' in the northern part of Armenia.

verterentur] That is, 'everterentur.' Cf. ii. 42, "versa Caesarum subole;" iii. 54, "idem illi civitatem verti clamitabunt."

pactus] The subject of this clause is Casperius. The arrangement was, that the centurion should endeavour to dissuade Pharasmanes from continuing the war, and, failing that, should report the state of affairs to the governor of Syria.

Ummidium Quadratum] C. Ummidius C. f. Durmius Quadratus was consul suffectus in some year unknown, legatus pro praetore of Lusitania under Tiberius, of Illyricum under Claudius, and then of Syria, in succession apparently to C. Cassius (xii. 11). He died in A.D. 60 (xiv. 26). These and other offices held by Ummidius are detailed in Lat. Inscrip. n. 3128.

46. *in tempore*] Here the sense is, 'at that moment.' More usually it would be 'at a favourable time.' Below, for 'egenus' with an ablative cf. xv. 12. In both instances it is joined with 'commeatus.' Elsewhere the genitive is always found (i. 53, iv. 30, xv. 3, &c.).

armis] A rare construction with 'malle.' Gronovius quotes a similar one from Appuleius (Apologia, p. 83), "persuaserat idem Pontianus matri suae ut me aliis omnibus mallet."

ille propalam incerta et saepius molliora respondens, secretis nuntiis monet Radamistum obpugnationem quoquo modo celerare. augetur flagitii merces, et Pollio occulta corruptione inpellit milites, ut pacem flagitarent seque praesidium omissuros minitarentur. qua necessitate Mithridates diem locumque foederi accepit castelloque egreditur.

47. Ac primo Radamistus in amplexus eius effusus simulare obsequium, socerum ac parentem appellare; adicit ius iurandum, non ferro, non veneno vim allaturum. simul in lucum propinquum trahit, provisum illic sacrificium imperatum dictitans, ut dis testibus pax firmaretur. mos est regibus, quotiens in societatem coeant, implicare dextras pollicesque inter se vincire nodoque praestringere: mox ubi sanguis in artus *se* extremos suffuderit, levi ictu cruorem eliciunt atque invicem lambunt. id foedus arcanum habetur quasi mutuo cruore sacratum. sed tunc qui ea vincla admovebat, decidisse simulans genua Mithridatis invadit ipsumque prosternit; simulque concursu plurium iniciuntur catenae. ac compede, quod dedecorum barbaris, trahebatur; mox quia vulgus duro imperio habitum, probra ac verbera intentabat. et erant contra qui tantam fortunae commutationem miserarentur; secutaque cum parvis liberis coniux cuncta lamentatione complebat. diversis et contectis vehiculis abduntur, dum Pharasmanis iussa exquirerentur. illi cupido regni fratre et filia potior animusque sceleribus paratus; visui tamen consuluit, ne coram interficeret. et Radamistus, quasi iuris iurandi memor, non ferrum, non venenum in sororem et patruum expromit, sed proiectos in humum et veste multa gravique opertos necat. filii quoque Mithridatis, quod caedibus parentum illacrimaverant, trucidati sunt.

48. At Quadratus cognoscens proditum Mithridaten et regnum ab interfectoribus optineri, vocat consilium, docet acta et an ulcisceretur consultat. paucis decus publicum curae, plures tuta disserunt: omne scelus externum cum laetitia habendum; semina

47. *sacrificium imperatum*] 'The sacrifice enjoined' by custom when alliances are concluded between royal personages. I do not see that Pflugk's emendation 'sacrificii paratum' is necessary.

visui tamen consuluit] 'Pharasmanes spared his victims the additional pain of seeing their enemy looking on at their death; he refrained from showing himself.' Cf. xv. 61, "voci tamen et adspectui pepercit intromisitque ad Senecam unum ex centurionibus, &c.," where see the note. The 'visus' is that of Pharasmanes, and the sense is not 'he consulted appearances.' Below, for 'ne coram interficeret,' cf. xi. 15, and the note there.

48. *habendum*] For this use of 'habere,' cf. iv. 21, "quae in praesens Tiberius civiliter habuit." So Sallust (Cat. 51), "multi eas gravius aequo habuere."

etiam odiorum iacienda, ut saepe principes Romani eandem Armeniam specie largitionis turbandis barbarorum animis praebuerint: poteretur Radamistus male partis, dum invisus infamis, quando id magis ex usu quam si cum gloria adeptus foret. in hanc sententiam itum. ne tamen adnuisse facinori viderentur et diversa Caesar iuberet, missi ad Pharasmanen nuntii, ut abscederet a finibus Armeniis filiumque abstraheret.

49. Erat Cappadociae procurator Iulius Pelignus, ignavia animi et deridiculo corporis iuxta despiciendus, sed Claudio perquam familiaris, cum privatus olim conversatione scurrarum iners otium oblectaret. is Pelignus auxiliis provincialium contractis tamquam recuperaturus Armeniam, dum socios magis quam hostes praedatur, abscessu suorum et incursantibus barbaris praesidii egens ad Radamistum venit; donisque eius evictus ultro regium insigne sumere cohortatur sumentique adest auctor et satelles. quod ubi turpi fama divulgatum, ne ceteri quoque ex Peligno coniectarentur, Helvidius Priscus legatus cum legione mittitur, rebus turbidis pro tempore ut consuleret. igitur propere montem Taurum transgressus moderatione plura quam vi composuerat, cum redire in Syriam iubetur, ne initium belli adversus Parthos existeret.

50. Nam Vologeses casum invadendae Armeniae obvenisse ratus, quam a maioribus suis possessam externus rex flagitio optineret, contrahit copias fratremque Tiridaten deducere in

adeptus foret] For 'adeptus,' Nipperdey suggests 'depulsus.' Certainly the passage is any thing but clear. Quadratus put before the council this question: was the treachery of Radamistus to be punished? His own opinion was, that Radamistus might be left in possession of the kingdom he had obtained, covered, as he would be, with infamy. This would be a policy more useful to the Romans than the infliction of instant punishment. This is intelligible; but Tacitus does not make the latter alternative to be punishment, but he compares the advantage to Roman interests of Radamistus, in his present degraded position, with the much less advantage he would have conferred if he had gained his power honestly. In that case, as far as one can see, he would have been of no use at all. Either the reading is wrong, or Tacitus wrote confusedly, which I think is not unlikely; being misled by the words 'dum invisus infamis' to state the alternative suggested by them, instead of the alternative required by the sense of the passage.

49. *conversatione*] This is a word of late use. It occurs also in Germ. 40, "satiatam conversatione mortalium deam." Claudius was fond of low company. Cf. Suet. Claud. 5, "abiecta spe dignitatis ad otium concessit, modo in hortis et suburbana domo, modo in Campaniae secessu delitescens, atque ex contubernio sordidissimorum hominum super veterem segnitiae notam ebrietatis quoque et aleae infamiam subiit."

coniectarentur] 'Lest all others should be judged of by Pelignus.' Pelignus was not to be regarded as a type of all other Roman generals. The Helvidius Priscus mentioned here cannot apparently be the famous son-in-law of Paetus Thrasea (xvi. 28). This latter Helvidius Priscus was quaestor under Nero (Schol. Juv. v. 36), and praetor designatus A.D. 69 (H. ii. 91). As the Helvidius Priscus in the text is already legatus of a legion, he must, one would suppose, have been 'quaestor' at all events before Nero's accession.

regnum parat, ne qua pars domus sine imperio ageret. incessu Parthorum sine acie pulsi Hiberi, urbesque Armeniorum Artaxata et Tigranocerta iugum accepere. deinde atrox hiemps seu parum provisi commeatus et orta ex utroque tabes perpellunt Vologesen omittere praesentia. vacuamque rursus Armeniam Radamistus invasit, truculentior quam antea, tamquam adversus defectores et in tempore rebellaturos. atque illi, quamvis servitio sueti, patientiam abrumpunt armisque regiam circumveniunt.

51. Nec aliud Radamisto subsidium fuit quam pernicitas equorum, quis seque et coniugem abstulit, sed coniux gravida primam utcumque fugam ob metum hostilem et mariti caritatem toleravit; post festinatione continua, ubi quati uterus et viscera vibrantur, orare ut morte honesta contumeliis captivitatis eximeretur. ille primo amplecti adlevare adhortari, modo virtutem admirans, modo timore aeger, ne quis relicta poteretur. postremo violentia amoris et facinorum non rudis destringit acinacen vulneratamque ripam ad Araxis trahit, flumini tradit, ut corpus etiam auferretur: ipse praeceps Hiberos ad patrium regnum pervadit. interim Zenobiam (id mulieri nomen) placida illuvie spirantem ac vitae manifestam advertere pastores, et dignitate formae haud degenerem reputantes obligant vulnus, agrestia medicamina adhibent cognitoque nomine et casu in urbem Artaxata ferunt; unde publica cura deducta ad Tiridaten comiterque excepta cultu regio habita est.

50. *in tempore*] 'At a favourable opportunity.' For a different meaning of this expression, see the note on xii. 46.

51. *utcumque*] 'As well as she could.' Cf. ii. 14, and the note there.

ubi quati] For the union of moods in this clause see note on ii. 4, under 'ubi minitari.'

pervadit] The verb does not apparently govern Hiberos; but a preposition seems understood, or rather the preposition 'ad' governs both 'Hiberos,' and 'patrium regnum,' and the more naturally because Tacitus continually puts the preposition after its case, as just before 'ripam ad Araxis.' Halm compares iv. 67, "Capreas se in insulam abdidit," but 'Capreae' being the name of an island makes all the difference. Tacitus might have written 'Capreas se abdidit,' but would hardly have said 'Hiberos pervadit,' unless 'ad patrium regnum' had followed.

placida illuvie] 'In the motionless dead water.' By 'illuvies' apparently is intended the shallow, sedgy, or muddy water at the sides of a river, where the current is less strong than in the centre of the stream, although there is no other instance of this meaning. Below, for the genitive after 'manifestam,' cf. ii. 85, xiii. 26, xiii. 23. Plautus has the same construction (Truc. i. 2. 36), and Sallust (Catil. 52, sub finem). Dryden imitates this construction in Absalom and Achitophel, l. 204, "Now manifest of crimes," and Palamon and Arcite, i. 623, "Calisto there stood, manifest of shame."

dignitate formae] 'And from the dignity of her mien, thinking her to be of no ignoble birth.' 'Dignitate' is an instrumental ablative, giving the cause of the supposition formed by the shepherds, and 'degenerem' is used absolutely, as vi. 42, "materna origine Arsaciden, cetera degenerem."

52. Fausto Sulla Salvio Othone consulibus Furius Scribonianus in exilium agitur, quasi finem principis per Chaldaeos scrutaretur. adnectebatur crimini Vibia mater eius, ut casus prioris (nam relegata erat) inpatiens. pater Scriboniani Camillus arma per Delmatiam moverat; idque ad clementiam trahebat Caesar, quod stirpem hostilem iterum conservaret. neque tamen exuli longa posthac vita fuit: morte fortuita an per venenum extinctus esset, ut quisque credidit, vulgavere. de mathematicis Italia pellendis factum senatus consultum atrox et inritum. laudati dehinc oratione principis qui ob angustias familiares ordine senatorio sponte cederent, motique qui remanendo inpudentiam paupertati adicerent.

53. Inter quae refert ad patres de poena feminarum quae servis coniungerentur; statuiturque, ut ignaro domino ad id prolapsae in servitute, sin consensisset, pro libertis haberentur. Pallanti,

52. *Fausto Sulla*] Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix was son of Faustus Cornelius Sulla (consul suffectus A.D. 31), and son-in-law of Claudius (Suet. Claud. 27). L. Salvius Otho Titianus was brother of the Emperor Otho.

iterum conservaret] 'A second time' is spoken of, because Furius Scribonianus had not been involved in his father's punishment (see the note on vi. 1), when he was put to death (H. ii. 75; Suet. Claud. 13; and the note on vi. 1).

morte fortuita] A compressed sentence, equivalent to 'utrum morte . . . extinctus esset incertum; nam alii morte . . . extinctum esse, alii per venenum ut quisque credidit, vulgavere.' Cf. xiv. 9, "aspexeritne matrem exanimem Nero et formam corporis eius laudaverit, sunt qui tradiderint, sunt qui abnuant," i. e. aspexeritne . . . incertum est, nam sunt qui tradiderint, &c.'

cederent] Cf. xi. 25.

53. *in servitute*] The enactments of the Senatus consultum Claudianum, as here stated by Tacitus, related to two cases: that of women (free born) who cohabited with a slave without the knowledge of the slave's master, and that of those women who were so united with the master's consent: in the former case they would become the slaves of the master, in the latter they were to be in the position of freedwomen. This is the account of Tacitus. A fuller one is given by Gaius. He says (i. § 84) that by the S. C. Claudianum a civis Romana, if she cohabited with a slave, with the consent of his master, remained free herself, but that her child was a slave; for the senatus consultum gave validity to the compact between the woman and the owner of the slave (nam quod inter eam et dominum istius servi convenerit ex senatus consulto ratum esse iubetur). Elsewhere (i. § 160) he says that a free woman, if she persist in uniting herself with a slave against the express refusal of the slave's master to sanction it (invitis et denuntiantibus), becomes thereby the slave (ancilla) of the master. From this it appears that the woman was only brought into a servile condition if the master of the slave with whom she cohabited expressly forbade the union (denuntiantibus). If the master were ignorant of the union, the senatus consultum apparently did not apply, and the woman would, I suppose, remain free, although by a clause in the Lex Aelia Sentia the children of such union would be slaves, provided the mother knew the man with whom she cohabited to be a slave (Gaius i. § 86), a point which she could scarcely avoid knowing. It would appear from what has been said that Tacitus has written 'ignaro domino' as including all cases except those of 'consent;' whereas there were really three cases, 'an actual consent,' 'an actual forbidding,' and 'ignorance:' in the first the woman retained her freedom, in the second she lost it, and to the third the senatus consultum did not apply, and therefore the woman retained her freedom. A difficulty is

quem repertorem eius relationis ediderat Caesar, praetoria insignia et centies quinquagies sestertium censuit consul designatus Barea Soranus. additum a Scipione Cornelio grates publice agendas, quod regibus Arcadiae ortus veterrimam nobilitatem usui publico postponeret seque inter ministros principis haberi sineret. adseveravit Claudius contentum honore Pallantem intra priorem paupertatem subsistere. et fixum est *aere* publico senatus consultum, quo libertinus sestertii ter miliens possessor antiquae parsimoniae laudibus cumulabatur.

54. At non frater eius, cognomento Felix, pari moderatione agebat, iam pridem Iudaeae inpositus et cuncta malefacta sibi inpune ratus tanta potentia subnixo. sane praebuerant Iudaei speciem motus orta seditione, postquam . . . cognita caede eius haud obtemperatum esset, manebat metus ne quis principum eadem imperitaret. atque interim Felix intempestivis remediis delicta accendebat, aemulo ad deterrima Ventidio *Cumano,* cui pars provinciae habebatur, ita divisis ut huic Galilaeorum natio, Felici Samaritae parerent, discordes olim et tum contemptu regentium minus coercitis odiis. igitur raptare inter se, immittere latronum globos, componere insidias et aliquando proeliis congredi, spoliaque et praedas ad procuratores referre. hique primo laetari, mox gliscente permitie cum arma militum interiecissent, caesi milites; arsissetque bello provincia, ni Quadratus

made by the words 'pro libertis,' because Gaius (i. § 84) says that in the case of consent on the part of the master (volente domino, i. e. sin consensisset), the woman remained free (libera, non liberta). It is stated however in Dr. Smith's Dict. of Antiquities (under senatus consultum) that from a passage of Paulus (S. R. iv. tit. 10) it appears that in certain circumstances, which he does not detail, a woman was reduced by the Senatus consultum Claudianum to the condition of a freedwoman. And consequently the reading 'pro libertis' is no doubt correct, but it shows the account of Tacitus to be less exact than it might be. Suetonius (Vesp. 11) goes wrong altogether apparently, for he connects Vespasian with the senatus consultum, and represents it enacting that whatever woman cohabited with a slave must herself—under all circumstances, for no exception is mentioned—become a slave also.

consul designatus] I. e. consul elect for the latter half of this same year. For Scipio Cornelius, cf. iii. 74, xi. 2. 4.

regibus Arcadiae ortus] The only ground for this claim was doubtless the fact that Pallas bore the same name as the old Arcadian king. Cf. Virg. viii. 51, "Arcades his oris genus a Pallante profectum . . . posuere in montibus urbem Pallantis proavi de nomine Pallanteum." Below, for 'aere publico,' cf. xi. 14, sub finem.

sestertii ter miliens] This sum was about two and a half millions. Pallas and Narcissus were the two men of whom it was said wittily, that if they would take Claudius into partnership, their master's fortune would be made.

54. *cognomento Felix*] This was Antonius Felix, a compound of cruelty and lust (H. v. 9). He is the Felix of the Acts of the Apostles (xxiii. 24).

cognita caede eius] This seems to refer to the attempt of Caius Caesar to place his image in the Jewish temple: this was resisted, and even after his death, the Jews did not quite settle down, because they feared a repetition of the attempt.

ita divisis] Sc. provincialibus, or Iudaeis, easily supplied from 'provinciae.'

Syriae rector subvenisset. nec diu adversus Iudaeos, qui in necem militum proruperant, dubitatum quin capite poenas luerent: Cumanus et Felix cunctationem adferebant, quia Claudius causis rebellionis auditis ius statuendi etiam de procuratoribus dederat. sed Quadratus Felicem inter iudices ostentavit, receptum in tribunal, quo studia accusantium deterrerentur; damnatusque flagitiorum quae duo deliquerant Cumanus, et quies provinciae reddita.

55. Nec multo post agrestium Cilicum nationes, quibus Clitarum cognomentum, saepe et alias commotae, tunc Troxobore duce montes asperos castris cepere atque inde decursu in litora aut urbes vim cultoribus et oppidanis ac plerumque in mercatores et navicularios audebant. obsessaque civitas Anemuriensis, et missi e Syria in subsidium equites cum praefecto Curtio Severo turbantur, quod duri circum loci peditibusque ad pugnam idonei equestre proelium haud patiebantur. dein rex eius orae Antiochus blandimentis adversum plebem, fraude in ducem cum barbarorum copias dissociasset, Troxobore paucisque primoribus interfectis ceteros clementia composuit.

56. Sub idem tempus inter lacum Fucinum amnemque Lirim perrupto monte, quo magnificentia operis a pluribus viseretur, lacu

adversus Iudaeos] 'With reference to the Jews.' Cf. i. 65, "lentae adversum imperia aures;" xv. 63, "adversus praesentem formidinem mollitus." The use of the preposition arises from the writer having mentally in view two opposing forces marshalled against each other. Hence such phrases as 'firmus,' or 'invictus adversus pecuniam' (iii. 18), 'gratiam' (xv. 21), are naturally employed.

ius statuendi] Claudius, after hearing an account of the insurrection and the causes which led to it, had given Quadratus authority to look into the conduct of the two procuratores, and inflict punishment on one or both if they deserved it. Quadratus was thereby placed in a difficulty. Both were to blame, but Felix was too powerfully supported by the influence of Pallas at Rome to be called to account. By the device of putting him on the judicial bench instead of in the prisoners' dock, Cumanus was made the sole delinquent, and he was accordingly convicted and punished.

55. *Clitarum*] Cf. vi. 41. Below 'castris' seems the ablative case: 'occupied the rough mountains with an encampment.'

in mercatores] For the change of construction from the dative to the accusative, with a preposition, cf. iv. 9, "memoriae Drusi eadem quae in Germanicum decernuntur;" iv. 2, "fiducia ipsis in ceteros metus;" xiii. 21, "ultionem in delatores et praemia amicis obtinuit." For a change from one preposition to another see xii. 20, "quanta pervicacia in hostem, tanta beneficientia adversus supplices utendum," and in this present chapter "blandimentis adversum plebem, fraude in ducem." Below, the civitas Anemuriensis (now Anamur), was the most southern point of Cilicia and Asia Minor.

Antiochus] This was Antiochus IV. (son of the Antiochus of ii. 42), king of Commagene. He was deprived of his kingdom (given him by Caligula) by Vespasian, and lived in obscurity at Rome (Dio Cass. lii. 8, lx. 8).

56. *perrupto monte*] The Fucinus is a large lake (now the Lago di Celano), some thirty miles in circumference, with no visible outlet. To carry off the waters, Claudius excavated a tunnel, nearly three miles in length from it to

in ipso navale proelium adornatur, ut quondam Augustus structo circa Tiberim stagno, sed levibus navigiis et minore copia ediderat. Claudius triremes quadriremesque et undeviginti hominum milia armavit, cincto ratibus ambitu, ne vaga effugia forent, ac tamen spatium amplexus ad vim remigii, gubernantium artes, impetus navium et proelio solita. in ratibus praetoriarum cohortium manipuli turmaeque adstiterant, antepositis propugnaculis, ex quis catapultae ballistaeque tenderentur. reliqua lacus classiarii tectis navibus obtinebant. ripas et colles montium*que* edita in modum theatri multitudo innumera complevit, proximis e municipiis et alii urbe ex ipsa, visendi cupidine aut officio in principem. ipse insigni paludamento, neque procul Agrippina chlamyde aurata, praesedere. pugnatum quamquam inter sontes fortium virorum animo, ac post multum vulnerum occidioni exempti sunt.

57. Sed perfecto spectaculo apertum aquarum iter. incuria operis manifesta fuit, haud satis depressi ad lacus ima vel media. eoque, tempore interiecto, altius effossi specus, et contrahendae rursus multitudini gladiatorum spectaculum editur, inditis pontibus pedestrem ad pugnam. quin et convivium effluvio lacus adpositum magna formidine cunctos adfecit, quia vis aquarum prorumpens proxima trahebat, convulsis ulterioribus aut fragore et sonitu exterritis.

the valley of the Liris, occupying thirty thousand men eleven years in the work (Suet. Claud, 20).

structo circa Tiberim] The Cod. Med. has 'cis Tiberim,' which appears to be wrong. The Marm. Ancyr. (iv. 43) has "navalis proeli spectaculum populo dedi trans Tiberim, in quo loco nunc nemus est Caesarum cavato (solo in) longitudinem mille et octingentos pedes, in latitudinem (pedum mille et) ducen(tum)quo triginta rostratae naves triremes (et birem)es pluris autem minores inter se conflixerunt." Suetonius (Aug. 43) says, "navale proelium circa Tiberim cavato solo," which leaves the matter uncertain, but as Mr. Cookesley points out (Explanatory Index to the Map of Ancient Rome, p. 109), in Tib. 72 he speaks of Tiberius as coming, in spite of his fears, "ad proximos Naumachiae hortos," which could hardly allow one to suppose the gardens to be on the left bank in the Campus Martius. Unfortunately there is a diversity between the older and more recent copies of the Marm. Ancyr.; and in the former the words 'trans Tiberim' are not found. However the balance of evidence is in favour of the Naumachia having been on the right side of the river. Brotier suggests that Tacitus himself lived across the Tiber (in the regio transtiberina), and naturally spoke of the right side as 'cis Tiberim.'

chlamyde aurata] Pliny (N. H. xxxiii. § 63) speaks of Agrippina as "indutam paludamento auro textili sine alia materia." Dio (l. 33) says Agrippina χλαμύδι διαχρύσῳ ἐκοσμεῖτο. The two garments were almost identical.

57. *ad lacus ima vel media*] I believe this to mean 'to the lowest, or (even) middle point of the lake in depth.' No doubt this was a disgracefully careless oversight, but that is just the 'incuria operis' alluded to by Tacitus. Others translate 'to the lowest point, or (what is the same thing usually) the depth of the lake in the middle.' The objection to which is that the lowest point is not necessarily in the middle; and, what is more fatal, 'ima' and 'media' ought both to be measures of the same kind; whereas in the view spoken of, 'ima' is a measure of depth, and 'media' is a measure of horizontal extension.

convulsis ulterioribus] 'All that was farther off being violently shaken. The

simul Agrippina trepidatione principis usa ministrum operis Narcissum incusat cupidinis ac praedarum. nec ille reticet, inpotentiam muliebrem nimiasque spes eius arguens.

58. D. Iunio Q. Haterio consulibus sedecim annos natus Nero Octaviam Caesaris filiam in matrimonium accepit. utque studiis honestis *et* eloquentiae gloria enitesceret, causa Iliensium suscepta Romanum Troia demissum et Iuliae stirpis auctorem Aeneam aliaque haud procul fabulis vetera facunde executus perpetrat ut Ilienses omni publico munere solverentur. eodem oratore Bononiensi coloniae igni haustae subventum centies sestertii largitione. redditur Rhodiis libertas, adempta saepe aut firmata, prout bellis externis meruerant aut domi seditione deliquerant; tributumque Apamensibus terrae motu convolsis in quinquennium remissum.

59. At Claudius saevissima quaeque promere adigebatur eiusdem Agrippinae artibus, quae Statilium Taurum opibus inlustrem hortis eius inhians pervertit accusante Tarquitio Prisco. legatus is Tauri Africam imperio proconsulari regentis, postquam revenerant, pauca repetundarum crimina, ceterum magicas superstitiones obiectabat. nec ille diutius falsum accusatorem, indignas sordes perpessus, vim vitae suae attulit ante sententiam senatus. Tarquitius tamen curia exactus est, quod patres odio delatoris contra ambitum Agrippinae pervicere.

60. Eodem anno saepius audita vox principis, parem vim rerum habendam a procuratoribus suis iudicatarum ac si ipse statuisset. ac ne fortuito prolapsus videretur, senatus quoque consulto cautum

subject of 'convulsis' seems to include the tables, dishes, couches, in fact every thing connected with the feast, the guests included, and the subject of 'exterritis' is confined to the last.

58. *D. Iunio*] Decius Iunius Silanus Torquatus was brother of L. Silanus (xii. 3) and M. Silanus (xiii. 1). He was put to death by Nero (xv. 35). Q. Haterius Antoninus was son of D. Haterius Agrippa (ii. 51).

demissum] This is a poetical word for 'ortum,' found only in poetry. Cf. Virg. i. 288, "Iulius a magno demissum nomen Iulo;" and Hor. Sat. ii. 5. 63, "ab alto demissum genus Aenea."

perpetrat] There is, I believe, no other instance of the construction found here, viz., 'perpetrare ut;' but there is 'perpetrare ne' in xiv. 11. Below, Bononiensis Colonia was a town of Cispadane Gaul, on the Rhenus, at the foot of the Apennines, originally called Felsina (Plin. N. H. iii. 20). It was founded by the Tuscans, and became a Roman colony 189 A.C. (Liv. xxxvii. 57). It seems to have been especially connected with the Antonian family (Suet. Aug. 17).

It was here that Octavianus, Antonius, and Lepidus arranged the terms of the second triumvirate. Below, Apamea is a town of Phrygia, near Celaenae, built by Antiochus Soter, and so called after his mother Apama. Pliny says (N. H. v. 29) it was at the foot of Mons Signia, and surrounded by the Marsyas, Obrima, and Orga, affluents of the Maeander. It is supposed to be the modern Denair.

59. *Statilium Taurum*] Cf. vi. 11, and the note on the family.

curia exactus] Tarquitius does not seem to have been permanently the worse for his expulsion. He was proconsul of Bithynia afterwards, and condemned on a charge of repetundae (xiv. 46).

plenius quam antea et uberius. nam divus Augustus apud equestres, qui Aegypto praesiderent, lege agi decretaque eorum perinde haberi iusserat, ac si magistratus Romani constituissent; mox alias per provincias et in urbe pleraque concessa sunt, quae olim a praetoribus noscebantur. Claudius omne ius tradidit, de quo totiens seditione aut armis certatum, cum Semproniis rogationibus equester ordo in possessione iudiciorum locaretur, aut rursum Serviliae leges senatui iudicia redderent, Mariusque et Sulla olim de eo vel praecipue bellarent. sed tunc ordinum diversa studia, et quae vicerant publice valebant. C. Oppius et Cornelius Balbus primi Caesaris opibus potuere condiciones pacis et arbitria belli tractare. Matios posthac et Vedios et cetera equitum Romanorum praevalida nomina referre nihil attinuerit, cum Claudius libertos, quos rei familiari praefecerat, sibique et legibus adaequaverit.

61. Rettulit dein de inmunitate Cois tribuenda, multaque super antiquitate eorum memoravit: Argivos vel Coeum Latonae parentem vetustissimos insulae cultores; mox adventu Aesculapii artem medendi inlatam maximeque inter posteros eius celebrem fuisse,

60. *pleraque concessa*] Sc. procuratoribus, the managers of the 'fiscus' ('libertos quos rei familiari praefecerat') and the emperor's property; not the governors of the provinces, who were often entitled procuratores; in the case, for instance, of Judæa, Thrace, and other districts.

Semproniis rogationibus] The Lex Iudiciaria of Caius Sempronius Gracchus, 123 A.C., took the iudicia from the Senate and transferred them to the Equites. The Lex Servilia, of Caepio, 106 A.C., restored them to the Senate. Cicero, however (in Verrem i. 13), says they were given to the Senate by Sulla about 80 A.C. I do not know that any one can do more than offer possible reconciliations of the apparent discrepancy. The Lex Servilia of Caepio, as already stated, restored the 'iudicia' to the Senate, but may not have excluded the 'equites:' if so, Sulla may then have expressly removed the latter. Or the Lex Servilia of Caepio may have been repealed shortly after its enactment by the Lex Servilia Glaucia, but I do not know that any proof of this can be given; if it were, then the language of Cicero is natural. The Lex Servilia Glaucia, passed in 100 A.C., only referred to 'repetundae:' by its provisions 450 judices were appointed annually; and senators were expressly excluded from the panel. It is difficult, therefore, to see what Tacitus means by speaking of the 'Serviliae leges' as both restoring the 'iudicia' to the Senate. Either he did not know accurately what he wrote about—I have, I think, shown elsewhere that Tacitus did *not* always possess accurate knowledge about legal matters—or the words 'Serviliae leges' are equivalent to Lex Servilia (of Caepio); the plural being used for one law, as elsewhere, apparently, 'Oppiae leges' only means Oppia Lex (iii. 33).

quae vicerant] 'Quae' is the accusative. Cf. xiv. 14, "ne utraque pervinceret." Below, C. Oppius was a friend of C. Julius Caesar, who wrote a book to prove that Cleopatra falsely ascribed her child to him (Suet. C. Julius Caes. 52). Cornelius Balbus (of Gades) was the man for whom Cicero delivered a speech which is extant. He was consul suffectus in the year 40 A.C. C. Matius was a friend of C. Julius Caesar, and then of Augustus. He was the writer of Cic. ad Fam. xi. 28. For Vedius Pollio, cf. i. 10.

61. *Argivos*] Cos, if the traditional account be correct, was colonized from Epidaurus. This last city was established originally it seems by Ionians from Attica, and subsequently taken possession of by the Dorians, after the return of the Heracleidae. Epidaurus and Cos were equally connected with the worship of Aesculapius.

nomina singulorum referens et quibus quisque aetatibus viguissent. quin etiam dixit Xenophontem, cuius scientia ipse uteretur, eadem familia ortum, precibusque eius dandum, ut omni tributo vacui in posterum Coi sacram et tantum dei ministram insulam colerent. neque dubium habetur multa eorundem in populum Romanum merita sociasque victorias potuisse tradi: set Claudius, facilitate solita quod uni concesserat, nullis extrinsecus adiumentis velavit.

62. At Byzantii data dicendi copia, cum magnitudinem onerum apud senatum deprecarentur, cuncta repetivere. orsi a foedere quod nobiscum icerant, qua tempestate bellavimus adversus regem Macedonum, cui ut degeneri Pseudophilippi vocabulum inpositum, missas posthac copias in Antiochum, Persen, Aristonicum, et piratico bello adiutum Antonium memorabant, quaeque Sullae aut Lucullo aut Pompeio obtulissent, mox recentia in Caesares merita, quando ea loca insiderent, quae transmeantibus terra marique ducibus exercitibusque, simul vehendo commeatu opportuna forent.

63. Namque artissimo inter Europam Asiamque divortio Byzantium in extrema Europa posuere Graeci, quibus Pythium Apollinem consulentibus, ubi conderent urbem, redditum oraculum est, quaererent sedem caecorum terris adversam. ea ambage Chalcedonii monstrabantur, quod priores illuc advecti, praevisa locorum utilitate, peiora legissent. quippe Byzantium fertili solo, fecundo mari, quia vis piscium inmensa, Pontum erumpens et obliquis subter un-

referens] This participle agrees with the subject of 'memoravit.' Nipperdey quotes Cic. de Nat. Deor. i. 7, "mihi vero, inquit, Cotta videtur. Sed ut hic qui intervenit (me intuens) ne ignoret," &c.

62. *cui ut degeneri*] This was Andriscus, a man of low birth, who pretended to be the son of Perses. His pretensions to the crown of Macedonia were put an end to by Q. Caecilius Metellus, who defeated him and took him prisoner, 148 A.C. (Liv. Epit. xlix.)

posthac] Sc. 'memorabant:' for Antiochus, king of Syria, was defeated by M'. Acilius Glabrio in 190 A.C.; Perses by Aemilius Paullus, in 168 A.C.; and Aristonicus, king of Pergamum, by Perperna, in 130 A.C. (Liv. xxxvi., xliv.). Below, Tacitus probably alludes to Marcus Antonius Creticus, the son of M. Antonius the orator, and father of the Triumvir, who was charged with the care of the maritime coasts at the beginning of the Piratical War. So Lipsius.

63. *Graeci*] Byzantium is generally supposed to have been founded by the Megarians 667 A.C.

erumpens] For the case here governed by 'erumpere,' cf. Virg. Aen. i. 580, "iamdudum erumpere nubem ardebant." Similarly Tacitus constructs: 'exire, egredi, elabi,' &c. Pliny speaks of the great exodus of fish from the Pontus (N. H. ix. 20), "Est in Euripo Thracii Bosphori . . saxum miri candoris, a vado ad summa perlucens, iuxta Chalcedonem in latere Asiae. Huius adspectu repente territi semper adversum Byzantii promontorium . . . praecipiti petunt agmine. Itaque omnis captura Byzantii est, magna Chalcedonis penuria mille passuum medii interfluentis Euripi." The fish here spoken of are tunnies, which spawned in the shallows of the Palus Maeotis (Strabo vii. p. 320), and made for the Aegean Sea. The rocks are supposed to jut out from the Asiatic shore, at some angle more or less acute, I suppose. For the abundance of fish at Byzantium, cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 4. 66; Juv. iv. 72.

das saxis exterrita, omisso alterius litoris flexu hos ad portus defertur. unde primo quaestuosi et opulenti; post magnitudine onerum urguente finem aut modum orabant, adnitente principe, qui Thraecio Bosporanoque bello recens fessos iuvandosque rettulit. ita tributa in quinquennium remissa.

64. M. Asinio M'. Acilio consulibus mutationem rerum in deterius portendi cognitum est crebris prodigiis. signa ac tentoria militum igni caelesti arsere. fastigio Capitolii examen apium insedit. biformes hominum partus et suis fetum editum, cui accipitrum ungues inessent. numerabatur inter ostenta deminutus omnium magistratuum numerus, quaestore, aedili, tribuno ac praetore et consule paucos intra menses defunctis. sed in praecipuo pavore Agrippina, vocem Claudii, quam temulentus iecerat, fatale sibi ut coniugum flagitia ferret, dein puniret, metuens, agere et celerare statuit, perdita prius Domitia Lepida muliebribus causis, quia Lepida minore Antonia genita, avunculo Augusto, Agrippinae sobrina prior ac

Thraecio Bosporanoque bello] Cf. iv. 46, and xii. 15.

64. *M. Asinio*] M. Asinius Marcellus was great-grandson of the orator Asinius Pollio (xiv. 40), and perhaps son of the M. Asinius Agrippa, cf. iv. 34. He was convicted of taking part in a forgery of a will, but spared for his ancestor's sake. Acilius Aviola was quaestor, tribunus plebis, legatus of Asturia, proconsul of Asia in 65 A.D., and Curator Aquarum 74—95 A.D. See Nipperdey's note. He was probably son of the Acilius Aviola of iii. 41.

biformes] There was a combination in these births of the human and bestial shapes. Below, in 'inessent' the mood is not easy to explain. Perhaps it is due to the oratio obliqua, the whole sentence in the writer's mind depending on 'dicebant,' or the like. This is rather awkward here, after the finite verb 'insedit' in the previous clause, but it is certainly better than to take 'fetum' as a nominative neuter, for which there is no authority, to say nothing of the difficulty of explaining the subjunctive mood.

minore Antonia] The descent of this lady will be seen from the annexed table:—

M. Antonius m. Octavia, sister to Augustus.

Antonia Minor m. L. Domitius.

Lepida Domitia. — Gnaeus Domitius.

Hence Lepida Domitia was grand-niece of Augustus. For 'avunculus,' in the sense of great uncle, cf. ii. 43.

But Suetonius (Calig. i.) makes Antonia Major the mother of Lepida Domitia by Domitius.

Then Antonia Minor m. Drusus, brother of Tiberius.

Germanicus

Agrippina m. Gnaeus Domitius.

Hence Lepida Domitia was to Agrippina first cousin once removed. This is expressed by 'sobrina prior,' where sobrina is the ablative case. Of course, she was also Agrippina's sister-in-law, whose first husband was Gnaeus Domitius, and therefore aunt to Nero (amita).

Gnaei mariti eius soror, parem sibi claritudinem credebat. nec forma aetas opes multum distabant; et utraque inpudica, infamis, violenta, haud minus vitiis aemulabantur, quam si qua ex fortuna prospera acceperant. enimvero certamen acerrimum, amita potius an mater apud Neronem praevaleret: nam Lepida blandimentis ac largitionibus iuvenilem animum devinciebat, truci contra ac minaci Agrippina, quae filio dare imperium, tolerare imperitantem nequibat.

65. Ceterum obiecta sunt, quod coniugem principis devotionibus petivisset quodque parum coercitis per Calabriam servorum agminibus pacem Italiae turbaret. ob haec mors indicta, multum adversante Narcisso, qui Agrippinam magis magisque suspectans prompsisse inter proximos ferebatur certam sibi perniciem, seu Britannicus rerum seu Nero poteretur; verum ita de se meritum Caesarem, ut vitam usui eius inpenderet. convictam Messalinam et Silium; pares iterum accusandi causas esse; si Nero imperitaret, Britannico successore, nullum principi meritum: at novercae insidiis domum omnem convelli, maiore flagitio quam si inpudicitiam prioris coniugis reticuisset. quamquam ne inpudicitiam quidem nunc abesse Pallante adultero, ne quis ambigat decus pudorem corpus, cuncta regno viliora habere. haec atque talia dictitans amplecti Britannicum, robur aetatis quam maturrimum precari, modo ad deos, modo ad ipsum tendere manus, adolesceret, patris inimicos depelleret, matris etiam interfectores ulcisceretur.

66. In tanta mole curarum valetudine adversa corripitur, refovendisque viribus mollitia caeli et salubritate aquarum Sinuessam pergit. tum Agrippina, sceleris olim certa et oblatae occasionis

65. *pares iterum*] This is a difficult passage. The sense, I think, is as follows: Narcissus had already procured the condemnation of Messalina and Silius; Agrippina was equally open to accusation ('pares iterum,' &c.). Whether, after the death of Claudius, Nero or Britannicus succeeded, Narcissus would be equally without claim on the reigning prince ('nullum principi meritum'). If Nero succeeded, then Narcissus would be out of favour, by reason of the enmity between himself and Agrippina: if Britannicus, he would equally dislike Narcissus, as the accuser of his mother Messalina. The construction 'nullum principi meritum' is peculiar, but perhaps the case is a dativus commodi, 'he would have no service to plead with reference to the reigning prince,' would have no claim upon his gratitude for services rendered.

habere] The pronoun 'eam' is omitted. It is not unusual for Tacitus to omit the reflexive pronoun before the infinitive, future (i. 8, 35), present (i. 7, xiii. 4, xv. 17), or past (xiv. 48), but the ellipse of 'eam' is, I think, a solitary instance.

66. *valetudine adversa*] Claudius had an attack of gout (Dio Cass. lx. 34), for which the warm baths of Sinuessa, on the coast of Campania, were beneficial.

oblatae occasionis propera] Cf. iv. 59, "apiscendae potentiae properis," and xi. 26, "ita viae properam." Below, the use of 'vocabulum' for a personal name is not usual, except in the poets and the silver age. Cf. Ovid. Fast. iii. 511; Plin. N. H. iii. 11. It is very common in

propera nec ministrorum egens, de genere veneni consultavit, ne repentino et praecipiti facinus proderetur; si lentum et tabidum delegisset, ne admotus supremis Claudius et dolo intellecto ad amorem filii rediret. exquisitum aliquid placebat, quod turbaret mentem et mortem differret. deligitur artifex talium vocabulo Locusta, nuper veneficii damnata et diu inter instrumenta regni habita. eius mulieris ingenio paratum virus, cuius minister e spadonibus fuit Halotus, inferre epulas et explorare gustu solitus.

67. Adeoque cuncta mox pernotuere, ut temporum illorum scriptores prodiderint infusum delectabili cibo boleto venenum, nec vim medicaminis statim intellectam, socordiane Claudii an vinolentia; simul soluta alvus subvenisse videbatur. igitur exterrita Agrippina, et quando ultima timebantur, spreta praesentium invidia, provisam iam sibi Xenophontis medici conscientiam adhibet. ille tamquam nisus evomentis adiuvaret, pinnam rapido veneno inlitam faucibus eius demisisse creditur, haud ignarus summa scelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum praemio.

68. Vocabatur interim senatus votaque pro incolumitate principis consules et sacerdotes nuncupabant, cum iam exanimis vestibus et fomentis obtegeretur, dum *quae* res forent firmando Neronis imperio componuntur. iam primum Agrippina, velut dolore evicta et solacia conquirens, tenere amplexu Britannicum, veram paterni oris effigiem appellare ac variis artibus demorari, ne cubiculo egrederetur. Antoniam quoque et Octaviam sorores eius attinuit, et cunctos aditus custodiis clauserat, crebroque vulgabat ire in melius valitudinem principis, quo miles bona in spe ageret tempusque prosperum ex monitis Chaldaeorum adventaret.

69. Tunc medio diei tertium ante Idus Octobris, foribus palatii repente diductis, comitante Burro Nero egreditur ad cohortem,

Tacitus (xii. 27, 62, xiii. 12, &c.). Locusta (xiii. 15) was a famous poisoner (Juv. i. 71, Suet. Nero, 33). She was put to death by Galba (Dio Cass. lxiv. 3).

explorare gustu] The office of taster (praegustator) had existed in the palace from the days of Augustus. Such officers are mentioned in inscriptions. Cf. Suet. Claud. 44, "quidam tradunt epulanti in arce cum sacerdotibus per Halotum spadonem."

67. *temporum illorum scriptores.*] Such as Servilius Nonianus (xiv. 19), Aufidius Bassus (Quint. x. 1. 103), Fabius Rusticus (xv. 61).

boleto] Cf. Juv. v. 147, "boletus domino sed quales Claudius edit, ante illum uxoris post quem nil amplius edit." Also Juv. vi. 620; Martial i. 21. 4.

socordiane Claudii] This seems to mean that from the slowness of Claudius' circulation, or the torpid action of the internal organs, the poison was unable to do its work with due rapidity: the poison was not found to be quickly effective (nec vim medicaminis statim intellectam).

68. *Antoniam*] This lady was half-sister to Britannicus, her mother being Aelia Petina (Suet. Claud. 27).

quae more militiae excubiis adest. ibi monente praefecto faustis vocibus exceptus inditur lecticae. dubitavisse quosdam ferunt, respectantes rogitantesque ubi Britannicus esset: mox nullo in diversum auctore quae offerebantur secuti sunt. illatusque castris Nero et congruentia tempori praefatus, promisso donativo ad exemplum paternae largitionis, imperator consalutatur. sententiam militum secuta patrum consulta, nec dubitatum est apud provincias. caelestesque honores Claudio decernuntur et funeris sollemne perinde ac divo Augusto celebratur, aemulante Agrippina proaviae Liviae magnificentiam. testamentum tamen haud recitatum, ne antepositus filio privignus iniuria et invidia animos vulgi turbaret.

69. *paternae largitionis*] Cf. Suet. Claudius 10, "promisitque singulis quina dena H. S. primus Caesarum fidem militis etiam praemio pigneratus."

In the account of the poisoning of Claudius there is a want of clearness. Agrippina determined to administer a poison of slow efficacy, and yet she is represented as astonished because the effect was not at once (statim) noticeable. From its nature it could not have been so, one would suppose. Suetonius (Claud. 44) mentions that various accounts were given of the event, and Tacitus does not appear to have given a consistent one.

patrum consulta] This is supposed by some of the commentators to imply that the Senate formally conferred the 'imperium' on Nero, just as originally a Lex Curiata de imperio was necessary to confer military command on the Roman magistrates. It may be so, but I do not know that it must refer to that only, especially as the plural (consulta) is used.

CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XIII.

CONTENTS.

1. Death of Silanus and Narcissus. 2. Notice of Burrus and Seneca. 3. Funeral speech by Nero over Claudius. 4. Favourable beginning of Nero's reign. 5. Arrogance of Agrippina. 6. Rumoured disturbances in Parthia. 7. Consequent arrangements made by Nero. 8. Appointment of Domitius Corbulo. 9. Vologeses delivers hostages. Rivalry between Corbulo and Quadratus. 10, 11. Moderation of Nero. 12, 13. Nero's love for Acte. Agrippina's consequent tactics. 14. Removal of Pallas from his post. 15—17. Nero poisons Britannicus. 18. Anger of Agrippina. Slights put on her by Nero. 19—22. Accusation of Agrippina. Failure and punishment of her accusers. 23. Pallas and Burrus accused. Their acquittal. 24. Enactment with reference to the theatres. Lustration of the city. 25. Nero's nocturnal freaks. Death of Montanus. Expulsion of the histriones from Italy. 26, 27. Discussion on the case of ill-conducted freedmen. 28. Limitation of the powers of tribunes and aediles. 29. Notices of the management of the aerarium. 30. Condemnation of Laenas and others. 31. Amphitheatre erected. Financial notices. 32. Enactment with reference to freedmen. Pomponia Graecina condemned for superstition. 33. Celer and others accused. 34. Liberality of Nero. 35. Disturbances in Parthia. 36. Defeat of Paccius Orfitus. 37. Hostile operations of Tiridates. 38. A conference proposed. 39. Corbulo takes sundry forts in Armenia. 40, 41. Artaxata burnt to the ground. 42, 43. Suillius condemned. 44. Crime of Octavius Sagitta. 45. Poppaea Sabina's amour with Nero. 46. Removal of her husband Otho. 47. Cornelius Sulla banished. 48. Embassy from Puteoli. 49. Paetus Thrasea. 50, 51. Financial schemes of Nero. 52. Camerinus and Silvanus acquitted. 53. Engineering works undertaken in Germany. 54. Embassy of the Frisii to Rome. 55, 56. Misfortunes of the Ampsivarii. 57. Defeat of the Chatti by the Hermunduri. Conflagration of the Civitas Ubiorum. 58. Notice of the Ficus Ruminalis.

1. Prima novo principatu mors Iunii Silani proconsulis Asiae ignaro Nerone per dolum Agrippinae paratur, non quia ingenii violentia exitium inritaverat, segnis et dominationibus aliis fastiditus, adeo ut Gaius Caesar pecudem auream eum appellare solitus sit: verum Agrippina fratri eius L. Silano necem molita ultorem metuebat, crebra vulgi fama anteponendum esse vixdum pueritiam egresso Neroni et imperium per scelus adepto virum aetate composita, insontem, nobilem et, quod tunc spectaretur, e Caesarum posteris. quippe et Silanus divi Augusti abnepos erat. haec causa necis. ministri fuere P. Celer eques Romanus et Helius libertus, rei familiari principis in Asia impositi. ab his proconsuli venenum inter epulas datum est apertius quam ut fallerent. nec minus properato Narcissus Claudii libertus, de cuius iurgiis adversus Agrippinam rettuli, aspera custodia et necessitate extrema ad mortem agitur, invito principe, cuius abditis adhuc vitiis per avaritiam ac prodigentiam mire congruebat.

2. Ibaturque in caedes, nisi Afranius Burrus et Annaeus Seneca obviam issent. hi rectores imperatoriae iuventae et, rarum in societate potentiae, concordes, diversa arte ex aequo pollebant, Burrus militaribus curis et severitate morum, Seneca praeceptis eloquentiae et comitate honesta, iuvantes in vicem, quo facilius lu-

1. *Iunii Silani*] M. Junius Silanus, brother of L. Junius Silanus, was consul A.D. 46. For his father, Appius Junius Silanus, cf. iv. 68, xii. 37.

quod tunc spectaretur] The sense does not seem to be quite the same as if 'spectabatur' had been used. That would only state as a fact, that regard was had to the connexion of Silanus with the family of the Caesars. Tacitus rather intends to say, that this connexion was what you would naturally expect to find taken into account; it was the kind of thing, under the circumstances, that would be regarded.

abnepos] M. Junius Silanus was born in the year in which Augustus died (Plin. N. H. vii. 11), and was therefore about forty years old. His connexion with Augustus is shown by the annexed table:—

Augustus.
|
Julia m. Vipsanius Agrippa.
|
Julia m. L. Aemilius Paullus.
|
Aemilia Lepida m. Appius Junius Silanus.
|
Marcus Junius Silanus.

This makes the Silanus spoken of great-great-grandson of Augustus.

rei familiari] P. Celer and Helius were 'procuratores' (xii. 60) of the private property of Nero. Below, 'properato' as an adverb occurs nowhere else.

2. *rarum*] For this use of 'rarum,' cf. i. 39, i. 56, vi. 10, a use, I believe, peculiar to Tacitus. With 'ex aequo' compare 'ex facili,' 'ex adfluenti,' 'ex improviso,' 'ex composito,' 'ex praeparato,' 'ex tuto,' 'ex vano,' 'ex insperato,' in Livy. Cicero has 'ex improviso' and 'ex occulto.'

iuvantes in vicem] Cf. xiv. 17, "in

bricam principis aetatem, si virtutem aspernaretur, voluptatibus concessis retinerent. certamen utrique unum erat contra ferociam Agrippinae, quae cunctis malae dominationis cupidinibus flagrans habebat in partibus Pallantem, quo auctore Claudius nuptiis incestis et adoptione exitiosa semet perverterat. sed neque Neroni infra servos ingenium, et Pallas tristi adrogantia modum liberti egressus taedium sui moverat. propalam tamen omnes in eam honores cumulabantur, signumque more militiae petenti tribuno dedit "optimae matris." decreti et a senatu duo lictores, flaminium Claudiale, simul Claudio censorium funus et mox consecratio.

3. Die funeris laudationem eius princeps exorsus est, dum antiquitatem generis, consulatus ac triumphos maiorum enumerabat, intentus ipse et ceteri; liberalium quoque artium commemoratio et nihil regente eo triste rei publicae ab externis accidisse pronis animis audita: postquam ad providentiam sapientiamque flexit, nemo risui temperare, quamquam oratio a Seneca composita multum cultus praeferret, ut fuit illi viro ingenium amoenum et temporis eius auribus accommodatum. adnotabant seniores, quibus otiosum est vetera et praesentia contendere, primum ex iis qui rerum potiti essent Neronem alienae facundiae eguisse. nam dictator Caesar summis oratoribus aemulus; et Augusto prompta ac

vicemi ncessentes;" H. ii. 47, "experti in vicem Iunius, ego et fortuna". Similarly, H. ii. 42, "noscentes inter se."

tribuno] Sc. of the cohort on guard at the palace; cf. xii. 69, "ad cohortem quae more militae excubiis adest." Below, instead of the genitive 'optimae matris,' Suetonius (Nero, 9) has an accusative, "signum excubanti tribuno dedit optimam matrem."

3. *consulatus*] Suetonius (Tib. 1) gives a summary of the honours of the patrician Claudia gens: twenty-eight consulships, five dictatorships, seven censorships, seven triumphs, and two ovations.

ingenium amoenum] Quintilian's remark on Seneca (x. 1) is, that his writings abound in agreeable faults ('dulcibus vitiis'). Tacitus virtually agrees with him by attributing to Seneca a pleasant style ('amoenum'), suited to the taste of the day in favour of extreme polish and finish.

Augusto prompta ac profluens] It may be not uninteresting to compare the description of the powers of speaking possessed by the early emperors, as given by Tacitus and Suetonius. Augustus possessed an eloquence, "prompta ac profluens." According to Suetonius (Aug. 86), it was "elegans et temperata, vitatis sententiarum ineptiis atque concinnitate et reconditorum verborum foetoribus, praecipuamque curam duxit sensum animi quam apertissime exprimere . . ." He went straight to the mark, apparently avoiding all prettinesses of diction, and trying to express his meaning in plain words. Tiberius, again, weighed his words, and expressed his meaning forcibly, unless he was purposely obscure. According to Suetonius (Tib. 70), he was a follower of Corvinus Messalla, but obscured his style by affectation and a sort of sullenness, so that his extempore efforts were better than his elaborated speeches. Of Caligula, the same author says (Calig. 53) that he was eloquent and fluent; and Claudius (Claud. 41) was rather a trifling than an inelegant writer, which agrees with the judgment of Tacitus.

profluens quae deceret principem eloquentia fuit. Tiberius artem quoque callebat, qua verba expenderet, tum validus sensibus aut consulto ambiguus. etiam C. Caesaris turbata mens vim dicendi non corrupit. nec in Claudio, quotiens meditata dissererentur, elegantiam requireres. Nero puerilibus statim annis vividum animum in alia detorsit: caelare, pingere, cantus aut regimen equorum exercere; et aliquando carminibus pangendis inesse sibi elementa doctrinae ostendebat.

4. Ceterum peractis tristitiae imitamentis curiam ingressus et de auctoritate patrum et consensu militum praefatus, consilia sibi et exempla capessendi egregie imperii memoravit, neque iuventam armis civilibus aut domesticis discordiis inbutam; nulla odia, nullas iniurias nec cupidinem ultionis afferre. tum formam futuri principatus praescripsit, ea maxime declinans, quorum recens flagrabat invidia. non enim se negotiorum omnium iudicem fore, ut clausis unam intra domum accusatoribus et reis paucorum potentia grassaretur; nihil in penatibus suis venale aut ambitioni pervium; discretam domum et rem publicam. teneret antiqua munia senatus, consulum tribunalibus Italia et publicae provinciae assisterent:

tum validus] The force of 'tum' is not very clear here. Perhaps it is 'then (when he did so weigh his words), strong in the opinion he conveyed, or designedly obscure.'

4. *auctoritate patrum*] Cf. xii. 69. Below, for 'exempla,' cf. Suet. (Nero, 10), "ex Augusti praescripto imperaturum se professus."

antiqua munia senatus] The duties of the senate under the republic ('antiqua') were to receive foreign envoys, to conduct wars when once resolved on by themselves and the people, to assign the provinces to the consuls and praetors, to give or refuse the honours of a triumph, to impose laws and contributions (cf. Cic. in Vatin. 15, "Eripueras senatui provinciae decernendae potestatem imperatoris deligendi iudicium, aerarii dispensationem, quae nunquam sibi populus Romanus appetivit"), to have supreme superintendence in all matters of religion, to receive complaints from subject or allied nations, and to settle disputes which arose amongst the municipia and colonies of Italy (Liv. ix. 20). Nero could hardly have meant seriously to allow the senate to exercise these powers as in the old republican days.

consulum tribunalibus] This seems a little obscure. The consuls originally had the jurisdictio, and were supreme judges in all suits in Rome. But this portion of their functions was transferred to the praetors; the consuls, however, appear still to have exercised some judicial functions, although not perhaps regularly or systematically; and to this Tacitus refers in xiii. 28, 'prohibiti tribuni ius praetorum et consulum praeripere aut vocare ex Italia cum quibus lege agi posset.' As these words, 'consulum tribunalibus Italia et publicae provinciae adsisterent,' stand between 'antiqua munia senatus, and 'illi patrum aditum praeberent,' it would perhaps not be unreasonable to suppose that they are in some way connected with the clauses preceding and following them. If so, the meaning would be that the consuls were to be applied to by all who wished to have their requirements brought under the notice of the senate. Cf. ii. 35, "Piso censebat et absente principe senatum . . . posse sua munia sustinere decorum rei publicae fore: Gallus, nihil satis illustre aut ex dignitate populi Romani nisi coram et sub oculis Caesaris, eoque conventum Italiae et ei adfluentis provincias praesentiae eius servanda dicebat." If Nero meant that consuls were henceforward to discharge their duties instead of the prin-

illi patrum aditum praeberent, se mandatis exercitibus consulturum.

5. Nec defuit fides, multaque arbitrio senatus constituta sunt: ne quis ad causam orandam mercede aut donis emeretur, ne designatis quaestoribus edendi gladiatores necessitas esset. quod quidem adversante Agrippina, tamquam acta Claudii subverterentur, obtinuere patres, qui in Palatium ob id vocabantur, ut astaret additis a tergo foribus velo discreta, quod visum arceret, auditus non adimeret. quin et legatis Armeniorum causam gentis apud Neronem orantibus escendere suggestum imperatoris et praesidere simul parabat, nisi ceteris pavore defixis Seneca admonuisset, venienti matri occurreret. ita specie pietatis obviam itum dedecori.

6. Fine anni turbidis rumoribus prorupisse rursum Parthos et rapi Armeniam allatum est, pulso Radamisto, qui saepe regni eius potitus, dein profugus, tum quoque bellum deseruerat. igitur in urbe sermonum avida, quem ad modum princeps vix septemdecim annos egressus suscipere eam molem aut propulsare posset, quod subsidium in eo qui a femina regeretur, num proelia quoque et obpugnationes urbium et cetera belli per magistros administrari possent, anquirebant. contra alii melius evenisse disserunt, quam si invalidus senecta et ignavia Claudius militiae ad labores vocaretur,

ceps, he intended to do in reality what Tiberius did in pretence. Cf. I. 7, "cuncta Tiberius per consules incipiebat tamquam vetere republica."

publicae provinciae] These are the provinces allotted in the division by Augustus (subject to occasional alterations) to the senate, as distinguished from the imperial provinces.

5. *ne quis*] Cf. xi. 5. Afterwards, however, Nero seems to have recurred to the legislation of Claudius. Cf. Suet. (Nero, 17) "ut litigatores pro patrociniis certam iustamque mercedem . . . daret."

ut astaret] A new door was opened, so that Agrippina could enter unobserved and take up her position behind the assembled senators, being concealed from them by a curtain hanging between them and the door.

auditus] The plural is used apparently in the sense of 'the hearing of the various communications.' The senators, if they had been seen at all, would have been *seen* once for all, but their remarks from time to time were heard. This is an emendation of Lipsius for 'aditus,' the reading of the Cod. Med.

6. *tum quoque bellum*] Nipperdey transposes the words, and places 'quoque' after 'bellum.' Perhaps this is not required. Radamistus had often gained possession of Armenia, and then retired, abandoning the war. The same had just occurred at the time in question, as well as at other periods ('quoque').

vix septemdecim annos] Cf. xii. 25. Below, in 'octavo decimo aetatis anno Cn. Pompeius,' there is some confusion. Pompeius was twenty-three years old when he levied troops in Picenum on his own account, and made himself a general in the service of Sulla (Plutarch, Pompeius, 6). This was in the year 84 A.C., and Pompeius was born 107 A.C. But he served under his father against Cinna, when 'he was very young' (Plutarch), about the year 88 A.C. This Tacitus seems, from his way of speaking, to have confounded with his levying troops three, four, or five years later. Octavianus was born in the year 63 A.C. and C. Julius Caesar was assassinated 44 A.C.

servilibus iussis obtemperaturus. Burrum tamen et Senecam multarum rerum experientia cognitos; et imperatori quantum ad robur deesse, cum octavo decimo aetatis anno Cn. Pompeius, nono decimo Caesar Octavianus civilia bella sustinuerint? pleraque in summa fortuna auspiciis et consiliis quam telis et manibus geri. daturum plane documentum, honestis an secus amicis uteretur, si ducem amota invidia egregium, quam si pecuniosum et gratia subnixum per ambitum deligeret.

7. Haec atque talia vulgantibus, Nero et iuventutem proximas per provincias quaesitam supplendis orientis legionibus admovere legionesque ipsas propius Armeniam collocari iubet, duosque veteres reges Agrippam et Antiochum expedire copias, quis Parthorum fines ultro intrarent, simul pontes per amnem Euphraten iungi; et minorem Armeniam Aristobulo, regionem Sophenen Sohaemo cum insignibus regiis mandat. exortusque in tempore aemulus Vologeso filius Vardanis; et abscessere Armenia Parthi, tamquam differrent bellum.

8. Sed apud senatum omnia in maius celebrata sunt sententiis eorum, qui supplicationes et diebus supplicationum vestem principi triumphalem, utque ovans urbem iniret, effigiesque eius pari magnitudine ac Martis Ultoris eodem in templo censuere, praeter suetam adulationem laeti, quod Domitium Corbulonem retinendae Armeniae praeposuerat videbaturque locus virtutibus patefactus. copiae orientis ita dividuntur, ut pars auxiliarium cum duabus legionibus apud provinciam Suriam et legatum eius Quadratum Ummidium remaneret, par civium sociorumque numerus Corbuloni esset, additis cohortibus alisque, quae *in* Cappadocia hiemabant. socii reges, prout bello conduceret, parere iussi: sed studia eorum

consiliis quam telis] 'Magis' is to be supplied. Cf. iii. 17, and iv. 61, and just below, 'quam si pecuniosum, &c.'

per ambitum] 'As the result of intrigue.' The 'ambitus,' of course, was the court paid *to* the emperor, not *by* him.

7. *et iuventutem*] For the combination 'et' . . . 'que,' cf. i. 4, under 'se que et domum.'

admovere] For the union of the active and passive voices here, cf. H. iv. 23, "vastari Ubios et alia manu Mosam amnem transire iubet."

Agrippam] This was Herod Agrippa the younger, son of the elder Agrippa (xii. 23), and father of the Aristobulus mentioned a little below. For 'Antiochus,' cf. xii. 25.

minorem Armeniam] Armenia Minor was that portion of Armenia which lay west of the Euphrates. The division was made in the year 190 A.C., when the country shook off the yoke of the Seleucidae. 'Sophene' lay east of the Euphrates, north of the Mons Masius. Below, I have retained the reading of the MS., 'Vologeso filius Vardanis.' This was a son (unknown, I believe) of the Vardanes mentioned in xi. 8—10.

8. *utque ovans urbem iniret*] Cf. xiii. 44, "ingentibus donis adulterium, mox ut omitteret maritum, emercatur."

parere iussi] 'Ordered to obey' either Ummidius or Corbulo, as should seem best for the end in view.

in Corbulonem promptiora erant. qui ut *instaret* famae, quae in novis coeptis validissima est, itinere propere confecto apud Aegeas civitatem Ciliciae obvium Quadratum habuit, illuc progressum, ne, si ad accipiendas copias Syriam intravisset Corbulo, omnium ora in se verteret corpore ingens, verbis magnificis et super experientiam sapientiamque etiam specie inanium validus.

9. Ceterum uterque ad Vologesem regem nuntiis monebant, pacem quam bellum mallet datisque obsidibus solitam prioribus reverentiam in populum Romanum continuaret. et Vologeses, quo bellum ex commodo pararet, an ut aemulationis suspectos per nomen obsidum amoveret, tradit nobilissimos ex familia Arsacidarum. accepitque eos centurio Insteius ab Ummidio missus, forte priore de causa adito rege. quod postquam Corbuloni cognitum est, ire praefectum cohortis Arrium Varum et reciperare obsides iubet. hinc ortum inter praefectum et centurionem iurgium ne diutius externis spectaculo esset, arbitrium rei obsidibus legatisque, qui eos ducebant, permissum. atque illi recentem gloria, et inclinatione quadam etiam hostium, Corbulonem praetulere. unde discordia inter duces, querente Ummidio praerepta quae suis consiliis patravisset, testante contra Corbulone non prius conversum regem ad offerendos obsides quam ipse dux bello delectus spes eius ad metum mutaret. Nero quo conponeret diversos, sic evulgari iussit: ob res a Quadrato et Corbulone prospere gestas laurum fascibus imperatoriis addi. quae in alios consules egressa coniuncxi.

10. Eodem anno Caesar effigiem Cn. Domitio patri et consularia

ut instaret famae] Cf. Agric. 18, "non ignarus instandum famae." The insertion of this word is due to Haase.

apud Aegeas] Aegae, or Aegeae, is on the north side of the Gulf of Issus, now Ayas Kala, or Kalassy.

specie inanium] 'By the outward show attending qualities really valueless.' Corbulo had certain qualities not really worth any thing, but nevertheless attractive and imposing, a taking manner, showy presence, and the like.

9. *priore de causa*] 'On some previous errand.' The centurion had been already sent on some other business, and was therefore on the spot, and ready at once to take charge of the hostages. Below, Arrius Varus is mentioned in H. iii. 6, as having obtained promotion from Nero, in return for detraction from Corbulo's merits. He was at this time, probably, praefect of a cohort of auxiliary allies. Such, at least, seems a fair inference from xii. 17, sub finem, (although the reading is not quite certain), H. ii. 15. 59.

inclinatione quadam] 'And with a prepossession influencing even enemies.' The feeling in favour of Corbulo was strong enough to overcome the fact that he was an enemy. For the co-ordination of 'recentem' and 'inclinatione quadam,' cf. xiii. 15, "turbatus his Nero et propinquo die."

fascibus imperatoriis] That is, to the fasces of the emperor at Rome. The emperor was attended by twelve lictors always from the time of Augustus (Dio liv. 10), and their rods were wreathed with laurel on the occasion of any victory in the field.

insignia Asconio Labeoni, quo tutore usus erat, petivit a senatu; sibique statuas argento vel auro solidas adversus offerentes prohibuit. et quamquam censuissent patres, ut principium anni inciperet mense Decembri, quo ortus erat Nero, veterem religionem kalendarum Ianuariarum inchoando anno retinuit. neque recepti sunt inter reos Carinas Celer senator, servo accusante, aut Iulius Densus equester, cui favor in Britannicum crimini dabatur.

11. Claudio Nerone L. Antistio consulibus cum in acta principum iurarent magistratus, in sua acta collegam Antistium iurare prohibuit, magnis patrum laudibus, ut iuvenilis animus levium quoque rerum gloria sublatus maiores continuaret. secutaque lenitas in Plautium Lateranum, quem ob adulterium Messalinae ordine demotum reddidit senatui, clementiam suam obstringens crebris orationibus, quas Seneca, testificando quam honesta praeciperet, vel iactandi ingenii, voce principis vulgabat.

12. Ceterum infracta paulatim potentia matris delapso Nerone in amorem libertae, cui vocabulum Acte fuit, simul assumptis in conscientiam *M.* Othone et Claudio Senecione, adulescentulis decoris, quorum Otho familia consulari, Senecio liberto Caesaris patre genitus. ignara matre, dein frustra obnitente, penitus inrepserat per luxum et ambigua secreta, ne senioribus quidem principis amicis adversantibus, muliercula nulla cuiusquam iniuria cupidines principis explente, quando uxore ab Octavia, nobili

10. *quo ortus erat Nero*] Cf. Suet. Nero, 6, "Nero natus est Antii duodevicesimo kalendas Ianuarias, tantum quod exoriente sole."

11. *L. Antistio*] L. Antistius Vetus was probably son of the L. Antistius Vetus, consul suffectus 28 A.D. He was father-in-law of Rubellius Plautus (xiv. 58), and proconsul of Asia in the year, probably, 64 A.D. (xvi. 10). Below, 'principum' includes all the 'principes' from Augustus.

maiores continuaret] 'He might add greater efforts.' The senators hoped that Nero would be encouraged by the popularity obtained in trifling matters to gird himself up to greater attempts. Below, 'obstringens' is 'pledging,' 'solemnly guaranteeing.' Cf. iv. 21, "ut iure iurando obstringeret id e republica esse."

iactandi ingenii] Cf. ii. 59, under 'cognoscendae antiquitatis.'

12. *familia consulari*] L. Salonius Otho, the father of the M. Otho here mentioned (the future emperor) was consul suffectus 33 A.D., and proconsul of Africa (Suet. Otho, 1). Below, 'Caesaris' is of course Nero. No doubt, from his name, Senecio's father had been manumitted by Claudius, and so was his libertus, and therefore the libertus of Nero, the adopted son of Claudius, after the death of the latter.

inrepserat] The subject is Acte, the words from 'simul' to 'genitus' being virtually parenthetical. She had wormed herself into the emperor's good graces by companionship with him in his luxurious feasts ('luxus'), and by joining him in the indulgence of secret vice. 'Ambigua secreta' means, I think, 'secret practices of doubtful morality,' or 'secret vice.'

explente] This ablative clause gives the reason of the connivance on the part of the senators. They offered no opposition, because Nero's amour with Acte prevented worse indulgences.

quidem et probitatis spectatae, fato quodam, an quia praevalent inlicita, abhorrebat; metuebaturque ne in stupra feminarum inlustrium prorumperet, si illa libidine prohiberetur.

13. Sed Agrippina libertam aemulam, nurum ancillam aliaque eundem in modum muliebriter fremere. neque paenitentiam filii aut satietatem opperiri, quantoque foediora exprobrabat, acrius accendere, donec vi amoris subactus exsueret obsequium in matrem seque Senecae permitteret, ex cuius familiaribus Annaeus Serenus simulatione amoris adversus eandem libertam primas adulescentis cupidines velaverat praebueratque nomen, ut quae princeps furtim mulierculae tribuebat, ille palam largiretur. tum Agrippina versis artibus per blandimenta iuvenem adgredi, suum potius cubiculum ac sinum offerre contegendis quae prima aetas et summa fortuna expeterent; quin et fatebatur intempestivam severitatem et suarum opum, quae haud procul imperatoriis aberant, copias tradebat, ut nimia nuper coercendo filio, ita rursum intemperanter demissa. quae mutatio neque Neronem fefellit, et proximi amicorum metuebant orabantque cavere insidias mulieris semper atrocis, tum et falsae. forte illis diebus Caesar inspecto ornatu, quo principum coniuges ac parentes effulserant, deligit vestem et gemmas misitque donum matri nulla parsimonia, cum praecipua et cupita aliis prior deferret. sed Agrippina non his instrui cultus suos, sed ceteris arceri proclamat et dividere filium, quae cuncta ex ipsa haberet.

14. Nec defuere qui in deterius referrent. et Nero infensus iis, quibus superbia muliebris innitebatur, demovet Pallantem cura rerum, quis a Claudio impositus velut arbitrium regni agebat; ferebaturque degrediente eo magna prosequentium multitudine non absurde dixisse, ire Pallantem ut eiuraret. sane pepigerat

13. *nurum ancillam*] Nero was disposed to marry Acte (Suet. Nero, 28). Acte was a 'liberta,' and therefore not 'ancilla;' but Agrippina used the term contemptuously. Below, Annaeus Serenus was praefectus vigilum. Cf. Plin. N. H. xxii. 23, "fungi familias nuper interemere et tota convivia Annaeum Serenum praefectum Neronis vigilum et tribunos et centuriones."

cubiculum ac sinum] 'Her own chamber and private retreat,' 'the privacy of her own apartment.' 'Sinus' is used in much the same way, Germ. 29, "sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur," 'a nook of the empire.'

non his instrui] Nero's aim was, Agrippina declared, not her adornment in these robes and jewels, but a hint that the rest were not intended for her. By giving her some, without any real care for her use of them, Nero proved that she was to be debarred from having what remained.

14. *arbitrium regni*] Cf. H. iv. 21, "perfuga Batavus arbitrium rerum Romanarum ne ageret." The sense is, 'acted as though every thing in the kingdom was at his disposal.'

ut eiuraret] Cf. xii. 4, "adactus Silanus eiurare magistratum." Nero spoke of Pallas as relinquishing a throne; the allusion being to a consul who at the close of his magistracy, laid down office with an asseveration that he had served the state well. Pallas made a special

Pallas ne cuius facti in praeteritum interrogaretur paresque rationes cum re publica haberet. praeceps posthac Agrippina ruere ad terrorem et minas, neque principis auribus abstinere quo minus testaretur adultum iam esse Britannicum, veram dignamque stirpem suscipiendo patris imperio, quod insitus et adoptivus per iniurias matris exerceret. non abnuere se quin cuncta infelicis domus mala patefierent, suae in primis nuptiae, suum veneficium : id solum dis et sibi provisum quod viveret privignus. ituram cum illo in castra ; audiretur hinc Germanici filia, inde debilis rursus Burrus et exul Seneca, trunca scilicet manu et professoria lingua generis humani regimen expostulantes. simul intendere manus, aggerere probra, consecratum Claudium, infernos Silanorum manes invocare et tot inrita facinora.

15. Turbatus his Nero et propinquo die, quo quartum decimum aetatis annum Britannicus explebat, volutare secum modo matris violentiam, modo ipsius indolem, levi quidem experimento nuper cognitam, quo tamen favorem late quaesivisset. festis Saturno diebus inter alia aequalium ludicra regnum lusu sortientium evenerat ea sors Neroni. igitur ceteris diversa nec ruborem allatura : ubi Britannico iussit exurgeret progressusque in medium cantum aliquem inciperet, inrisum ex eo sperans pueri sobrios quoque convictus, nedum temulentos ignorantis, ille constanter exorsus est carmen, quo evolutum eum sede patria rebusque summis significabatur. unde orta miseratio manifestior, quia dissimulationem nox et lascivia exemerat. Nero intellecta invidia odium intendit; urguentibusque Agrippinae minis, quia nullum crimen neque iubere caedem fratris palam audebat, occulta moli-

bargain that no inquiry should be made into his past conduct ; his accounts with the state were to be regarded as duly squared up and past, without any further inquiry to follow ('pares rationes,' &c.). So Dig. 40. 4. 22, 'ei parem rationem adscripsit.' Pallas was a rationibus Claudii (Suet. Claud. 28).

inde debilis rursus] 'On the other side again the crippled Burrus.' 'Inde' is opposed to 'hinc,' and 'rursus' is used apparently because Agrippina would be heard first, and then Burrus.

15. *quaesivisset*] The subjunctive is used because the clause expresses part of Nero's thoughts, and does not introduce mere additional circumstances virtually supplied by Tacitus himself. The mood, therefore, is that of the 'oratio obliqua.'

regnum lusu sortientium] This was a game where one was king, and the other players had to do whatever the king commanded them. As in crying forfeits, no doubt the king bade his subjects do something ridiculous, *αἰσχρόν τι περὶ αὑτοῦ ἀναβοῆσαι, γυμνὸν ὀρχήσασθαι*, or the like (Lucian, Saturn. 3). Below, for the dative after 'iubere,' cf. xiii. 40, "quibus iusserat ut resisterent." The construction is very rare in other writers.

nullum crimen neque iubere caedem] For this co-ordination of a substantive and an infinitive, cf. vi. 12, "quem Caninius Gallus quindecemvir recipi . . . et de ea re senatus consultum postulaverat;" iv. 3, "placuit tamen occultior via et a Druso incipere." Below, for 'pensi habere,' cf. Dialogus de Orat.

tur parareque venenum iubet, ministro Pollione Iulio praetoriae cohortis tribuno, cuius cura attinebatur damnata veneficii nomine Locusta multa scelerum fama. nam ut proximus quisque Britannico neque fas neque fidem pensi haberet, olim provisum erat. primum venenum ab ipsis educatoribus accepit, tramisitque exsoluta alvo parum validum, sive temperamentum inerat ne statim saeviret. sed Nero lenti sceleris inpatiens minitari tribuno, iubere supplicium veneficae, quod, dum rumorem respiciunt, dum parant defensiones, securitatem morarentur. promittentibus dein tam praecipitem necem quam si ferro urgueretur, cubiculum Caesaris iuxta decoquitur virus cognitis antea venenis rapidum.

16. Mos habebatur principum liberos cum ceteris idem aetatis nobilibus sedentes vesci in aspectu propinquorum propria et parciore mensa. illic epulante Britannico, quia cibos potusque eius delectus ex ministris gustu explorabat, ne omitteretur institutum aut utriusque morte proderetur scelus, talis dolus repertus est. innoxia adhuc ac praecalida et libata gustu potio traditur Britannico; dein, postquam fervore aspernabatur, frigida in aqua adfunditur venenum, quod ita cunctos eius artus pervasit, ut vox pariter et spiritus raperentur. trepidatur a circumsedentibus, diffugiunt inprudentes; at quibus altior intellectus, resistunt defixi et Neronem intuentes. ille ut erat reclinis et nescio similis, solitum ita ait per comitialem morbum, quo prima ab infantia afflictaretur Britannicus, et redituros paulatim visus sensusque. at Agrippinae is pavor, ea consternatio mentis, quamvis vultu premeretur, emicuit, ut perinde ignaram fuisse *atque* Octaviam sororem Britannici constiterit: quippe sibi supremum auxilium ereptum et parricidii exemplum intellegebat. Octavia quoque, quamvis rudibus annis, dolorem, caritatem, omnis affectus abscondere didicerat. ita post breve silentium repetita convivii laetitia.

29, "nec quisquam in tota domo pensi habet;" H. i. 46, "neque modum oneris quisquam neque genus quaestus pensi habebat." In other writers it generally follows 'nihil,' or 'nec quidquam.' Cf. Sall. Cat. 5; Suet. Domit. 12.

dum parant defensiones] For the indicative mood in the 'oratio obliqua,' see a note on i. 10, under 'abstulerat.'

cognitis antea venenis] According to Suetonius (Nero, 33), the poison was tried on a kid, and, after further preparation, on a young pig, until it appeared sufficiently deadly and rapid in its operation.

16. *idem aetatis*] Cf. v. 9, "id aetatis corpora." Below, for the case of 'fervore,' cf. ii. 24, and the note there on 'potentia.'

frigida in aqua] The sense is not, 'poison is poured into cold water,' but 'poison is poured into (the cup) in cold water.' The poison was already mixed with the cold water, and so poured into the goblet containing the hot potion.

circumsedentibus] By the young nobles, who, as usual with children, were not reclining at table, like Nero and the grown-up sharers in the feast, but sitting at table. Cf. Suet. Claud. 32, "cum pueris

17. Nox eadem necem Britannici et rogum coniuncxit, proviso ante funebri paratu, qui modicus fuit. in campo tamen Martis sepultus est adeo turbidis imbribus, ut vulgus iram deum portendi crediderit adversus facinus, cui plerique tamen hominum ignoscebant, antiquas fratrum discordias et insociabile regnum aestimantes. tradunt plerique eorum temporum scriptores, crebris ante exitium diebus illusum isse pueritiae Britannici Neronem, ut iam non praematura neque saeva mors videri queat, quamvis inter sacra mensae, ne tempore quidem ad complexum sororum dato, ante oculos inimici properata sit in illum supremum Claudiorum sanguinem, stupro prius quam veneno pollutum. festinationem exequiarum edicto Caesar defendit, id a maioribus institutum referens, subtrahere oculis acerba funera neque laudationibus aut pompa detinere. ceterum et sibi amisso fratris auxilio reliquas spes in re publica sitas, et tanto magis fovendum patribus populoque principem, qui unus superesset e familia summum ad fastigium genita.

18. Exin largitione potissimos amicorum auxit. nec defuere qui arguerent viros gravitatem adseverantes, quod domos villas id temporis quasi praedam divisissent. alii necessitatem adhibitam credebant a principe, sceleris sibi conscio et veniam sperante, si largitionibus validissimum quemque obstrincxisset. at matris ira nulla munificentia leniri, sed amplecti Octaviam, crebra cum amicis secreta habere, super ingenitam avaritiam undique pecunias quasi in subsidium corripiens, tribunos et centuriones comiter excipere, nomina et virtutes nobilium, qui etiam tum supererant, in honore habere, quasi quaereret ducem et partes. cognitum id Neroni, excubiasque militares, quae ut coniugi imperatoris olim, tum ut matri servabantur, et Germanos nuper eundem *in* honorem custodes additos degredi iubet. ac ne coetu salutantium fre-

puellisque nobilibus qui more veteri ad fulcra lectorum sedentes vescerentur."

17. *in campo tamen Martis*] In the mausoleum built by Augustus (Tumulus Augusti, iii. 4) in the Campus Martius.

id a maioribus] For 'id' used in this way, cf. H. iv. 33, "id solum ut in tumultu monuit subsignano milite medio firmare."

acerba funera] 'Acerbus' is applied continually to premature death, as corresponding to unripe, and therefore sour fruit. Cf. Ovid's Fasti, iv. 647, "et pecus ante diem foetus edebat acerbos," and Juv. xi. 44, "non praematuri cineres nec funus acerbum."

18. *gravitatem adseverantes*] 'Putting forward a persistent claim to philosophical gravity.' The allusion is to Seneca and Burrus. For the use of 'validissimum,' just below, cf. vi. 31, xii. 42.

ut matri] The repetition of 'ut' is awkward, the first being used in the sense of 'quemadmodum,' and the second in the sense of 'tamquam,' 'which, as they were formerly assigned her when the emperor's wife, so now were continued to her, as being the present emperor's mother.'

quentaretur, separat domum matremque transfert in eam quae Antoniae fuerat, quotiens ipse illuc ventitaret, saeptus turba centurionum et post breve osculum digrediens.

19. Nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile ac fluxum est quam fama potentiae non sua vi nixae. statim relictum Agrippinae limen: nemo solari, nemo adire praeter paucas feminas, amore an odio incertas. ex quibus erat Iunia Silana, quam matrimonio C. Sili a Messalina depulsam supra rettuli, insignis genere forma lascivia, et Agrippinae diu percara, mox occultis inter eas offensionibus, quia Sextium Africanum nobilem iuvenem a nuptiis Silanae deterruerat Agrippina, inpudicam et vergentem annis dictitans, non ut Africanum sibi seponeret, sed ne opibus et orbitate Silanae maritus poteretur. illa spe ultionis oblata parat accusatores ex clientibus suis, Iturium et Calvisium, non vetera et saepius iam audita deferens, quod Britannici mortem lugeret aut Octaviae iniurias evulgaret, sed destinavisse eam Rubellium Plautum, per maternam originem pari ac Nero gradu a divo Augusto, ad res novas extollere coniugioque eius et iam imperio rem publicam rursus invadere. haec Iturius et Calvisius Atimeto, Domitiae Neronis amitae liberto, aperiunt. qui laetus oblatis

quae Antoniae fuerat] This is 'Antonia maior' probably, as Tacitus adds 'minor' (iv. 44, xii. 64) when he speaks of the younger Antonia. But, as before said, Tacitus is incorrect in the matter of these ladies; and really it was Antonia maior who made the connexion ascribed by the historian to the younger sister. Probably, therefore, the Antonia, although intended to be the elder, really is the Antonia minor of Suetonius, who married Drusus (the father of Germanicus), and was therefore Nero's great-grandmother.

19. *Iunia Silana*] Cf. xi. 12. Perhaps she was sister of Marcus and Lucius Silanus (xiii. 1).

pari ac Nero gradu] The annexed table will show this:—

Augustus.
|
(step-son) Tiberius.
|
Drusus.
|
Julia m. Rubellius Blandus.
|
Rubellius Plautus.

Augustus.
|
Julia.
|
Agrippina (the elder).
|
Agrippina (the younger).
|
Nero.

Therefore Augustus was great-great-grandfather both of Rubellius Plautus and Nero.

et iam . . . invadere] 'And at once (thereupon) to make a dash at the state.' Cf. i. 10, "fasces et ius praetoris invaserit."

Domitiae Neronis amitae] This is shown as follows:—

Lucius Domitius Aenobarbus m. Antonia.
|
Gnaeus Domitius m. Agrippina (the younger) | Domitia | Domitia Lepida.

The Domitia mentioned here married Crispus Passienus (vi. 20), and was put to death by Nero (Suet. Nero, 34; Dio lxi. 17).

(quippe inter Agrippinam et Domitiam infensa aemulatio exercebatur) Paridem histrionem, libertum et ipsum Domitiae, impulit ire propere crimenque atrociter deferre.

20. Provecta nox erat et Neroni per vinulentiam trahebatur, cum ingreditur Paris, solitus alioquin id temporis luxus principis intendere, sed tunc compositus ad maestitiam, expositoque indicii ordine ita audientem exterret, ut non tantum matrem Plautumque interficere, sed Burrum etiam demovere praefectura destinaret tamquam Agrippinae gratia provectum et vicem reddentem. Fabius Rusticus auctor est, scriptos esse ad Caecinam Tuscum codicillos, mandata ei praetoriarum cohortium cura, sed ope Senecae dignationem Burro retentam: Plinius et Cluvius nihil dubitatum de fide praefecti referunt; sane Fabius inclinat ad laudes Senecae, cuius amicitia floruit. nos consensum auctorum secuturi, quae diversa prodiderint sub nominibus ipsorum tradémus. Nero trepidus et interficiendae matris avidus non prius differri potuit quam Burrus necem eius promitteret, si facinoris coargueretur: sed cuicumque, nedum parenti defensionem tribuendam: nec accusatores adesse, sed vocem unius ex inimica domo adferri: refutare tenebras et vigilatam convivio noctem omniaque temeritati et inscitiae propiora.

21. Sic lenito principis metu et luce orta itur ad Agrippinam, ut nosceret obiecta dissolveretque vel poenam lueret. Burrus iis mandatis Seneca coram fungebatur; aderant et ex libertis arbitri sermonis. deinde a Burro, postquam crimina et auctores exposuit, minaciter actum. et Agrippina ferociae memor 'non miror' inquit 'Silanam, numquam edito partu, matrum affectus ignotos habere; neque enim perinde a parentibus liberi quam ab inpudica

20. *Caecinam Tuscum*] Caecina Tuscus was the son of Nero's nurse, and afterwards praefect of Egypt. He was banished for having baths constructed for Nero on his projected visit to Egypt (Suet. Nero, 35). Pliny (the elder) wrote a History of the Empire from the point where Aufidius Bassus left off, about the time of Claudius perhaps (preface to N. H.). Cluvius is perhaps the Cluvius Rufus of H. i. 8, H. iii. 65, H. iv. 43; so at least Lipsius thinks, but it seems to me very doubtful. Fabius Rusticus seems to have begun his narrative with the reign of Claudius, as he gives an account of Britain (Agric. 10). He showed in his writings partiality for Seneca; or Tacitus himself, disliking that philosopher, fancied that Fabius spoke of him too favourably.

differri] 'To be put off.' Cf. ii. 36, "tot differre." Below, for 'nedum parenti,' cf. xiii. 37, under 'nedum veteri.'

refutare] 'Refutare' possibly means 'to throw cold water into a boiling vessel,' and so generally to check, calm down; and this meaning would suit here. The courtiers of Nero represented to him that the darkness and the disorder arising from the dissipations of the night threw cold water on any scheme for the murder of Agrippina; the time and circumstances were unsuited to the carrying out of any such course. The close of a drunken debauch was not adapted to plan and complete so grave an undertaking.

adulteri mutantur. nec si Iturius et Calvisius adesis omnibus fortunis novissimam suscipiendae accusationis operam anui rependunt, ideo aut mihi infamia parricidii aut Caesari conscientia subeunda est. nam Domitiae inimicitiis gratias agerem, si benivolentia mecum in Neronem meum certaret: nunc per concubinum Atimetum et histrionem Paridem quasi scaenae fabulas componit. Baiarum suarum piscinas extollebat, cum meis consiliis adoptio et proconsulare ius et designatio consulatus et cetera apiscendo imperio praepararentur. aut exsistat qui cohortes in urbe temptatas, qui provinciarum fidem labefactatam, denique servos vel libertos ad scelus corruptos arguat. vivere ego Britannico potiente rerum poteram? ac si Plautus aut quis alius rem publicam iudicaturus obtinuerit, desunt scilicet mihi accusatores, qui non verba impatientia caritatis aliquando incauta, sed ea crimina obiciant, quibus nisi a filio absolvi non possim.' commotis qui aderant ultroque spiritus eius mitigantibus, colloquium filii exposcit, ubi nihil pro innocentia, quasi diffideret, nec beneficiis, quasi exprobraret, disseruit, sed ultionem in delatores et praemia amicis obtinuit.

22. Praefectura annonae Faenio Rufo, cura ludorum, qui a Caesare parabantur, Arruntio Stellae, Aegyptus C. Balbillo permittuntur. Syria P. Anteio destinata, sed variis mox artibus elusus, ad postremum in urbe retentus est. at Silana in exilium acta. Calvisius quoque et Iturius relegantur; de Atimeto suppli-

21. *infamia parricidii*] 'The disgraceful charge of son-murder.' With 'conscientia' must be repeated 'parricidii,' in the sense of 'slaying a mother.'

extollebat] Cf. xi. 1, "quos" (hortos) "ille a Lucullo coeptos insigni magnificentia extollebat." 'Extollere' seems an odd word to use in connexion with fish-pond, but it appears to convey the idea of raising high banks and lofty structures round them. Below, 'aut existat' means, 'or if it be not as I say, let some one come forward.' Cf. xv. 5, "omitteret potius obsidionem aut" (if he did not) "se quoque in agro hostili castra positurum." Cic. de Fin. iv. 26, "cur igitur cum de re conveniat non malumus usitate loqui? aut doceat paratiorem me ad contemnendam pecuniam fore."

iudicaturus] 'If Plautus or any one else were in possession of the state, with the duty of sitting in judgment on me.' Agrippina's argument is, that as she could not have lived in safety under Britannicus, her step-son, who would have punished her for former wrongs done him, so, if Plautus or any other were raised to the throne by the death of Nero, she would most certainly have been accused of crimes which could only hope for indulgence from a son. It was impolitic, therefore, and suicidal for Agrippina to endeavour to compass her son's death: her only hope of security lay in her son's continuance on the throne. He would pardon crimes, the fruits of which he reaped: no one else could pardon them. The words 'desunt scilicet,' &c., are ironical.

22. *C. Balbillo*] So the MS.; but in several inscriptions he is called Tiberius (Graec. Inscript. 4699, 4730). See Nipperdey's note. He is mentioned apparently by Pliny (N. H. xix. preface), as having made the voyage from the Sicilian Straits to Alexandria in something less than six days.

cium sumptum, validiore apud libidines principis Paride quam ut poena adficeretur. Plautus ad praesens silentio transmissus est.

23. Deferuntur dehinc consensisse Pallas ac Burrus, ut Cornelius Sulla claritudine generis et adfinitate Claudii, cui per nuptias Antoniae gener erat, ad imperium vocaretur. eius accusationis auctor extitit Paetus quidam, exercendis apud aerarium sectionibus famosus et tum vanitatis manifestus. nec tam grata Pallantis innocentia quam gravis superbia fuit: quippe nominatis libertis eius, quos conscios haberet, respondit nihil umquam se domi nisi nutu aut manu significasse, vel si plura demonstranda essent, scripto usum, ne vocem consociaret. Burrus quamvis reus inter iudices sententiam dixit. exiliumque accusatori inrogatum et tabulae exustae sunt, quibus oblitterata aerarii nomina retrahebat.

24. Fine anni statio cohortis adsidere ludis solita demovetur, quo maior species libertatis esset, utque miles theatrali licentiae non permixtus incorruptior ageret et plebes daret experimentum, an amotis custodibus modestiam retineret. urbem princeps lustravit ex responso haruspicum, quod Iovis ac Minervae aedes de caelo tactae erant.

25. Q. Volusio P. Scipione consulibus otium foris, foeda domi lascivia, qua Nero itinera urbis et lupanaria et deverticula veste servili in dissimulationem sui compositus pererrabat, comitantibus qui raperent venditioni exposita et obviis vulnera inferrent, adversus ignaros adeo, ut ipse quoque exciperet ictus et ore praeferret. deinde ubi Caesarem esse qui grassaretur pernotuit augebanturque

23. *sectionibus*] The goods of all whose property was confiscated were sold by the prefects of the treasury. Paetus made it his business to buy such goods, as well as the property of all who, being in debt to the state, had distraints levied on their effects, by the sale of which their debts were paid. Below, for the sense of 'vanitatis' ('falsehood'), cf. vi. 21, "si vanitatis aut fraudum suspicio incesserat;" H. iv. 81, "famam vanitatis metuere." This seems to have been the original force of the word. It occurs Agric. 18, and iii. 73, in its derived sense of boastfulness.

nomina retrahebat] Paetus seems to have kept a list of persons indebted to the state, whose debts, of old standing, barred virtually, as it were, by a statute of limitation, had not been paid. Paetus was intending to endeavour to recover these from the debtors, or their heirs probably. Cf. Suet. Aug. 32, "tabulas veterum aerarii debitorum vel praecipuam calumniandi materiam exussit." Others supposed the words to mean that Paetus revived debts which had been already paid and crossed out of the books. But I do not quite see how burning the records of these debts did any good; for if they were really paid, I suppose the books would retain traces of the fact, unless we imagine the keepers of the books to have neglected their duty, and the debtors to have lost their receipts.

25. *Q. Volusio*] Q. Volusius Saturninus was son of L. Volusius Saturninus, praefectus urbi, who died A.D. 57 (xiii. 30). For his grandfather, cf. iii. 30.

augebanturque] The change of tense is made because the fact of Nero's indulgence in such amusements—a shadowing forth of the Mohawks' pranks at a later

iniuriae adversus viros feminasque insignes, et quidam permissa semel licentia sub nomine Neronis inulti propriis cum globis eadem exercebant, in modum captivitatis nox agebatur; Iuliusque Montanus senatorii ordinis, sed qui nondum honorem capessisset, congressus forte per tenebras cum principe, quia vi attemptantem acriter reppulerat, deinde adgnitum oraverat, quasi exprobrasset, mori adactus est. Nero tum metuentior in posterum milites sibi et plerosque gladiatores circumdedit, qui rixarum initia modica et quasi privata sinerent: si a laesis validius ageretur, arma inferebant. ludicram quoque licentiam et fautores histrionum velut in proelia convertit inpunitate et praemiis atque ipse occultus et plerumque coram prospectans, donec discordi populo et gravioris motus terrore non aliud remedium repertum est, quam ut histriones Italia pellerentur milesque theatro rursum adsideret.

26. Per idem tempus actum in senatu de fraudibus libertorum, efflagitatumque ut adversus male meritos revocandae libertatis ius patronis daretur. nec deerant qui censerent, sed consules relationem incipere non ausi ignaro principe, perscripsere tamen ei consensum senatus. ille an auctor constitutionis fieret ut inter paucos et sententiae diversos, quibusdam coalitam libertate inreverentiam eo prorupisse frementibus, vine an aequo cum patronis iure agerent, sententiam eorum consultarent ac verberibus manus ultro intenderent, impulere vel poenam suam dissuadentes. quid enim aliud laeso patrono concessum quam ut centesimum ultra lapidem in oram Campaniae libertum releget? ceteras actiones

date—became known once for all; whereas the assaults on the unhappy citizens were of constant occurrence. So xii. 6, "postquam haec favorabili oratione praemisit, multaque patrum assentatio sequebatur."

senatorii ordinis] Cf. Suet. Aug. 38, "liberis senatorum quo celerius rei publicae adsuescerent protinus a virili toga latum clavum induere et curiae interesse permisit." Hence Suetonius (Nero, 26) says, "a quodam laticlavio prope ad necem caesus est."

histriones] These were 'mimi,' or pantomimic dancers (i. 54). Other actors were allowed to remain, under the surveillance of a military guard, formerly appointed by Augustus to keep order in the theatres.

26. *ille an auctor*] This passage is corrupt, beyond the reach of conjectural emendation. I think, however, there is no difficulty in supposing some word like 'dubius' to be omitted before 'an . . . fieret,' as in ii. 14, "finem vitae sponte an fato implevit." 'Sententiae' is the genitive depending on 'diversos,' 'different *in* opinion.' Cf. xiv. 19, "morum diversus." Also, 'vel poenam suam dissuadentes' seems to be 'even those who did not advise the infliction of the punishment legally to be placed in their hands.' Those who did not want the 'ius revocandae libertatis' to be given them, still thought something ought to be done to check the acknowledged evil. Beyond this the passage is inexplicable.

ut centesimum ultra lapidem] So Lipsius for 'vicesimum:' for the jurisdiction of the praefectus urbi extended to this distance from Rome (Dig. i. 12. 1, § 4).

promiscas et pares esse. tribuendum aliquod telum quod sperni nequeat. nec grave manu missis per idem obsequium retinendi libertatem, per quod adsecuti sint: at criminum manifestos merito ad servitutem retrahi, ut metu coerceantur quos beneficia non mutavissent.

27. Disserebatur contra: paucorum culpam ipsis exitiosam esse debere, nihil universorum iuri derogandum; quippe late fusum id corpus. hinc plerumque tribus, decurias, ministeria magistratibus et sacerdotibus, cohortes etiam in urbe conscriptas; et plurimis equitum, plerisque senatoribus non aliunde originem trahi: si separarentur libertini, manifestam fore penuriam ingenuorum. non frustra maiores, cum dignitatem ordinum dividerent, libertatem in communi posuisse. quin et manu mittendi duas species institutas, ut relinqueretur paenitentiae aut novo beneficio locus. quos vindicta patronus non liberaverit, velut vinclo servitutis attineri. dispiceret quisque merita tardeque concederet quod datum non adimeretur. haec sententia valuit, scripsitque Caesar senatui, privatim expenderent causam libertorum, quotiens a patronis arguerentur: in commune nihil derogarent. nec multo post ereptus amitae libertus Paris quasi iure civili, non sine infamia principis, cuius iussu perpetratum ingenuitatis iudicium erat.

28. Manebat nihilo minus quaedam imago rei publicae. nam

promiscas et pares esse] That is, freedmen were on a footing of perfect equality with their former masters: there were no means of coercing them more than other people. Translate, 'other courses of redress were equally shared by all citizens alike.' There was the same opportunity of obtaining redress from a freedman as from any other, and no more.

retinendi] This depends on 'grave' used substantively, 'there was no hardship in retaining.' Cf. xv. 5, "Vologesi vetus et penitus infixum erat arma Romana vitandi."

27. *tribus*] The city tribes especially must have been very extensively leavened with freedmen; and from this class mainly were taken the scribae, (who were divided into 'decuriae,' and attached to the various magistrates), lictores, viatores, and similar officers. From them also were recruited the three urbanae cohortes, and the seven companies of 'vigiles,' or city police.

manu mittendi duas species] The formal way of manumission was by the vindicta, 'census,' or 'testamentum.' Another 'inter amicos' consisted of a declaration from the master in some way (by writing or invitation to table) of his wish that the slave should be free. This was revocable, not conferring strictly legal freedom; but eventually such persons, by the Lex Iunia Norbana, received the 'Latinitas.'

privatim] 'Individually.' Each case was to be discussed on its merits, without legislation affecting the condition of the whole class.

ingenuitatis iudicium] The decision on the point, whether Paris was 'ingenuus' or not, was made by the direction of Nero. Paris had been manumitted by Domitia, and so became her 'libertus.' He then claimed to be 'ingenuus,' and it was decided judicially that his claim was good. Domitia had to repay the sum of money paid her by Paris for manumission.

inter Vibullium praetorem et plebei tribunum Antistium ortum certamen, quod inmodestos fautores histrionum et a praetore in vincla ductos tribunus omitti iussisset. conprobavere patres, incusata Antistii licentia. simul prohibiti tribuni ius praetorum et consulum praeripere aut vocare ex Italia cum quibus lege agi posset. addidit L. Piso designatus consul, ne quid intra domum pro potestate adverterent, neve multam ab iis dictam quaestores aerarii in publicas tabulas ante quattuor menses referrent; medio temporis contra dicere liceret, deque eo consules statuerent. cohibita artius et aedilium potestas statutumque quantum curules, quantum plebei pignoris caperent vel poenae inrogarent. et Helvidius Priscus tribunus plebei adversus Obultronium Sabinum aerarii quaestorem contentiones proprias exercuit, tamquam ius hastae adversus inopes inclementer augeret. dein princeps curam tabularum publicarum a quaestoribus ad praefectos transtulit.

29. Varie habita ac saepe mutata eius rei forma. nam Augustus senatui permisit deligere praefectos; deinde ambitu suffragiorum suspecto, sorte ducebantur ex numero praetorum qui praeessent. neque id diu mansit, quia sors deerrabat ad parum idoneos. tunc Claudius quaestores rursum imposuit, iisque, ne metu offensionum segnius consulerent, extra ordinem honores promisit: sed deerat robur aetatis eum primum magistratum capessentibus. igitur Nero praetura perfunctos et experientia probatos delegit.

30. Damnatus isdem consulibus Vipsanius Laenas ob Sardiniam provinciam avare habitam. absolutus Cestius Proculus repetundarum, Cretensibus accusantibus. Clodius Quirinalis, quod prae-

28. *conprobavere*] The senate approved of the praetor's act, and rated the tribune for his interference.

vocare ex Italia] I do not think there is any allusion here to the distinction (A. Gell. xiii. 12) between the tribune's right of seizing any person accused and taking him before a magistrate, and this absence of any power to summon them into court. The meaning appears simply to be, that the tribunes were not allowed to cite to Rome for judicial process any one whose case could be heard in his own provincial town. Below, L. Calpurnius Piso was son of L. Calpurnius Piso, consul suffectus A.D. 27 (iv. 62). He was 'curator aquarum,' and 'frater Arvalis.'

ne quid intra domum, &c.] The tribunes, although their houses were open day and night to admit all applicants, were not to be allowed to decide any matter at home, but only in open court.

pignoris] 'To what amount they might distrain or inflict a fine.'

tamquam ius hastae] The property of those persons who were indebted to the state was sold to defray the debt. Sabinus was accused of having shown unnecessary harshness in the discharge of his functions.

29. *extra ordinem honores*] The 'quaestores aerarii' under Claudius held their office for three years, and were at the expiration of their magistracy at once eligible for the praetorship (Dion Cass. lx. 24).

primum magistratum] That is the quaestorship, the first office any citizen was able to hold.

fectus remigum, qui Ravennae haberentur, velut infimam nationum Italiam luxuria saevitiaque afflictavisset, veneno damnationem anteiit. Caninius Rebilus, ex primoribus peritia legum et pecuniae magnitudine, cruciatus aegrae senectae emisso per venas sanguine effugit, haud creditus sufficere ad constantiam sumendae mortis, ob libidines muliebriter infamis. at L. Volusius egregia fama concessit, cui tres et nonaginta anni spatium vivendi praecipuaeque opes bonis artibus inoffensa tot imperatorum malitia fuerunt.

31. Nerone iterum L. Pisone consulibus pauca memoria digna evenere, nisi cui libeat laudandis fundamentis et trabibus, quis molem amphitheatri apud campum Martis Caesar extruxerat, volumina implere, cum ex dignitate populi Romani repertum sit res illustres annalibus, talia diurnis urbis actis mandare. ceterum coloniae Capua atque Nuceria additis veteranis firmatae sunt, plebeique congiarium quadringeni nummi viritim dati, et sestertium quadringenties aerario inlatum est ad retinendam populi fidem. vectigal quoque quintae et vicesimae venalium mancipiorum remissum, specie magis quam vi, quia cum venditor pendere iuberetur, in partem pretii emptoribus accrescebat. edixit Caesar, ne quis magistratus aut procurator qui provinciam optineret spectaculum gladiatorum aut ferarum aut quod aliud ludicrum ederet. nam ante non minus tali largitione quam cor-

30. *Caninius Rebilus*] So Lipsius, for G. Aminius Rebius of the MS. There was a C. Caninius Rebilus consul suffectus 45 A.C. and also 12 A.C. The latter may have been the father of the Rebilus here mentioned.

concessit] So iv. 38, "at quandoque concessero cum laude et bonis recordationibus facta atque famam nominis mei prosequantur." The full expression occurs (iii. 30), "concessere vita insignes viri." Below, 'inoffensa tot,' &c. implies that L. Volusius contrived to escape collision with successive emperors of ill character.

31. *aerario inlatum*] Tacitus appears to mean, that the emperor paid over from the fiscus to the aerarium a sum of about £320,000, to supply the deficiency of receipts to meet the expenditure. This sum was necessary, it seems, to make both ends meet. After all, this would amount to little more than a shifting of accounts, because the 'fiscus' was not the emperor's privy purse only, but the exchequer from which the disbursements for the imperial provinces were provided.

quintae et vicesimae] Augustus had levied a tax of two per cent. on the sale of slaves (Dion Cass. lv. 31). At some later period, perhaps under Caligula, it was apparently doubled, as Nero remitted a four per cent. duty. As the buyers of slaves were usually Romans, and the sellers foreigners, the reduction would be hailed as a substantial boon. No doubt, however, the price would be proportionately enhanced, and, as always, come just as much as before out of the buyer's pocket.

tali largitione] By the lavish expenditure on games, which was virtually bribery, to secure for the giver immunity from impeachment and condemnation for his maladministration of his province. People would be reluctant to take harsh measures against a man who had made himself popular by the magnificence of his shows.

ripiendis pecuniis subiectos affligebant, dum quae libidine deliquerant, ambitu propugnant.

32. Factum et senatus consultum ultioni iuxta et securitati, ut si quis a suis servis interfectus esset, ii quoque, qui testamento manu missi sub eodem tecto mansissent, inter servos supplicia penderent. redditur ordini Lurius Varius consularis, avaritiae criminibus olim perculsus. et Pomponia Graecina insignis femina, Plautio, qui ovans se de Britannis rettulit, nupta ac superstitionis externae rea, mariti iudicio permissa. isque prisco instituto propinquis coram de capite famaque coniugis cognovit et insontem nuntiavit. longa huic Pomponiae aetas et continua tristitia fuit. nam post Iuliam Drusi filiam dolo Messalinae interfectam per quadraginta annos non cultu nisi lugubri, non animo nisi maesto egit; idque illi imperitante Claudio inpune, mox ad gloriam vertit.

33. Idem annus plures reos habuit, quorum P. Celerem accusante Asia, quia absolvere nequibat Caesar, traxit, senecta donec mortem obiret; nam Celer interfecto, ut memoravi, Silano pro consule magnitudine sceleris cetera flagitia obtegebat. Cossutianum Capitonem Cilices detulerant maculosum foedumque et idem ius audaciae in provincia ratum quod in urbe exercuerat; sed pervicaci accusatione conflictatus postremo defensionem omisit ac lege repetundarum damnatus est. pro Eprio Marcello, a quo Lycii res repetebant, eo usque ambitus praevaluit, ut

propugnant] For the accusative with this verb, cf. xv. 13, "nec aliud quam munimenta propugnant." It occurs also in Suetonius, and other writers of the silver age.

32. *senatus consultum*] This was the 'senatus consultum Neronianum,' or 'Pisonianum,' named after the consuls of the year. There were other clauses in the s. consultum, as "ut occisa uxore etiam de familia viri quaestio habeatur idemque ut iuxta uxoris familiam observetur si vir dicatur occisus" (Paul. Sent. Receptae iii. 5, § 5).

Lurius Varius] He must have been consul suffectus in some year, but when is not known. Below, Pomponia Graecina was probably daughter of P. Pomponius Graecinus, consul suffectus A.D. 16.

se . . . rettulit] Cf. Virg. Geor. iv. 180, "at fessae multa referunt se nocte minores;" Aen. vii. 286, "ecce autem Inachiis sese referebat ab Argis." This is a little different from such phrases as 'referre se ad urbem,' &c.

superstitionis externae rea] Perhaps she was accused of being a convert to Christianity. Tacitus speaks of it as 'exitiabilis superstitio' (xv. 44); but, on the other hand, 'externae superstitiones' (xi. 15) seems to embrace other forms of religious cult.

nam post Iuliam] This Julia was granddaughter of Tiberius, and Tiberius married Vipsania Agrippina, who was granddaughter of Pomponius Atticus. Consequently Pomponia Graecina and Julia were no doubt connected with each other. As Julia was put to death about 43 A.D., the forty years here spoken of must have been reckoned to the time of the death of Pomponia.

33. *traxit*] 'Let P. Celer drag on;' put off his accusation.

Cossutianum Capitonem] Cf. Juv. viii. 92, "quam fulmine iusto, et Capito et Numitor ruerint damnante senatu piratae Cilicum."

quidam accusatorum eius exilio multarentur, tamquam insonti periculum fecissent.

34. Nerone tertium consule simul init consulatum Valerius Messala, cuius proavum, oratorem Corvinum, divo Augusto, abavo Neronis, collegam in eo magistratu fuisse pauci iam senum meminerant. sed nobili familiae honor auctus est oblatis in singulos annos quingenis sestertiis, quibus Messala paupertatem innoxiam sustentaret. Aurelio quoque Cottae et Haterio Antonino annuam pecuniam statuit princeps, quamvis per luxum avitas opes dissipassent.

Eius anni principio mollibus adhuc initiis prolatatum inter Parthos Romanosque de obtinenda Armenia bellum acriter sumitur, quia nec Vologeses sinebat fratrem Tiridaten dati a se regni expertem esse aut alienae id potentiae donum habere, et Corbulo dignum magnitudine populi Romani rebatur parta olim a Lucullo Pompeioque recipere. ad hoc Armenii ambigua fide utraque arma invitabant, situ terrarum, similitudine morum Parthis propiores conubiisque permixti ac libertate ignota illuc magis ad servitium inclinantes.

35. Sed Corbuloni plus molis adversus ignaviam militum quam contra perfidiam hostium erat: quippe Syria transmotae legiones, pace longa segnes, munia Romanorum aegerrime tolerabant. satis constitit fuisse in eo exercitu veteranos, qui non stationem, non vigilias inissent, vallum fossamque quasi nova et mira viserent, sine galeis, sine loricis, nitidi et quaestuosi, militia per oppida expleta. igitur dimissis quibus senectus aut valitudo adversa erat, supplementum petivit. et habiti per Galatiam Cappadociamque dilectus, adiectaque ex Germania legio cum equitibus alariis et peditatu cohortium. retentusque omnis exercitus sub pellibus, quamvis hieme saeva adeo, ut obducta glacie nisi effossa humus tentoriis locum non praeberet. ambusti multorum artus vi frigoris et quidam inter excubias exanimati sunt. adnotatusque

34. *oratorem Corvinum*] M. Valerius Messala Corvinus was consul with Augustus 31 A.C., his son consul 3 A.C., his grandson consul A.D. 20, and his great-grandson was the Valerius Messala here mentioned.

sestertiis] Of course these must be 'sestertia,' not 'sestertii;' and the amount of the annual pension allowed to Messala would amount to about £4000. Below, for Aurelius Cotta, cf. ii. 32; and for Haterius Antonius, xii. 58.

illuc] To the Parthians, and 'ad servitium' is epexegetical: 'in that direction,' i. e. 'towards slavery.'

35. *quaestuosi*] Cf. xii. 63, "quaestuosi et opulenti." Translate, 'spruce and well to do,' bearing about them marks of having thriven in point of wealth. Having spent their lives in towns, they had enjoyed many opportunities of making money.

adnotatusque miles] This personal use of 'adnotari' is to be noticed. So

miles, qui fascem lignorum gestabat, ita praeriguisse manus, ut oneri adhaerentes truncis brachiis deciderent. ipse cultu levi, capite intecto, in agmine, in laboribus frequens adesse, laudem strenuis, solacium invalidis, exemplum omnibus ostendere. dehinc quia duritiam caeli militiaeque multi abnuebant deserebantque, remedium severitate quaesitum est. nec enim, ut in aliis exercitibus, primum alterumque delictum venia prosequebatur, sed qui signa reliquerat, statim capite poenas luebat. idque usu salubre et misericordia melius apparuit: quippe pauciores illa castra deseruere quam ea in quibus ignoscebatur.

36. Interim Corbulo legionibus intra castra habitis, donec ver adolesceret, dispositisque per idoneos locos cohortibus auxiliariis, ne pugnam priores auderent praedicit: curam praesidiorum Paccio Orfito primi pili honore perfuncto mandat. is quamquam incautos barbaros et bene gerendae rei casum offerri scripserat, tenere se munimentis et maiores copias opperiri iubetur. sed rupto imperio, postquam paucae e proximis castellis turmae advenerant pugnamque imperitia poscebant, congressus cum hoste funditur. et damno eius exterriti qui subsidium ferre debuerant, sua quisque in castra trepida fuga rediere. quod graviter Corbulo accepit increpitumque Paccium et praefectos militesque tendere extra vallum iussit; inque ea contumelia detenti nec nisi precibus universi exercitus exoluti sunt.

37. At Tiridates super proprias clientelas ope Vologesi fratris adiutus, non furtim iam sed palam bello infensare Armeniam, quosque fidos nobis rebatur, depopulari, et si copiae contra ducerentur, eludere hucque et illuc volitans plura fama quam pugna exterrere. igitur Corbulo quaesito diu proelio frustra habitus et exemplo hostium circumferre bellum coactus, dispertit vires, ut legati praefectique diversos locos pariter invaderent; simul regem Antiochum monet proximas sibi praefecturas petere. nam Pharasmanes interfecto filio Radamisto quasi proditore, quo fidem in nos

"additur scripsisse, secuturae sperabantur, ariete credito vixisse Phrixum," all in Tacitus. Below, 'praerigere' occurs nowhere else.

36. *tendere extra vallum*] This was a recognized form of disgrace. Cf. Liv. x. 4, "cohortes quae signa amiserant extra vallum sine tentoriis destitutas invenit." For the absolute use of 'tendere,' cf. i. 17.

37. *frustra habitus*] Cf. xiii. 51. The phrase occurs in Ammianus only, acording to Draeger. 'Frustra habere' is found in the Argumentum Acrostichum to the Amphitryo of Plautus.

legati praefectique] The former of these were the general's lieutenants in command of detached bodies of troops; the latter commanded the auxiliary troops, twelve to each legion. Below, for 'Antiochus,' cf. xii. 55.

testaretur, vetus adversus Armenios odium promptius exercebat. tuncque primum illecti Moschi, gens ante alias socia Romanis, avia Armeniae incursavit. ita consilia Tiridati in contrarium vertebant, mittebatque oratores qui suo Parthorumque nomine expostularent, cur datis nuper obsidibus redintegrataque amicitia, quae novis quoque beneficiis locum aperiret, vetere Armeniae possessione depelleretur. ideo nondum ipsum Vologesen commotum, quia causa quam vi agere mallent: sin perstaretur in bello, non defore Arsacidis virtutem fortunamque saepius iam clade Romana expertam. ad ea Corbulo, satis comperto Vologesen defectione Hyrcaniae attineri, suadet Tiridati precibus Caesarem adgredi: posse illi regnum stabile et res incruentas contingere, si omissa spe longinqua et sera praesentem potioremque sequeretur.

38. Placitum dehinc, quia commeantibus in vicem nuntiis nihil in summam pacis proficiebatur, colloquio ipsorum tempus locumque destinari. mille equitum praesidium Tiridates adfore sibi dicebat: quantum Corbuloni cuiusque generis militum assisteret, non statuere, dum positis loricis et galeis in faciem pacis veniretur. cuicumque mortalium, nedum veteri et provido duci, barbarae astutiae patuissent: ideo artum inde numerum finiri et hinc maiorem afferri, ut dolus pararetur; nam equiti sagittarum usu exercito si detecta corpora obicerentur, nihil profuturam multitudinem. dissimulato tamen intellectu rectius de iis quae in publicum consulerentur totis exercitibus coram dissertaturos respondit. locumque delegit, cuius pars altera colles erant clementer adsurgentes accipiendis peditum ordinibus, pars in planitiem porrigebatur ad explicandas equitum turmas. dieque

Moschi] So Ritter, for 'Insochi.' The 'Moschi' are mentioned by Pliny (N. H. vi. 4) in this locality, and by Mela (iii. 59). Below, 'incursavit' agrees with 'gens.' A similar construction occurs H. i. 61, "electi cum aquilae quintae legionis et cohortibus alisque ad quadraginta milia armatorum data;" also H. i. 86, "quod campus Martius et via Flaminia iter belli esset obstructum." Orelli quotes Caesar (B. C. ii. 19), "Carmonenses, quae est longe firmissima totius provinciae civitas, cohortes eiecit portasque praeclusit."

ideo nondum, &c.] Vologeses had not yet stirred in the matter, because he and Tiridates wished to rely on the justice of their cause rather than on force. For this use of 'commoveri' with persons rather than things (bellum, tumultus, &c.), cf. xii. 55, "Cilicum nationes . . . commotae," and xiv. 31, "commotis ad rebellationem Trinobantibus."

38. *nedum veteri*] 'Much more to a veteran and far-sighted general.' For this use of 'nedum,' cf. xiii. 20, above, "cuicumque nedum parenti defensionem tribuendam;" also xv. 59, "etiam fortes viros subitis terreri, nedum ille scaenicus . . . arma contra cieret;" and H. iii. 66, "Fabium Valentem praegravem fuisse, nedum Primus ac Fuscus ullam nisi occidendi licentiam habeant." Generally speaking, 'nedum' is used after a negative in the first clause. 'Nedum' sometimes is translated by 'much more,' sometimes by 'much less.' The general rendering to serve for all passages would be 'not to say.'

ad explicandas equitum turmas] Cf.

pacto prior Corbulo socias cohortes et auxilia regum pro cornibus, medio sextam legionem constituit, cui accita per noctem aliis ex castris tria milia tertianorum permiscuerat, una cum aquila, quasi eadem legio spectaretur. Tiridates vergente iam die procul adstitit, unde videri magis quam audiri posset. ita sine congressu dux Romanus abscedere militem sua quemque in castra iubet.

39. Rex sive fraudem suspectans, quia plura simul in loca ibatur, sive ut commeatus nostros Pontico mari et Trapezunte oppido adventantes interciperet, propere discedit. sed neque commeatibus vim facere potuit, quia per montes ducebantur praesidiis nostris insessos, et Corbulo, ne inritum bellum traheretur utque Armenios ad sua defendenda cogeret, excindere parat castella, sibique quod validissimum in ea praefectura, cognomento Volandum, sumit; minora Cornelio Flacco legato et Insteio Capitoni castrorum praefecto mandat. tum circumspectis munimentis et quae expugnationi idonea provisis, hortatur milites ut hostem vagum neque paci aut proelio paratum, sed perfidiam et ignaviam fuga confitentem exsuerent sedibus gloriaeque pariter et praedae consulerent. tum quadripertito exercitu hos in testudinem conglobatos subruendo vallo inducit, alios scalas moenibus admovere, multos tormentis faces et hastas incutere iubet. libritoribus funditoribusque attributus locus, unde eminus glandes torquerent, ne qua pars subsidium laborantibus ferret pari undique motu. tantus inde ardor certantis exercitus fuit, ut intra tertiam diei partem nudati propugnatoribus muri, obices portarum subversi, capta escensu munimenta omnesque puberes trucidati sint, nullo milite amisso, paucis admodum vulneratis.

ii. 6, "accipiendisque copiis et transmittendum ad bellum oportuna." I do not see any difference in meaning in the two clauses; but possibly the use of 'porrigi,' a verb of extension, naturally suggested 'ad,' with an accusative.

39. *in ea praefectura*] That is, in the praefectura where he happened to be. Armenia was divided into 120 praefecturae (Plin. N. H. vi. 10). Below, Cornelius Flaccus was probably legatus legionis.

libritoribus] Lipsius thinks these were men who hurled darts or stones by means of engines. Others think they hurled them with their own hands. From the position of the 'libritores' here, at a distance ('eminus'), the former seems perhaps the likelier of the two.

pari undique motu] 'When there was confusion on every side alike.' It is not at all necessary to alter this to 'metu.' Below, 'obices portarum' is not 'the bars of the gates,' for 'subversi' would not suit that, but 'the barriers presented by the gates;' the gates were the 'obices.' Cf. Virg. Georg. iv. 422, "intus se vasti Proteus tegit obice saxi." In H. iii. 30, Tacitus speaks of 'ferrati obices portarum.' The next clause furnishes the only use of 'escensus' in the Latin writers.

et inbelle vulgus sub corona venundatum, reliqua praeda victoribus cessit. pari fortuna legatus ac praefectus usi sunt, tribusque una die castellis expugnatis cetera terrore et alia sponte incolarum in deditionem veniebant. unde orta fiducia caput gentis Artaxata aggrediendi. nec tamen proximo itinere ductae legiones, quae si amnem Araxen, qui moenia alluit, ponte transgrederentur, sub ictum dabantur: procul et latioribus vadis transiere.

40. At Tiridates pudore et metu, ne, si concessisset obsidioni, nihil opis in ipso videretur, si prohiberet, inpeditis locis seque et equestres copias inligaret, statuit postremo ostendere aciem et dato die proelium incipere vel simulatione fugae locum fraudi parare. igitur repente agmen Romanum circumfundit, non ignaro duce nostro, qui viae pariter et pugnae composuerat exercitum. latere dextro tertia legio, sinistro sexta incedebat, mediis decumanorum delectis; recepta inter ordines impedimenta, et tergum mille equites tuebantur, quibus iusserat ut instantibus comminus resisterent, refugos non sequerentur. in cornibus pedes sagittarius et cetera manus equitum ibat, productiore cornu sinistro per ima collium, ut, si hostis intravisset, fronte simul et sinu exciperetur. adsultare ex diverso Tiridates, non usque ad ictum teli, sed tum minitans, tum specie trepidantis, si laxare ordines et diversos consectari posset. ubi nihil temeritate solutum, nec amplius quam decurio equitum audentius progressus et sagittis confixus ceteros ad obsequium exemplo firmaverat, propinquis iam tenebris abscessit.

41. Et Corbulo castra in loco metatus, an expeditis legionibus nocte Artaxata pergeret obsidioque circumdaret agitavit, concessisse illuc Tiridaten ratus. dein postquam exploratores attulere longinquum regis iter et Medi an Albani peterentur incertum, lucem opperitur, praemissa levi armatura, quae muros interim ambiret oppugnationemque eminus inciperet. sed oppidani portis sponte patefactis se suaque Romanis permisere, quod salutem ipsis tulit: Artaxatis ignis inmissus deletaque et solo aequata sunt, quia nec teneri sine valido praesidio ob magnitudinem moenium,

40. *concessisset obsidioni*] 'Had failed to break the blockade.' Tiridates was reluctant to let it be seen that he was unable to give the blockaded garrison any aid. Below, 'dato die' is, 'when a favourable day presented itself.' Cf. iv. 40, "dato tempore."

sinu] The corner, as it were, of the army, the extreme flank. Below, 'ex diverso' is 'from a different quarter,' opposite, in front.

nec amplius quam] Cf. xv. 13, "nec aliud quam munimenta propugnabant," where, after 'aliud,' some word, 'agebant' or the like, is understood.

41. *quia nec teneri*] The sentence is not quite grammatical, for there is nothing for 'teneri' to depend upon.

nec id nobis virium erat, quod firmando praesidio et capessendo bello divideretur, vel si integra et incustodita relinquerentur, nulla in eo utilitas aut gloria quod capta essent. adicitur miraculum velut numine oblatum: nam cuncta extra tectis ac portis tenus sole illustria fuere; quod moenibus cingebatur, repente ita atra nube coopertum fulgoribusque discretum est, ut quasi infensantibus deis exitio tradi crederetur. ob haec consalutatus imperator Nero, et senatus consulto supplicationes habitae, statuaeque et arcus et continui consulatus principi, utque inter festos referretur dies, quo patrata victoria, quo nuntiata, quo relatum de ea esset, aliaque in eandem formam decernuntur, adeo modum egressa, ut C. Cassius de ceteris honoribus adsensus, si pro benignitate fortunae dis grates agerentur, ne totum quidem annum supplicationibus sufficere disseruerit, eoque oportere dividi sacros et negotiosos dies, quis divina colerent et humana non impedirent.

42. Variis deinde casibus iactatus et multorum odia meritus reus, haud tamen sine invidia Senecae damnatur. is fuit P. Suillius, imperitante Claudio terribilis ac venalis et mutatione temporum non quantum inimici cuperent demissus quique se nocentem videri quam supplicem mallet. eius opprimendi gratia repetitum credebatur senatus consultum poenaque Cinciae legis adversum eos qui pretio causas oravissent. nec Suillius questu aut exprobratione abstinebat, praeter ferociam animi extrema senecta liber et Senecam increpans infensum amicis Claudii, sub quo iustissimum exilium pertulisset. simul studiis inertibus et iuvenum inperitiae suetum livere iis, qui vividam et incorruptam eloquentiam tuendis civibus exercerent. se quaestorem Germanici, illum domus eius adulterum fuisse. an gravius aestimandum sponte litigatoris praemium honestae operae assequi, quam cor-

Probably Tacitus intended to write 'nec vires dividi poterant,' but altered the form into 'nec id virium erat,' &c.

tectis ac portis tenus] The reading of the MS. is 'tectis actenus.' I think a word has dropped out after 'ac,' and I adopt the suggestion of Weissenborn to insert 'portis.' Below, 'negotiosos' is used for 'profestos,' and occurs, I believe, in this sense nowhere else.

42. *P. Suillius*] Cf. 31. Below, the words 'senatus consultum poenaque Cinciae legis' present some difficulty. In xiii. 5, Tacitus says, "multa arbitrio senatus constituta sunt: ne quis ad causam orandam mercede aut donis emeretur," which may imply that a senatus consultum was passed, confirming the Lex Cincia. Or the senatus consultum may be the one by which, according to Dion (liv. 18), the same Lex was confirmed in the time of Augustus. I am inclined to think the former is intended, as there had been legislation on the subject after the time of Augustus (xi. 7), and the reference is more likely to be made to the latest enactment on the subject.

adulterum fuisse] According to Dion Cassius (lxi. 10), Seneca had an intrigue not only with Julia, daughter of Germanicus, but, after his return from banishment, with Agrippina.

rumpere cubicula principum feminarum? qua sapientia, quibus philosophorum praeceptis intra quadriennium regiae amicitiae ter milies sestertium paravisset? Romae testamenta et orbos velut indagine eius capi, Italiam et provincias inmenso faenore hauriri: at sibi labore quaesitam et modicam pecuniam esse. crimen, periculum, omnia potius toleraturum quam veterem ac dicendo partam dignationem subitae felicitati submitteret.

43. Nec deerant qui haec isdem verbis aut versa in deterius Senecae deferrent. repertique accusatores direptos socios, cum Suillius provinciam Asiam regeret, ac publicae pecuniae peculatum detulerunt. mox quia inquisitionem annuam impetraverant, brevius visum suburbana crimina incipi, quorum obvii testes erant. ii acerbitate accusationis Q. Pomponium ad necessitatem belli civilis detrusum, Iuliam Drusi filiam Sabinamque Poppaeam ad mortem actas et Valerium Asiaticum, Lusium Saturninum, Cornelium Lupum circumventos, iam equitum Romanorum agmina damnata omnemque Claudii saevitiam Suillio obiectabant. ille nihil ex his sponte susceptum, sed principi paruisse defendebat,

paravisset] Cf. i. 17, and the note on 'ausuros.' From the subjunctive mood, one would suppose Seneca to have been present, so that the 'oratio directa' would have been 'paravisti.' But from the next chapter it will be seen that Seneca was not present, and the 'oratio directa' would be 'paravit.' But, as Nipperdey observes, there are many exceptions to the rule mentioned in the note to i. 17. Perhaps 'cur consectaretur,' in xiii. 49, may also be an exception, although I do not think it clear that it is. Below, for 'orbos,' cf. H. i. 73; Dialog. de Orat. 6; Juv. iii. 129. Suillius would not allow his own hardly won position to be overridden by Seneca's fortune acquired by a few lucky hits.

43. *inquisitionem annuam*] The accusers of Suillius, intending at first to enter on a prosecution for ill government in Asia, obtained leave for a year's interval, to get together the requisite witnesses (cf. xiii. 52, "poscebatque tempus evocandorum testium"). Finding this too long to wait, and being anxious to proceed more expeditiously, they abandoned the prosecution on that point, and cast about for charges nearer home ('suburbana'). I think Walther is right in defending 'suburbana,' which Ernesti altered into 'urbana;' because the charges brought against Suillius were for misconduct in the city, not in its vicinity only. But 'suburbanus' is opposed to 'longinquus,' as Plin. Epist. viii. 24, "quo magis nitendum ne in longinqua provincia quam suburbana ... humanior, melior, peritior fuisse videaris," i. e. in Bithynia, rather than in Achaia. In iii. 47, Tiberius contrasts 'suburbanae peregrinationis' in Campania with his warfare in barbarous countries.

belli civilis] Suetonius (Claud. 13) speaks of an insurrection made by Furius Camillus Scribonianus, the governor of Dalmatia, but suppressed within a few days. Perhaps Quintus Pomponius (for whom cf. v. 81) left Rome, intending to join him. For Sabina Poppaea and Valerius Asiaticus, cf. xi. 1, 2, &c. Lucius Saturninus was consul suffectus in some year under Tiberius (see Nipperdey's note). Cornelius Lupus was consul suffectus 42 A.D., and proconsul of Crete and Cyrene.

agmina damnata] Cf. Suet. Claud. 29, "in quinque et triginta senatores trecentosque amplius equites Romanos animadvertit."

defendebat] 'Maintained in defence.' Cf. Cic. in Verrem, iii. 90, "quod nemo nisi improbus fecerit, id aliorum exemplo se fecisse defendat;" and de Fin. iii. 21, "gravissimeque et verissime defenditur numquam aequitatem ab utilitate posse

donec eam orationem Caesar cohibuit, compertum sibi referens ex commentariis patris sui nullam cuiusquam accusationem ab eo coactam. tum iussa Messalinae praetendi et labare defensio: cur enim neminem alium delectum qui saevienti impudicae vocem praeberet? puniendos rerum atrocium ministros, ubi pretia scelerum adepti scelera ipsa aliis delegent. igitur adempta bonorum parte (nam filio et nepti pars concedebatur eximebanturque etiam quae testamento matris aut aviae acceperant) in insulas Baleares pellitur, non in ipso discrimine, non post damnationem fractus amino; ferebaturque copiosa et molli vita secretum illud toleravisse. filium eius Nerullinum aggressis accusatoribus per invidiam patris et crimina repetundarum, intercessit princeps tamquam satis expleta ultione.

44. Per idem tempus Octavius Sagitta plebei tribunus, Pontiae mulieris nuptae amore vaecors, ingentibus donis adulterium et mox, ut omitteret maritum, emercatur, suum matrimonium promittens ac nuptias eius pactus. sed ubi mulier vacua fuit, nectere moras, adversam patris voluntatem causari repertaque spe ditioris coniugis promissa exuere. Octavius contra modo conqueri modo minitari, famam perditam, pecuniam exhaustam obtestans, denique salutem, quae sola reliqua esset, arbitrio eius permittens. ac postquam spernebatur, noctem unam ad solacium poscit, qua delenitus modum in posterum adhiberet. statuitur nox, et Pontia consciae ancillae custodiam cubiculi mandat. ille uno cum liberto ferrum veste occultum infert. tum, ut adsolet in amore et ira, iurgia preces, exprobratio satisfactio et pars tenebrarum libidini seposita; et quasi incensus nihil metuentem ferro transverberat et accurrentem ancillam vulnere absterret cubiculoque prorumpit. postera die manifesta caedes, haud ambiguus percussor; quippe mansitasse una convincebatur, sed

seiungi." Below, 'ex commentariis patris' is 'from his father's private memoranda.' Cf. H. iv. 40, "ut commentariorum principalium potestatem senatui faceret."

per invidiam] 'Through the medium of his father's unpopularity.' The accusers of Nerullinus thought the ill-repute under which his father lay would make their work all the easier.

44. *libidini*] Cf. xiii. 54, "militum usui sepositos;" and xiv. 54, "quod temporis hortorum aut villarum curae seponitur." If 'libidine,' the reading of the MS., be correct, the sense would be 'set aside' (from other purposes) 'in the way of enjoyment,' so that the ablative would be an instrumental one. Below, for 'et quastim census,' the reading of the MS., Gronovius suggests 'et quasi incensus,' which I have adopted. For the force of 'quasi' here, 'as being,' not 'as though,' for there was no pretence in the matter, cf. xii. 47, "quasi mutuo cruore sacratum."

cubiculoque prorumpit] So xv. 40; H. iv. 34; Virg. Aen. vii. 459. For some explanation of the construction, see the note on iii. 28, under 'triumviratu.'

libertus suum illud facinus profiteri, se patroni iniurias ultum esse. commoveratque quosdam magnitudine exempli, donec ancilla ex vulnere refecta verum aperuit. postulatusque apud consules a patre interfectae, postquam tribunatu abierat, sententia patrum et lege de sicariis condemnatur.

45. Non minus insignis eo anno inpudicitia magnorum rei publicae malorum initium fecit. erat in civitate Sabina Poppaea, T. Ollio patre genita, sed nomen avi materni sumpserat, illustri memoria Poppaei Sabini, consularis et triumphali decore praefulgentis; nam Ollium honoribus nondum functum amicitia Seiani pervertit. huic mulieri cuncta alia fuere praeter honestum animum. quippe mater eius, aetatis suae feminas pulchritudine supergressa, gloriam pariter et formam dederat; opes claritudini generis sufficiebant. sermo comis nec absurdum ingenium: modestiam praeferre et lascivia uti: rarus in publicum egressus, idque velata parte oris, ne satiaret aspectum, vel quia sic decebat. famae numquam pepercit, maritos et adulteros non distinguens; neque affectui suo aut alieno obnoxia, unde utilitas ostenderetur, illuc libidinem transferebat. igitur agentem eam in matrimonio Rufri Crispini equitis Romani, ex quo filium genuerat, Otho pellexit iuventa ac luxu et quia flagrantissimus in amicitia Neronis habebatur: nec mora quin adulterio matrimonium iungeretur.

46. Otho sive amore incautus laudare formam elegantiamque uxoris apud principem, sive ut accenderet ac, si eadem femina poterentur, id quoque vinculum potentiam ei adiceret. saepe auditus est consurgens e convivio Caesaris, seque ire ad illam sibi concessam dictitans nobilitatem, pulchritudinem, vota omnium et gaudia felicium. his atque talibus inritamentis non longa cunctatio interponitur. sed accepto aditu Poppaea primum per

lege de sicariis] The 'Lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis' passed 82 A.C. For some remarks on this passage, cf. iii. 24.

45. *triumphali decore*] Cf. iv. 46.

nec absurdum ingenium] Cf. Sall. Catil. 25, "verum ingenium eius haud absurdum:" 'there was no lack of pleasantry in her.' Cf. xiii. 14, "non absurde dixisse," i. e. 'wittily, pleasantly.'

neque affectui suo] The negative only influences the first clause here: 'and uninfluenced by genuine feeling in herself or others, she transferred,' &c. Below, for Rufius Crispinus, cf. xi. 1. The son here mentioned was drowned by the order of Nero (Suet. Nero, 35). Tacitus (H. i. 13) gives rather a different account of the circumstances connected with Poppaea; but his latest narrative, that of the Annals, is corroborated by Suetonius (Otho, 3).

46. *seque ire ad illam*] The conjunction 'que' here unites the two participles, 'consurgens' and 'dictitans,' and 'illam' agrees with 'nobilitatem.' Of course the expression, 'he was heard rising and saying,' is equivalent to 'auditus est inter consurgendum dictitans.' Below, 'his atque talibus inritamentis' is the ablative of 'instrumentality.' The result of this rousing of Nero's passions led to prompt action.

blandimenta et artes valescere, imparem cupidini se et forma Neronis captam simulans; mox acri iam principis amore ad superbiam vertens, si ultra unam alteramque noctem attineretur, nuptam esse se dictitans, nec posse matrimonium amittere, devinctam Othoni per genus vitae, quod nemo adaequaret: illum animo et cultu magnificum; ibi se summa fortuna digna visere: at Neronem, pelice ancilla et adsuetudine Actes devinctum, nihil e contubernio servili nisi abiectum et sordidum traxisse. deicitur familiaritate sueta, post congressu et comitatu Otho, et ad postremum, ne in urbe aemulatus ageret, provinciae Lusitaniae praeficitur; ubi usque ad civilia arma non ex priore infamia sed integre sancteque egit, procax otii et potestatis temperantior.

47. Hactenus Nero flagitiis et sceleribus velamenta quaesivit. suspectabat maxime Cornelium Sullam, socors ingenium eius in contrarium trahens callidumque et simulatorem interpretando. quem metum Graptus ex libertis Caesaris, usu et senecta Tiberio abusque domum principum edoctus, tali mendacio intendit. pons Mulvius in eo tempore celebris nocturnis inlecebris erat; ventitabatque illuc Nero, quo solutius urbem extra lasciviret. igitur regredienti per viam Flaminiam compositas insidias fatoque evitatas, quoniam diverso itinere Sallustianos in hortos remeaverit, auctoremque eius doli Sullam ementitur, quia forte redeuntibus ministris principis quidam per iuvenalem licentiam, quae tunc passim exercebatur, inanem metum fecerant. neque servorum quisquam neque clientium Sullae adgnitus, maximeque despecta et nullius ausi capax natura eius a crimine abhorrebat: perinde tamen quasi convictus esset, cedere patria et Massiliensium moenibus coerceri iubetur.

48. Isdem consulibus auditae Puteolanorum legationes, quas

e contubernio] The word is used purposely, as Lipsius remarks, for "non nuptiae cum servis sed contubernium."

aemulatus ageret] 'Agere amicum' occurs H. i. 30, 'agere senatorem' xvi. 28. But these instances are clearly different from the use of an abstract substantive like 'aemulatus,' instead of a concrete. I believe 'aemulatus' to be a participle, and 'ageret' to be used absolutely. Cf. iii. 19, "homines qui tum agebant;" also xv. 74, and in this same sentence just below. Below, 'procax otii' is the only instance of this construction, the sense of course being that Otho, when there was little to do, gave way to dissolute habits.

47. *pons Mulvius*] This bridge was about two miles from Rome. By it the Via Flaminia crossed the Tiber. It was built by M. Aemilius Scaurus 109 A.C. It was here that the ambassadors of the Allobroges were seized by Cicero at the time of the Catilinarian conspiracy (Cic. Cat. iii.). The gardens of Sallust were near the Via Salaria and the Porta Collina (cf. H. iii. 82).

abhorrebat] 'Was inconsistent with such a charge.' From the unadventurous character of Sulla, he was altogether unlikely to have planned such a scheme.

diversas ordo plebs ad senatum miserant, illi vim multitudinis, hi magistratuum et primi cuiusque avaritiam increpantes. eaque seditio ad saxa et minas ignium progressa *ne* necem et arma proliceret, C. Cassius adhibendo remedio delectus. quia severitatem eius non tolerabant, precante ipso ad Scribonios fratres ea cura transfertur, data cohorte praetoria, cuius terrore et paucorum supplicio rediit oppidanis concordia.

49. Non referrem vulgarissimum senatus consultum, quo civitati Syracusanorum egredi numerum edendis gladiatoribus finitum permittebatur, nisi Paetas Thrasea contra dixisset praebuissetque materiem obtrectatoribus arguendae sententiae. cur enim, si rem publicam egere libertate senatoria crederet, tam levia consectaretur? quin de bello aut pace, de vectigalibus et legibus, quibusque aliis *res* Romana continetur, suaderet dissuaderetve? licere patribus, quotiens ius dicendae sententiae accepissent, quae vellent expromere relationemque in ea postulare. an solum emendatione dignum, ne Syracusis spectacula largius ederentur: cetera per omnes imperii partes perinde egregia, quam si non Nero sed Thrasea regimen eorum teneret? quod si summa dissimulatione transmitterentur, quanto magis inanibus abstinendum? Thrasea contra, rationem poscentibus amicis, non praesentium ignarum respondebat eius modi consulta corrigere, sed patrum honori dare, ut manifestum fieret magnarum rerum curam non dissimulaturos, qui animum etiam levissimis adverterent.

50. Eodem anno crebris populi flagitationibus, inmodestiam publicanorum arguentis, dubitavit Nero, an cuncta vectigalia omitti iuberet idque pulcherrimum donum generi mortalium daret.

48. *ordo*] Sc. 'senatorius.' Cf. H. ii. 52, "ordo Mutinensis."

Scribonios fratres] Rufus and Proculus. They were legati pro praetore of Germania Inferior and Superior, and put to death by Nero (H. iv. 41; Dion lxiii. 17) in the year 67 A.D.

49. *vulgarissimum*] 'A most commonplace decree.' Cf. xvi. 22, "qui vulgaribus quoque patrum consultis semet fautorem aut adversarium ostenderet." Below, 'imperii partes,' I think, means 'the various departments of government,' not 'the different parts (geographically) of the empire.'

perinde ... quam si] Cf. i. 73, "perinde aestimandum quam si Jovem fefellisset." 'Perinde quam' often occurs for 'perinde ac.' Cf. iv. 20, vi. 30, xi. 10, xiii. 21, xv. 21.

50. *vectigalia omitti iuberet*] These 'vectigalia,' just below termed 'portoria,' are custom-dues, and therefore elements of indirect taxation. To these are opposed 'tributa,' or direct taxes, such as land-tax or property-tax. The former could only be remitted by an increase in the latter, which does not appear to have been intended, at least no hint of the kind is given here; and it is certainly startling to find a thorough-going system of free trade proposed 1800 years before Mr. Cobden's day. To have remitted universally all taxation of an indirect character, without any provision for sustaining the credit of the state, could only have been the act of a person destitute of any

sed impetum eius, multum prius laudata magnitudine animi, attinuere senatores, dissolutionem imperii docendo, si fructus quibus res publica sustineretur deminuerentur: quippe sublatis portoriis sequens ut tributorum abolitio expostularetur. plerasque vectigalium societates a consulibus et tribunis plebis constitutas acri etiam tum populi Romani libertate; reliqua mox ita provisa, ut ratio quaestuum et necessitas erogationum inter se congrueret. temperandas plane publicanorum cupidines, ne per tot annos sine querella tolerata novis acerbitatibus ad invidiam verterent.

51. Ergo edixit princeps, ut leges cuiusque publici, occultae ad id tempus, proscriberentur; omissas petitiones non ultra annum resumerent; Romae praetor, per provincias qui pro praetore aut consule essent iura adversus publicanos extra ordinem redderent; militibus immunitas servaretur, nisi in iis quae veno exercerent; aliaque admodum aequa, quae brevi servata, dein frustra habita sunt. manet tamen abolitio quadragesimae quinquagesimaeque et quae alia exactionibus illicitis nomina publicani invenerant. temperata apud transmarinas provincias frumenti subvectio et ne censibus negotiatorum naves adscriberentur tributumque pro illis penderent constitutum.

financial skill; a scheme so visionary as to make one doubt the truth of the historian's account. It is difficult to see how a bankrupt empire can be any especially valuable arrangement for mankind. A state where no one pays any thing is as yet Utopian. Perhaps, as Dr. Merivale (History of the Romans under the Empire, ch. lii.) suggests, the proposal may only have been to remit the 'portoria' in Italy and the Roman colonies, which had been abolished by Metellus Nepos, but reimposed under C. Julius Caesar.

societates] These were companies of Roman knights, in partnership for the farming of the various taxes which made up the revenue of the state. Cf. iv. 6.

51. *cuiusque publici*] 'Of each tax.' Cf. Horace, Epist. i. 1. 77, "pars hominum gestit conducere publica;" Suet. Calig. 40, "ut tenerentur publico qui meretricium fecissent;" Plautus, Trucul. i. 2. 47, "illa, non ego, habuit publicum."

petitiones] The publicani were prohibited from calling in taxes which had remained outstanding more than a year.

extra ordinem redderent] Suits against the publicani were to take precedence of all other proceedings, and be decided first of all the causes in the list. This, of course, was intended to secure for the plaintiff in such cases a speedy adjudication on their suits. Another view is that the praetor was directed to decide these suits himself, and not refer them to a judex. But I do not think this is the meaning.

quae veno exercerent] The soldiers were to have exemption from the claims of the publicani for taxes, unless they engaged in trade ('veno exercere'). Then, very properly, the privilege was withdrawn, and they were on the same footing as other people.

quadragesimae] These duties of two and a half and two per cent. were apparently some unauthorized exactions imposed by the publicani to swell their profits. They were not, from the language used ('quae alia exactionibus illicitis'), any part of the taxes levied by the emperor or senate, and cannot therefore be the tax of two and a half per cent. on the amount sued for in civil actions, or that on eatables in the city (Suet. Calig. 40). Below, 'negotiatorum' are the provincial corn-dealers, for the 'tributum' would not be levied on Roman citizens.

52. Reos ex provincia Africa, qui proconsulare imperium illic habuerant, Sulpicium Camerinum et Pomponium Silvanum absolvit Caesar, Camerinum adversus privatos et paucos, saevitiae magis quam captarum pecuniarum crimina obicientes. Silvanum magna vis accusatorum circumsteterat poscebatque tempus evocandorum testium: reus ilico defendi postulabat. valuitque pecuniosa orbitate et senecta, quam ultra vitam eorum produxit, quorum ambitu evaserat.

53. Quietae ad id tempus res in Germania fuerant, ingenio ducum, qui pervulgatis triumphi insignibus maius ex eo decus sperabant, si pacem continuavissent. Paulinus Pompeius et L. Vetus ea tempestate exercitui praeerant. ne tamen segnem militem attinerent, ille inchoatum ante tres et sexaginta annos a Druso aggerem coercendo Rheno absolvit, Vetus Mosellam atque *Ararim* facta inter utrumque fossa conectere parabat, ut copiae per mare, dein Rhodano et Arare subvectae per eam fossam, mox fluvio Mosella in Rhenum, exim Oceanum decurrerent, sublatisque itineris difficultatibus navigabilia inter se occidentis septentrionisque litora fierent. invidit operi Aelius Gracilis Belgicae legatus, deterrendo Veterem ne legiones alienae provinciae inferret studiaque Galliarum affectaret, formidolosum id imperatori dictitans, quo plerumque prohibentur conatus honesti.

54. Ceterum continuo exercituum otio fama incessit ereptum ius legatis ducendi in hostem. eoque Frisii iuventutem saltibus aut paludibus, inbellem aetatem per lacus admovere ripae agrosque

52. *Pomponium Silvanum*] This ought, perhaps, to be 'Pompeium Silvanum,' for there was a consul suffectus of this name A.D. 45. In H. ii. 86, iv. 47, the reading of the MSS. seems also to be 'Pompeius Silvanus.'

quorum ambitu evaserat] 'By whose interested efforts he had escaped.' Silvanus was old, childless, and rich; the legacy-hunters, therefore, exerted themselves to obtain his acquittal, in the hope of obtaining a recognition of their services in his will. They succeeded, but lost their pains; for Silvanus was unreasonable enough to outlive them.

53. *Paulinus Pompeius*] He was father-in-law or brother-in-law to Seneca (xv. 18), and Vetus was legatus of Upper Germany, and subsequently proconsul of Asia (xvi. 10).

ante tres et sexaginta annos] Drusus died in Germany 9 A.C., or sixty-six years before the date at which Tacitus has arrived; but probably he is reckoning up to the beginning of the commands held by Pompeius and Vetus. The scheme was intended to secure water communication between the Mediterranean Sea ('mare') and the German Ocean ('Oceanum') without passing through the straits of Gibraltar.

formidolosum] 'A dangerous proceeding with reference to an emperor.' Gracilis represented such an undertaking as too magnificent for any private man to undertake, and likely to endanger the general who ventured on it, with an emperor who looked suspiciously on all honourable enterprise. The dative, 'imperatori,' seems used in the sense of 'with reference to,' 'viewed in relation to.' There is a similar instance, Germ. 6, "in universum aestimanti plus penes peditem roboris." Cf. also H. iv. 17; H. v. 11; Livy xxxvii. 58.

54. *saltibus aut paludibus*] The 'lakes'

vacuos et militum usui sepositos insedere, auctore Verrito et Malorige, qui nationem eam regebant, in quantum Germani regnantur. iamque fixerant domos, semina arvis intulerant utque patrium solum exercebant, cum Dubius Avitus, accepta a Paulino provincia, minitando vim Romanam, nisi abscederent Frisii veteres in locos aut novam sedem a Caesare inpetrarent, perpulit Verritum et Malorigem preces suscipere. profectique Romam dum aliis curis intentum Neronem opperiuntur, inter ea quae barbaris ostentantur intravere Pompei theatrum, quo magnitudinem populi viserent. illic per otium (neque enim ludicris ignari oblectabantur) dum consessum caveae, discrimina ordinum, quis eques, ubi senatus percunctantur, advertere quosdam cultu externo in sedibus senatorum; et quinam forent rogitantes, postquam audiverant earum gentium legatis id honoris datum, quae virtute et amicitia Romana praecellerent, nullos mortalium armis aut fide ante Germanos esse exclamant degrediunturque et inter patres considunt. quod comiter a visentibus exceptum, quasi impetus antiqui et bona aemulatione. Nero civitate Romana ambos donavit, Frisios decedere agris iussit. atque illis aspernantibus auxiliaris eques repente immissus necessitatem attulit, captis caesisve qui pervicacius restiterant.

55. Eosdem agros Ampsivarii occupavere, validior gens non modo sua copia, sed adiacentium populorum miseratione, quia pulsa a Chaucis et sedis inopes tutum exilium orabant. aderatque iis clarus per illas gentes et nobis quoque fidus, nomine Boiocalus, vinctum se rebellione Cherusca iussu Arminii referens, mox Tiberio, Germanico ducibus stipendia meruisse, et quinquaginta annorum obsequio id quoque adiungere, quod gentem suam dicioni nostrae subiceret. quotam partem campi iacere, in quam pecora

now forming the Zuyder Zee. The 'bank' is that of the Rhine.

in quantum Germani regnantur] Cf. Germ. 7, "nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas, et duces exemplo potius quam imperio, ... admiratione praesunt." Caesar (B. G. v. 27) makes Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, remark that the power of the people over him was as great as his over them; and this was no doubt, at least, as applicable to the Germans across the Rhine. For the personal use of 'regnor' in prose, cf. Germ. 25, 43; H. i. 16; Pomponius Mela ii. 2. 6, "Rheso regnata quondam pars Thraciae." It is often so used by the poets.

impetus antiqui] 'As arising from old-fashioned impulse and praiseworthy rivalry.' These Germans were 'creatures of impulse,' acting on the spur of the moment. Tacitus calls it 'old-fashioned' because such impulses are restrained by civilization, and would only be displayed by people still free from artificial restraints. For the variety of case, cf. xv. 38, "fessa aetate aut rudis pueritiae." Draeger quotes Nep. 14. 3, "hominem maximi corporis terribilique facie."

55. *quotam partem campi*] 'How small the fraction of the plain was into which the soldiers now and then turned

et armenta militum aliquando transmitterentur? servarent sane receptos gregibus inter hominum famam, modo ne vastitatem et solitudinem mallent quam amicos populos. Chamavorum quondam ea arva, mox Tubantum et post Usiporum fuisse. Sicuti caelum deis, ita terras generi mortalium datas; quaeque vacuae, eas publicas esse. solem deinde suspiciens et cetera sidera vocans quasi coram interrogabat, vellentne contueri inane solum: potius mare superfunderent adversus terrarum ereptores.

56. Et commotus his Avitus: patienda meliorum imperia; id dis quos inplorarent placitum, ut arbitrium penes Romanos maneret, quid darent quid adimerent, neque alios iudices quam se ipsos paterentur. haec in publicum Ampsivariis respondit, ipsi Boiocalo ob memoriam amicitiae daturum agros. quod ille ut proditionis pretium aspernatus addidit "deesse nobis terra *ubi* viv*amus*, in qua moriamur, non potest:" atque ita infensis utrimque animis discessum. illi Bructeros, Tencteros, ulteriores etiam nationes socias bello vocabant: Avitus scripto ad Curtilium Manciam superioris exercitus legatum, ut Rhenum transgressus arma a tergo ostenderet, ipse legiones in agrum Tencterum induxit, excidium minitans, ni causam suam dissociarent. igitur absistentibus his pari metu exterriti Bructeri; et ceteris quoque aliena pericula defendentibus sola Ampsivariorum gens retro ad Usipos et Tubantes concessit. quorum terris exacti cum Chattos, dein Cheruscos petissent, errore longo hospites, egeni, hostes, in alieno quod iuventutis erat caeduntur, inbellis aetas in praedam divisa est.

57. Eadem aestate inter Hermunduros Chattosque certatum

their cattle to graze. Surely the Romans might let them survive ('servarent') intermingled with their flocks, near the haunts of men; only let them not prefer, &c.' The Ampsivarii wished to obtain leave to occupy a part of the lands in question, on the same footing, as it were, with the flocks and herds of the Roman soldiers, where they would be at all events within sound of human voices, and not be driven into trackless wilds. This seems to be the sense, and I do not quite see the necessity of altering the text into 'quo tantam . . . receptus . . . famem.'

Chamavorum] The Chamavi dwelt south-east of the Frisii, between them and the Dulgibini (Germ. 34). They drove out the Bructeri, and took possession of their territory. The Usipi were expelled by the Suevi from their abodes, and settled near the Luppia (Lippe), Sieg, and Lahn in succession. The Tubantes are not mentioned in the Germania, but they seem to have dwelt near the Luppia.

56. *socias bello*] These words are to be taken together. Below, Curtilius Mancia was consul suffectus in some year unknown.

defendentibus] 'Fighting shy of, (warding off from themselves) dangers which really concerned others only.' Cf. xv. 38, "nec quisquam defendere audebat (ignem)."

57. *Hermunduros*] The Hermunduri occupied the tract between the Sudetes mountains and the Roman wall which

magno proelio, dum flumen gignendo sale fecundum et conterminum vi trahunt, super libidinem cuncta armis agendi religione insita, eos maxime locos propinquare caelo precesque mortalium a deis nusquam propius audiri. inde indulgentia numinum illo in amne illisque silvis salem provenire, non ut alias apud gentes eluvie maris arescente unda, sed super ardentem arborum struem fusa ex contrariis inter se elementis, igne atque aquis, concretum. sed bellum Hermunduris prosperum, Chattis exitiosius fuit, quia victores diversam aciem Marti ac Mercurio sacravere, quo voto equi viri, cuncta victa occidioni dantur. et minae quidem hostiles in ipsos vertebant. sed civitas Ubiorum socia nobis malo inproviso afflicta est. nam ignes terra editi villas arva vicos passim corripiebant ferebanturque in ipsa conditae nuper coloniae moenia. neque extingui poterant, non si imbres caderent, non si fluvialibus aquis aut quo alio humore, donec inopia remediorum et ira cladis agrestis quidam eminus saxa iacere, dein resistentibus flammis propius suggressi ictu fustium aliisque verberibus ut feras absterrebant: postremo tegmina corpori derepta iniciunt, quanto magis profana et usu polluta, tanto magis oppressura ignes.

58. Eodem anno Ruminalem arborem in comitio, quae octin-

bounded the Agri Decumates. They were probably a branch of the Suevi. Tacitus speaks of them (Germ. 41) as firm allies of the Romans; but they joined the Marcomani in their great war against the Romans A.D. 167. The river here mentioned is supposed to be the Werra.

propinquare caelo] These words are ambiguous: they might have a literal meaning, implying that the locality mentioned is the loftiest in the neighbourhood; and consequently those who make the river the Saale refer the description to Sonnenberg. But it seems more likely that the sense is 'near to heaven,' i. e. 'especially favoured by the gods.'

eluvie] 'From the cast-up froth of the sea, when the water dries, but,' &c. Orelli quotes Pliny (N. H. xxxi. § 74), "aliud genus ex aquis maris sponte gignitur, spuma in extremis litoribus ac scopulis relicta: hic omnis sole densatur," and (xxxi. § 82), "Galliae Germaniaeque ardentibus lignis aquam salsam infundunt."

Marti] It is not certain, as before remarked (cf. l. 12), on what principle Tacitus identified the Teutonic deities with certain Roman gods; whether he was guided by similarity of name or similarity of attribute. In the identification here in this particular case, Tacitus was probably guided by similarity of attributes. Mars probably represents the Teutonic deity Tyr, the bravest of the gods, who alone is represented in the Edda as venturing to put his hand in the wolf's mouth; and so the old name for Tuesday, viz. Tyrsdag, would be the 'dies Martis' of the Romans. Mercurius was no doubt Wodan, the inventor of magic and all the arts. The identity of the two is expressly asserted. Paulus Diaconus (De gestis Langobardorum, i. 9) says, "Wodan sane quem adiecta littera Gwodan dixerunt ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur." Not, of course, that such late evidence is worth much. Below, Ubiorum is the suggestion of Heinsius, for 'uibonum' the reading of the Cod. Med.

non si fluvialibus aquis] Sc. "non si quis fluvialibus aquis extinguere conaretur, extingui poterant." Cf. ii. 63, "ne si quando insolescerent Suebi."

58. *Ruminalem arborem*] Cf. Virg. Aen. viii. 631. 'Ruminalis' is connected with Romulus, and both with

gentos et quadraginta ante annos Remi Romulique infantiam texerat, mortuis ramalibus et arescente trunco deminutam prodigii loco habitum est, donec in novos fetus revivesceret.

'ruma,' an udder. With this is connected the Lithuanian 'raumu,' an udder: and this gives a slight colour to the theory that the old inhabitants of the Italian peninsula belonged to the Lithuanic branch of the Aryan race.

quadraginta] From A.D. 58 to the birth of Romulus would be about 830 years, but probably Tacitus followed some other tradition as to the age at which Romulus founded the city. The 'septingentos' of the MS. must be wrong.

CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XIV.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. 1. Nero plans the murder of Agrippina. 2. His mother's schemes for averting it. 3. Proposal of Anicetus. 4—6. Failure of the plan. 7. Alarm of Nero. He consults Burrus and Seneca. 8. Murder of Agrippina. 9. Her burial. 10. Remorse of Nero. 11. He sends a despatch to the senate accusing Agrippina. 12. Flattery of the senators. Paetus Thrasea. 13. Nero enters Rome. His debauchery. 14. Exhibits himself as a charioteer. 15. The Juvenalia established. 16. He composes verses. 17. Riot at a gladiatorial show. 18. Blaesus condemned. Strabo acquitted. 19. Death of Domitius Afer and M. Servilius. 20, 21. Establishment of the quinquennale ludicrum. Nero gains the prize of eloquence. 22. Rubellius Plautus banished. 23—26. Operations of Corbulo. He is appointed to the command of Syria. 27. Earthquake at Laodicea. Puteoli and other places made colonies. 28. Arrangement of the comitia praetoria. Vibius condemned. 29, 30. Disaster in Britain. Invasion of Mona by Suetonius. 31. Rising of the Iceni. 32. They storm Camulodunum. 33. Londinium and Verulamium sacked. 34—37. Defeat and death of Boadicea. 38. Intrigue of Classicianus against Suetonius. 39. Mission of Polyclitus. Turpilianus succeeds Suetonius. 40, 41. Condemnation of Fabianus and his associates for forgery. 42. Murder of Pedanius Secundus by his own slaves. 43—45. Discussion on their punishment. 46. Condemnation of Tarquitius Priscus. The census taken in Gaul. 47. Death of Memmius Regulus. 48. Antistius accused of treason. 49. He is defended by Thrasea. 50. Banishment of Fabricius Veiento from Italy. 51. Death of Burrus. His successors. 52—54. Peril of Seneca. His appeal to Nero. 55, 56. Nero's reply. 57—59. Tigellinus accuses Rufus Fenius and others. 60. Nero divorces Octavia, and marries Poppaea. 61. Octavia recalled. 62—64. Her death. 65. Nero removes Doryphorus and Pallas by poison. Conspiracy of Piso.

1. Gaio Vipstano *C.* Fonteio consulibus diu meditatum scelus non ultra Nero distulit, vetustate imperii coalita audacia et flagrantior in dies amore Poppaeae, quae sibi matrimonium et discidium Octaviae incolumi Agrippina haud sperans, crebris criminationibus, aliquando per facetias incusaret principem et pupillum vocaret, qui iussis alienis obnoxius non modo imperii sed libertatis etiam indigeret. cur enim differri nuptias suas? formam scilicet displicere et triumphales avos, an fecunditatem et verum animum? timeri ne uxor saltem iniurias patrum, iram populi adversus superbiam avaritiamque matris aperiat. quod si nurum Agrippina non nisi filio infestam ferre posset, redderetur ipsa Othonis coniugio: ituram quoquo terrarum, ubi audiret potius contumelias imperatoris quam viseret periculis eius inmixta. haec atque talia lacrimis et arte adulterae penetrantia nemo prohibebat, cupientibus cunctis infringi potentiam matris et credente nullo usque ad caedem eius duratura filii odia.

2. Tradit Cluvius ardore retinendae Agrippinam potentiae eo usque provectam, ut medio diei, cum id temporis Nero per vinum et epulas incalesceret, offerret se saepius temulento comptam et incesto paratam. iamque lasciva oscula et praenuntias flagitii blanditias adnotantibus proximis, Senecam contra muliebres inlecebras subsidium a femina petivisse, inmissamque Acten libertam, quae simul suo periculo et infamia Neronis anxia deferret pervulgatum esse incestum gloriante matre, nec toleraturos milites profani principis imperium. Fabius Rusticus non Agrippinae sed Neroni cupitum id memorat eiusdemque libertae astu disiectum. sed quae Cluvius, eadem ceteri quoque auctores prodidere, et fama huc inclinat, seu concepit animo tantum inmanitatis Agrip-

1. *C. Vipstano*] Caius Vipstanus Apronianus was proconsul of Africa A.D. 69. C. Fonteius Capito was probably son of C. Fonteius Capito, consul A.D. 12 (iv. 36). Below, for the participle 'coalita,' cf. xiii. 26, H. iv. 55. It only occurs in late writers.

incusaret] 'Quae' in this sentence is causal, assigning the reason for Nero's proceeding at once with his intended crime: 'inasmuch as she assailed the emperor,' &c. Cf. H. iii. 33, "utque exercitu vario linguis, moribus, cui cives, socii, externi interessent."

triumphales avos] Her grandfather (on the mother's side), Poppaeus Sabinus, is mentioned as having received the honours of a triumph (xiii. 45). Poppaea naturally made the most of this; and her 'triumphal grandfathers,' like Falstaff's rogues in buckram, grew and multiplied to meet the requirements of the case.

2. *Agrippinam*] For the displacement of the words from their natural order, cf. i. 67, "donec expugnandi hostes spe propius succederent;" ii. 35, "audiente haec Tiberio ac silente magnis utrimque contentionibus acta."

fama huc inclinat] No doubt the people were ready to believe every thing that was bad of Agrippina, and would fasten the hateful charge on her rather than on Nero. Agrippina, one would imagine, however unblushing, could scarcely have had the effrontery to be-

pina, seu credibilior novae libidinis meditatio in ea visa est, quae puellaribus annis stuprum cum Lepido spe dominationis admiserat, pari cupidine usque ad libita Pallantis provoluta et exercita ad omne flagitium patrui nuptiis.

3. Igitur Nero vitare secretos eius congressus, abscedentem in hortos aut Tusculanum vel Antiatem in agrum laudare, quod otium capesseret. postremo, ubicumque haberetur, praegravem ratus interficere constituit, hactenus consultans, veneno an ferro vel qua alia vi. placuitque primo venenum. sed inter epulas principis si daretur, referri ad casum non poterat tali iam Britannici exitio; et ministros temptare arduum videbatur mulieris usu scelerum adversus insidias intentae; atque ipsa praesumendo remedia munierat corpus. ferrum et caedes quonam modo occultaretur, nemo reperiebat; et ne quis illi tanto facinori delectus iussa sperneret metuebant. optulit ingenium Anicetus libertus, classi apud Misenum praefectus et pueritiae Neronis educator ac mutuis odiis Agrippinae invisus. ergo navem posse componi docet, cuius pars ipso in mari per artem soluta effunderet ignaram: nihil tam capax fortuitorum quam mare; et si naufragio intercepta sit, quem adeo iniquum, ut sceleri adsignet quod venti et fluctus deliquerint? additurum principem defunctae templum et aras et cetera ostentandae pietati.

tray her guilty overtures to the eyes of her attendants; and the matter could have been hardly more than one of suspicion or surmise. The discrepancy, too, in the accounts, some attributing the first advance to the mother, others to the son, tends to make the charge doubtful, and one may charitably regard it as at least 'unproven;' and perhaps πρὸς τὸν τροπὸν αὐτῶν ἐπλάσθη (Dion Cass. lxi. 11).

cum Lepido] This was M. Aemilius Lepidus, who married Drusilla, sister of Caligula. He was put to death by that emperor (Suet. Calig. 24; Dio. lix. 22).

3. *vel Antiatem in agrum*] For the use of 'vel' in connexion with 'aut,' cf. Dialog. de Oratoribus, 28, "nec aut tibi ipsi aut huic Secundo vel huic Apro ignotas;" Cic. de Orat. i. 12, "quis enim nescit maximam vim existere oratoris in hominum mentibus vel ad iram aut ad odium aut dolorem incitandis, vel ab hisce iisdem permotionibus ad lenitatem misericordiamque revocandis?"

haberetur] Cf. ii. 58, "ne Vonones in Syria haberetur;" ii. 63, "Maroboduus Ravennae habitus." Below, for 'vel qua alia vi,' cf. H. ii. 41, "incertum fuit insidias an proditionem vel aliquod honestum consilium coeptaverint." Tacitus separates his possible causes of death into two divisions. The first embraced poison only; the second, the sword, or any other method the case admitted of; so that poison is singly opposed to all other possible ways of death. I think perhaps in H. ii. 41, the explanation is, that the possible views of the tribunes' conduct are separated into two sets, one embracing a treacherous attack on Caecina, the other their views with reference to their own party; and these last are subdivided into two divisions also, the one contemplating a surrender of their troops, the other some more honourable arrangement for themselves and their soldiers.

cetera ostentandae pietati] Cf. H. iii. 20, "cetera expugnandis urbibus," and in the same chapter, "copias ceteraque usui adlaturos."

4. Placuit sollertia, tempore etiam iuta, quando Quinquatruum festos dies apud Baias frequentabat. illuc matrem elicit, ferendas parentium iracundias et placandum animum dictitans, quo rumorem reconciliationis efficeret acciperetque Agrippina, facili feminarum credulitate ad gaudia. venientem dehinc obvius in litora (nam Antio adventabat) excepit manu et complexu ducitque Baulos. id villae nomen est quae promunturium Misenum inter et Baianum lacum flexo mari alluitur. stabat inter alias navis ornatior, tamquam id quoque honori matris daretur: quippe sueverat triremi et classiariorum remigio vehi. ac tum invitata ad epulas erat, ut occultando facinori nox adhiberetur. satis constitit extitisse proditorem, et Agrippinam auditis insidiis, an crederet ambiguam, gestamine sellae Baulos pervectam. ibi blandimentum sublevavit metum: comiter excepta superque ipsum collocata. iam pluribus sermonibus, modo familiaritate iuvenili Nero et rursus adductus, quasi seria consociaret, tracto in longum convictu, prosequitur abeuntem, artius oculis et pectori haerens, sive explenda simulatione, seu periturae matris supremus aspectus quamvis ferum animum retinebat.

5. Noctem sideribus illustrem et placido mari quietam quasi convincendum ad scelus di praebuere. nec multum erat progressa navis, duobus e numero familiarium Agrippinam comitantibus, ex quis Crepereius Gallus haud procul gubernaculis astabat, Acerronia super pedes cubitantis reclinis paenitentiam filii et recuperatam matris gratiam per gaudium memorabat, cum dato signo ruere tectum loci multo plumbo grave; pressusque Crepereius et statim exanimatus est. Agrippina et Acerronia eminentibus lecti parietibus ac forte validioribus quam ut oneri cederent protectae sunt. nec dissolutio navigii sequebatur, turbatis omnibus et quod

4. *Quinquatruum festos dies*] Quinquatrus, or Quinquatria, was a festival in honour of Minerva on the 19th of March and four following days (Ovid. Fast. iii. 809).

frequentabat] Cf. Cic. de Invent. i. 27, "publicum esto quod civitas universa aliqua de causa frequentat, ut ludi dies festus bellum;" Ovid Metam. iv. 37, "dum cessant aliae commentaque sacra frequentant." The word would naturally be used in this sense with a plural subject, but it would be an easy step to employ it with a singular subject, when that subject was one of many similarly engaged or repeated the act often. But this seems a late usage of the word. Cf. Suet. Tib. Aug. 72, "ex secessibus praecipue frequentavit maritima."

Baianum lacum] The same as 'Lucrinum lacum' in the next chapter. The next words, 'flexo mari,' seem to mean 'a curving shore,' the sea made a sweep inland.

adductus] Cf. note on xii. 7.

sive explenda simulatione] An instrumental ablative apparently. Nero clung to his mother, was induced to do so, by reason of the pretence he was going through of affection for her. See note on iii. 19, under 'ulciscenda morte.'

plerique ignari etiam conscios impediebant. visum dehinc remigibus unum in latus inclinare atque ita navem submergere: sed neque ipsis promptus in rem subitam consensus, et alii contra nitentes dedere facultatem lenioris in mare iactus. verum Acerronia inprudentia, dum se Agrippinam esse utque subveniretur matri principis clamitat, contis et remis et quae fors optulerat navalibus telis conficitur: Agrippina silens eoque minus agnita (unum tamen vulnus umero excepit) nando, deinde occursu lenunculorum Lucrinum in lacum vecta villae suae infertur.

6. Illic reputans ideo se fallacibus litteris accita met honore praecipuo habitam, quodque litus iuxta, non ventis acta, non saxis inpulsa navis summa sui parte veluti terrestre machinamentum concidisset, observans etiam Acerroniae necem, simul suum vulnus aspiciens, solum insidiarum remedium esse, si non intellegerentur; misitque libertum Agerinum, qui nuntiaret filio benignitate deum et fortuna eius evasisse gravem casum; orare ut quamvis periculo matris exterritus visendi curam differret; sibi ad praesens quiete opus. atque interim securitate simulata medicamina vulneri et fomenta corpori adhibet; testamentum Acerroniae requiri bonaque obsignari iubet, id tantum non per simulationem.

7. At Neroni nuntios patrati facinoris opperienti adfertur, evasisse ictu levi sauciam et hactenus adito discrimine, *ne* auctor dubitaretur. tum pavore exanimis et iam iamque adfore obtestans

5. *inprudentia dum, &c.*] Tacitus continually puts conjunctions in this position, 'donec,' 'quanquam,' 'siquidem,' 'quasi,' and others being so used; and possibly this may be the case here, as the commentators all think. But I do not see the necessity of the view; and 'inprudentia conficitur' can very well be taken in conjunction. Acerronia is despatched by reason of her witlessness or thoughtlessness in giving out that she was Agrippina, supposing this the best way to secure her own safety, whereas it did just the opposite, and was the cause of her death.

utque subveniretur] 'Clamitat' is used in two senses: in the first clause 'she cries out' is equivalent to 'she exclaims aloud' the fact of her being Agrippina; in the second, it is equivalent to 'she utters a request' that something should be done.

6. *remedium esse*] This is possibly correct, depending on some word like 'sensit.' An instance of something not very dissimilar occurs in xv. 5, "aliae pro Suria paratae ultro irrumpere: sibi inbecillum equitem." Also i. 49, 'cupido involat . . . nec aliter posse placari manes," &c.

id tantum non] This was an act on Agrippina's part not suggested by dissimulated feeling, but a genuine expression of her anxiety to secure the property of Acerronia for herself. Tacitus (xiii. 7) speaks of her, "cupido auri inmensa."

7. *ne auctor dubitaretur*] 'Hactenus' followed by 'ne' in the sense of 'ut non' is said to be found nowhere but here; but I do not know that the force of 'ne' here is necessarily 'ut non.' The sense is not exactly, 'having undergone a risk just so far as to make it quite certain who the instigator was,' but rather, 'the risk having been undergone at the point it had' for fear (apparently) of there being any doubt, &c. The remark is somewhat ironical: the attempt was

vindictae properam, sive servitia armaret vel militem accenderet, sive ad senatum et populum pervaderet, naufragium et vulnus et interfectos amicos obiciendo: quod contra subsidium sibi? nisi quid Burrus et Seneca expedirent; quos statim acciverat, incertum an et ante ignaros. igitur longum utriusque silentium, ne inriti dissuaderent, an eo descensum credebant, *ut*, nisi praeveniretur Agrippina, pereundum Neroni esset. post Seneca hactenus promptius, respiceret Burrum ac sciscitaretur an militi imperanda caedes esset. ille praetorianos toti Caesarum domui obstrictos memoresque Germanici nihil adversus progeniem eius atrox ausuros respondit: perpetraret Anicetus promissa. qui nihil cunctatus poscit summam sceleris. ad eam vocem Nero illo sibi die dari imperium auctoremque tanti muneris libertum profitetur: iret propere duceretque promptissimos ad iussa. ipse audito venisse missu Agrippinae nuntium Agerinum, scaenam ultro criminis parat, gladiumque, dum mandata perfert, abicit inter pedes eius, tum quasi deprehenso vincla inici iubet, ut exitium principis molitam matrem et pudore deprehensi sceleris sponte mortem sumpsisse confingeret.

managed with the very aim, as it seemed, of betraying the prime mover in it, and doing nothing further. If those who carried out the plan had wished to betray the author of it, they could not have succeeded better than they did. The personal use of 'dubitare,' except in this passage, seems confined to the poets.

an et ante ignaros] The 'et' is a little puzzling. The obvious meaning, 'whether they were ignorant of it before as well as then,' cannot be the true one; if they were ignorant of the deed when summoned by Nero, they were of course ignorant of it before. But 'et' joins 'statim' and 'ante ignaros,' and 'incertum an' is introduced because it was not quite certain whether Burrus and Seneca were ignorant or not. The sense therefore is 'whom he summoned at once, and up to that moment in ignorance of what had occurred, although it may be doubtful whether they were so or not.'

respiceret Burrum] Possibly the text is correct, and it is unnecessary to insert 'ut' or read 'respicere.' The subject of 'respiceret' and 'sciscitaretur' is Nero, and these verbs are in the oblique imperative mood. So far (as the following step) Seneca took the lead; he bade Nero watch the expression of Burrus's face, and ask him distinctly whether the soldiers could safely be ordered to put Agrippina to death. Probably Burrus, by his looks, conveyed tolerably clearly his conviction that the step would be a dangerous one. For the mood 'respiceret,' cf. xiv. 8, "respicit Anicetum ac si ad visendum venisset, refotam nuntiaret," and 'perpetraret' just below. With 'promptius,' 'egit' or the like is understood, cf. i. 43, "melius et amantius ille qui gladium offerret." Below, 'summam sceleris' is the chief direction of the crime. Cf. H. i. 87, "summa expeditionis Antonio Novello . . . . permissa," H. iv. 25, "Flaccus summam rerum ei permissit."

scaenam ultro] The general force of 'ultro' in Tacitus has been spoken of before. Here the idea appears to be that Nero, instead of giving Agerinus any opportunity of bringing a charge against him directly or indirectly, turns the tables upon him, and gets the start, as it were, by accusing *him*. True, Agerinus simply came to announce the safety of Agrippina (Suet. Nero, 34), but Nero, in his perturbation of mind, might easily feel that he came to reproach and accuse him.

8. Interim vulgato Agrippinae periculo, quasi casu evenisset, ut quisque acceperat, decurrere ad litus. hi molium obiectus, hi proximas scaphas scandere; alii, quantum corpus sinebat, vadere in mare: quidam manus protendere; questibus, votis, clamore diversa rogitantium aut incerta respondentium omnis ora compleri: adfluere ingens multitudo cum luminibus, atque ubi incolumem esse pernotuit, ut ad gratandum sese expedire, donec aspectu armati et minitantis agminis disiecti sunt. Anicetus villam statione circumdat refractaque ianua obvios servorum abripit, donec ad fores cubiculi veniret; cui pauci adstabant, ceteris terrore inrumpentium exterritis. cubiculo modicum lumen inerat et ancillarum una, magis ac magis anxia Agrippina, quod nemo a filio ac ne Agerinus quidem: aliam fore laetae rei faciem; nunc solitudinem ac repentinos strepitus et extremi mali indicia. abeunte dehinc ancilla 'tu quoque me deseris' prolocuta respicit Anicetum, trierarcho Herculeio et Obarito centurione classiario comitatum, ac, si ad visendum venisset, refotam nuntiaret: sin facinus patraturus, nihil se de filio credere: non imperatum parricidium. circumsistunt lectum percussores et prior trierarchus fusti caput eius adflixit. iam in mortem centurioni ferrum destringenti protendens uterum 'ventrem feri' exclamavit multisque vulneribus confecta est.

9. Haec consensu produntur. aspexeritne matrem exanimem Nero et formam corporis eius laudaverit, sunt qui tradiderint, sunt qui abnuant. cremata est nocte eadem convivali lecto et exequiis vilibus: neque, dum Nero rerum potiebatur, congesta aut clausa humus. mox domesticorum cura levem tumulum accepit,

8. *hi molium obiectus*] Cf. Strabo v. 4, ὁ δὲ Λοκρῖνος κόλπος πλατύνεται μέχρι Βαΐων χώματι εἰργόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω θαλάττης ὀκτασταδίῳ τὸ μῆκος πλάτος δὲ ἁμαξιτοῦ πλατείας, ὅ φασιν Ἡρακλέα διαχῶσαι τὰς βοῦς ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Γηρυόνου. Below, for the ellipse in 'nemo a filio' (sc. 'veniret'), cf. iv. 57, "tandem Caesar in Campaniam."

aliam fore laetae rei faciem] This is an emendation of Heinisch for the 'fore lateret faciem' of the MS. It is evident that there must be something in the first clause to contrast with 'solitudinem,' &c., and the above reading supplies this. Below, 'iam in mortem' is an emendation for 'nam morte,' the reading of the Cod. Med.

9. *aspexeritne*] The construction is hardly regular; it is a combination of 'aspexeritne . . . incertum est' and 'aspexisse sunt qui tradiderint.' Cf. xii. 52, "morte fortuita an per venenum extinctus esset, ut quisque credidit vulgavere."

sunt qui abnuant] Perhaps the change of tense, compared with 'tradiderint,' is intentional: 'some have expressed their belief in writing, others are still found to deny it.' Or, perhaps, 'sunt qui abnuant' is used without any distinct reference to time at all: 'some deny it.' So, apparently, H. i. 15, "et mihi egregium erat . . . adsciscere, et . . . adiecisse," where the first verb seems used without any reference to particular time; the act is shown in itself without consideration of its being present or past.

congesta aut clausa humus] No earth-mound was raised over the remains of

viam Miseni propter et villam Caesaris dictatoris, quae subiectos sinus editissima prospectat. accenso rogo libertus eius cognomento Mnester ipse *se* ferro transegit, incertum caritate in patronam an metu exitii. hunc sui finem multos ante annos crediderat Agrippina contempseratque. nam consulenti super Nerone responderant Chaldaei fore ut imperaret matremque occideret; atque illa 'occidat' inquit, 'dum imperet.'

10. Sed a Caesare perfecto demum scelere magnitudo eius intellecta est. reliquo noctis modo per silentium defixus, saepius pavore exurgens et mentis inops lucem opperiebatur tamquam exitium allaturam. atque eum auctore Burro prima centurionum tribunorumque adulatio ad spem firmavit, prensantium manum gratantiumque quod discrimen inprovisum et matris facinus evasisset. amici dehinc adire templa, et coepto exemplo proxima Campaniae municipia victimis et legationibus laetitiam testari: ipse diversa simulatione maestus et quasi incolumitati suae infensus ac morti parentis inlacrimans. quia tamen non, ut hominum vultus, ita locorum facies mutantur, obversabaturque maris illius et litorum gravis aspectus (et erant qui crederent sonitum tubae collibus circum editis planctusque tumulo matris audiri), Neapolim concessit litterasque ad senatum misit, quarum summa erat repertum cum ferro percussorem Agerinum, ex intimis Agrippinae libertis, et luisse eam poenam conscientia, qua scelus paravisset.

11. Adiciebat crimina longius repetita, quod consortium imperii iuraturasque in feminae verba praetorias cohortes idemque dedecus senatus et populi speravisset, ac postquam frustra habita sit,

Agrippina (congesta humus), nor was any stone or monument erected over her ashes (clausa humus).

10. *diversa simulatione*] Nero's hypocrisy was just the opposite of that practised by the centurions and tribunes. *They* pretended a joy they did not really feel, probably detesting Nero in their hearts; *he* concealed the delight he felt, and pretended a grief which had no existence.

tumulo] I scarcely think a preposition need be added, as it is by some of the editors. Tacitus often dispenses with a preposition, where it would usually be found in describing localities. Cf. Dialog. de Orat. 13, "statuarque tumulo non maestus." 'Campo,' 'litore,' 'suggestu' are all so used.

et luisse eam poenam] 'Eam' is Agrippina. Nero declared to the Senate that his mother had contrived his assassination, and on the discovery of her scheme had laid violent hands upon herself, in consequence of her consciousness of her guilt in planning the crime. But the sentence is a little inaccurate apparently. 'Conscientia' is the 'remorseful feeling of guilt,' but it cannot be strictly correct to add, 'qua scelus paravisset,' for Agrippina did not feel this remorse while planning the scheme, only after the attempt had been made, unsuccessfully, to carry it into execution. In fact 'conscientia' is used in a double sense, as 'remorse,' and the 'guilt' which caused it.

11. *frustra habita sit*] So Muretus for 'frustra ablata sit,' the reading of the Cod. Med. Cf. xiii. 37, for the phrase and the note there. Below, 'donativum' and 'congiarium' were given to

infensa militi patribusque et plebi dissuasisset donativum et congiarium periculaque viris inlustribus instruxisset. quanto suo labore perpetratum, ne irrumperet curiam, ne gentibus externis responsa daret. temporum quoque Claudianorum obliqua insectatione cuncta eius dominationis flagitia in matrem transtulit, publica fortuna extinctam referens. namque et naufragium narrabat: quod fortuitum fuisse, quis adeo hebes inveniretur ut crederet? aut a muliere naufraga missum cum telo unum qui cohortes et classes imperatoris perfringeret? ergo non iam Nero, cuius inmanitas omnium questus anteibat, sed Seneca adverso rumore erat, quod oratione tali confessionem scripsisset.

12. Miro tamen certamine procerum decernuntur supplicationes apud omnia pulvinaria, utque Quinquatrus, quibus apertae insidiae essent, ludis annuis celebrarentur; aureum Minervae simulacrum in curia et iuxta principis imago statuerentur; dies natalis Agrippinae inter nefastos esset. Thrasea Paetus silentio vel brevi adsensu priores adulationes transmittere solitus exiit tum senatu, ac sibi causam periculi fecit, ceteris libertatis initium non praebuit. prodigia quoque crebra et inrita intercessere. anguem enixa mulier, et alia in concubitu mariti fulmine exanimata: iam sol repente obscuratus et tactae de caelo quattuordecim urbis regiones. quae adeo sine cura deum eveniebant, ut multos post annos Nero imperium et scelera continuaverit. ceterum quo gravaret invidiam matris eaque demota auctam lenitatem suam testificaretur, feminas illustres Iuniam et Calpurniam, praetura functos Valerium Capi-

the soldiers (xii. 41), and the people respectively (xiii. 31).

instruxisset] The more usual word is 'struere,' but cf. Liv. xxiii. 35, "instruendae fraudi aliquanto intentior." Below for 'perpetratum ne,' &c., cf. xii. 58 and the note.

namque et naufragium] There is some little difficulty in 'namque' here; for Agrippina escaped the shipwreck or what is called so. But the train of thought in Nero's mind was this: her actual death was a public boon, and due to the good fortune of Rome; her shipwreck, although not successful, was still due to the same good fortune, although thwarted; the intention had been good, although the execution had failed. Nero seems to regard the good fortune of Rome as having tried to get rid of Agrippina by shipwreck, and after failure in this scheme, as having planned her removal by a more successful arrangement. Thus 'namque' refers to 'extinctam;' and the idea conveyed by 'extinctam' embraced the immature as well as the successful attempt to get rid of Agrippina. Of course 'quod fortuitum,' &c., are the words of Tacitus, not of Nero.

12. *utque*] For the construction, cf. i. 15, and the note under 'utque.'

sine cura deum] For all the prodigies enumerated happened without the slightest connexion with any divine interposition; the Gods had nothing to do with them; nothing whatever resulted. Nero went on just as before for years. Below, for Iunia cf. xii. 4, and for Calpurnia xii. 22.

praetura] This is the emendation of Lipsius for 'praefectura.' There were many 'praefecturae,' such as 'annonae, urbis, Aegypti,' &c., and Tacitus would

tonem et Licinium Gabolum sedibus patriis reddidit, ab Agrippina olim pulsos. etiam Lolliae Paulinae cineres reportari sepulcrumque extrui permisit; quosque ipse nuper relegaverat, Iturium et Calvisium poena exolvit. nam Silana fato functa erat, longinquo ab exilio Tarentum regressa labante iam Agrippina, cuius inimicitiis conciderat, vel tandem mitigata.

13. * * * * cunctari in oppidis Campaniae, quonam modo urbem ingrederetur, an obsequium senatus, an studia plebis reperiret anxius: contra deterrimus quisque, quorum non alia regia fecundior extitit, invisum Agrippinae nomen et morte eius accensum populi favorem disserunt: iret intrepidus et venerationem sui coram experireter; simul praegredi exposcunt. et promptiora quam promiserant inveniunt, obvias tribus, festo cultu senatum, coniugum ac liberorum agmina per sexum et aetatem disposita, extructos, qua incederet, spectaculorum gradus, quo modo triumphi visuntur. hinc superbus ac publici servitii victor Capitolium adiit, grates exolvit, seque in omnes libidines effudit, quas male coercitas qualiscumque matris reverentia tardaverat.

14. Vetus illi cupido erat curriculo quadrigarum insistere, nec minus foedum studium cithara ludicrum in modum canere. concertare equis regium et antiquis ducibus factitatum memorabat, idque vatum laudibus celebre et deorum honori datum. enimvero cantus Apollini sacros, talique ornatu astare non modo Graecis in urbibus sed Romana apud templa numen praecipuum et praescium. nec iam sisti poterat, cum Senecae ac Burro visum, ne utraque pervinceret, alterum concedere. clausumque valle Vaticana spatium in quo equos regeret, haud promisco spectaculo. mox ultro vocari populus Romanus laudibusque extollere, ut est vulgus cupiens voluptatum et, si eodem princeps trahat, laetum. ceterum evulgatus pudor non satietatem, ut rebantur, sed incita-

scarcely have used the word indefinitely. Below, for Iturius, Calvisius and Silana, cf. xiii. 19.

13. *spectaculorum gradus*] These were wooden erections temporarily raised for the accommodation of spectators. Livy uses the word in the same meaning, "ubi spectacula quisque sibi facerent" (i. 35). With the adulation Nero found on his return to Rome, the tongues of the people were busy. Papers were placarded about the city, with such notices as the following: Νέρων Ὀρέστης, Ἀλκμαίων μητροκτόνοι, Νεόνυμφον Νέρων ἰδίαν μητέρ' ἀπέκτεινεν (Suet. Nero 39).

14. *utraque pervinceret*] I think 'utraque' is in the accusative case plural. Cf. xii. 60, "quae vicerant publice valebant." The construction is only an extension of the very common form νικᾶν Ὀλύμπια, which is itself an extension of the principle of a cognate accusative, the substantive cognate in meaning with the verb being replaced by an equivalent word. For instance, νικᾶν νίκην becomes νικᾶν Ὀλύμπια, because νίκην is replaced by the specific Ὀλύμπια. Below, for the present 'molliri,' cf. ii. 34, and the note there.

mentum attulit. ratusque dedecus molliri, si plures foedasset, nobilium familiarum posteros egestate venales in scaenam deduxit: quos fato perfunctos ne nominatim tradam, maioribus eorum tribuendum puto: nam et eius flagitium est, qui pecuniam ob delicta potius dedit quam ne delinquerent. notos quoque equites Romanos operas arenae promittere subegit donis ingentibus, nisi quod merces ab eo qui iubere potest vim necessitas adfert.

15. Ne tamen adhuc publico theatro dehonestaretur, instituit ludos iuvenalium vocabulo, in quos passim nomina data. non nobilitas cuiquam, non aetas aut acti honores impedimento, quo minus Graeci Latinive histrionis artem exercerent usque ad gestus modosque haud viriles. quin et feminae illustres deformia meditari: extructaque apud nemus, quod navali stagno circumposuit Augustus, conventicula et cauponae et posita veno irritamenta luxui. dabanturque stipes, quas boni necessitate, intemperantes gloria consumerent. inde gliscere flagitia et infamia, nec ulla moribus olim corruptis plus libidinum circumdedit quam illa conluvies. vix artibus honestis pudor retinetur, nedum inter certamina vitiorum pudicitia aut modestia aut quicquam probi moris reservaretur. postremus ipse scaenam incedit, multa cura temptans citharam et praemeditans assistentibus phonascis. adcesserat cohors militum, centuriones tribunique et maerens Burrus ac laudans. tuncque primum conscripti sunt equites Romani *in* cognomentum Augustianorum, aetate ac robore conspicui, et pars

nam et eius flagitium est] The force of 'et' is a little obscure. The clause gives a second reason why the names of the disgraced nobles should be passed over in silence, over and above a tender regard for their ancestors' reputation. The fault was not entirely their own; it was shared by Nero. Tacitus would not 'name names,' for after all the disgrace was not altogether voluntary.

nisi quod merces, &c.] Cf. i. 33. The clause is added to apologize, as it were, for the use of a word, 'donis,' scarcely applicable under the circumstances.

15. *publico theatro*] Nero had a theatre of his own beyond the Tiber, where he practised before an audience of people, before he ventured to appear in the Theatrum Pompeianum (Plin. N. H. xxxvii. 2).

nomina data] Those citizens who entered their names on the lists made of all who were inclined to join a new Colonia, were said 'nomina dare.' So here lists were prepared, and the names of volunteers for the new games entered in them.

modosque] One of the illustrious ladies was Aelia Catella, who danced at those games, although at the ripe age of eighty (Dion Cass. lxi. 19). Below, for 'navali stagno;' cf. xii. 56, and the note there.

gloria] Some spent the coins given them, because they could not keep them (necessitate): others spent them with vain-glorious boasting of the Emperor's liberality (gloria): they thought it a fine thing to have received them.

assistentibus phonascis] This last word is an emendation for 'facies,' suggested by the account of Suetonius (Nero 25), "conservandae vocis gratia neque milites unquam nisi absens aut alio verba pronuntiante appellaret, neque quidquam serio iocove egerit nisi adstante phonasco qui moneret parceret arteriis ac sudarium ad os applicaret."

Augustianorum] Cf. Suet. Nero, 20,

ingenio procaces, alii in spe potentiae. ii dies ac noctes plausibus personare formam principis vocemque deum vocabulis appellantes; quasi per virtutem clari honoratique agere.

16. Ne tamen ludicrae tantum imperatoris artes notescerent, carminum quoque studium adfectavit, contractis quibus aliqua pangendi facultas nec dum insignis erat. hi cenati considere simul, et adlatos vel ibidem repertos versus conectere atque ipsius verba quoquo modo prolata supplere. quod species ipsa carminum docet, non impetu et instinctu nec ore uno fluens. etiam sapientiae doctoribus tempus impertiebat post epulas, ut quae contraria adseverant tum discordia erueretur. nec deerant qui ore vultuque tristi inter oblectamenta regia spectari cuperent.

17. Sub idem tempus levi initio atrox caedes orta inter colonos Nucerinos Pompeianosque gladiatorio spectaculo, quod Livineius Regulus, quem motum senatu rettuli, edebat. quippe oppidana lascivia in vicem incessentes probra, dein saxa, postremo ferrum sumpsere, validiore Pompeianorum plebe, apud quos spectaculum edebatur. ergo deportati sunt in urbem multi e Nucerinis trunco per vulnera corpore, ac plerique liberorum aut parentum mortes deflebant. cuius rei iudicium princeps senatui, senatus consulibus permisit. et rursus re ad patres relata, prohibiti publice in decem annos eius modi coetu Pompeiani, collegiaque quae contra leges

"adulescentulos equestris ordinis et quinque amplius milia e plebe robustissimae iuventutis undique elegit, qui divisi in factiones plausuum genera condiscerent operamque navarent cantanti sibi." These are called in c. 25, Augustiani. Below, 'personare' is used absolutely; cf. xvi. 4, "et plebs . . . personabat certis modis."

deum vocabulis] Dion Cassius (lxi. 20) explains this, καὶ ἦν ἀκούειν πως αὐτῶν λεγόντων, ὁ καλὸς Καῖσαρ, ὁ Ἀπόλλων ὁ Αὔγουστος εἷς ὡς Πύθιος.

16. *hi cenati*] The reading of the MS. is "necdum insignis aetatis nati." The emendation 'cenati' is suggested by 'post epulas' occurring a few lines afterwards; but I have no particular faith in the genuineness of the reading given in the text.

ut quae contraria] The reading of the Mediceus Codex is "ut quae contraria adseverant tum discordiae rueretur." Translate 'in order that the discrepancies of the opposite assertions they make, might instantly ('tum') be dragged to light.' There is no difficulty in the use of the present tense, 'adseverant.'

17. *Livineius Regulus*] There is a Livineius Regulus mentioned in iii. 11, either the same as the one here, or his father, but no account of his removal from the senate.

in vicem incessentes] Cf. xiii. 2, and the note there. With 'probra' understand 'iecere' or similar word, as 'sumpsere,' is only suited to 'saxa' and 'ferrum.'

publice] Cf. i. 13, and the note there under "pari fama;" also cf. iv. 36, "obiecta publice Cyzicenis incuria caerimoniarum;" also iii. 31, "quod haud perinde publice usui habitum." The whole town of Pompeii was forbidden to celebrate gladiatorial shows.

collegiaque] Sometimes 'collegia,' or corporate bodies, were established specially by legal authority. Cf. Liv. x. 50, "ludi Capitolini fierent . . . collegiumque ad eam rem M. Furius dictator constitueret." Others were formed voluntarily by individuals under some general legal authorization. Often, however, they were constituted without any re-

instituerant dissoluta; Livineius et qui alii seditionem conciverant exilio multati sunt.

18. Motus senatu et Pedius Blaesus accusantibus Cyrenensibus violatum ab eo thesaurum Aesculapii dilectumque militarem pretio et ambitione corruptum. idem Cyrenenses reum agebant Acilium Strabonem, praetoria potestate usum et missum disceptatorem a Claudio agrorum, quos regis Apionis quondam avitos et populo Romano cum regno relictos proximus quisque possessor invaserant, diutinaque licentia et iniuria quasi iure et aequo nitebantur. igitur abiudicatis agris orta adversus iudicem invidia; et senatus ignota sibi esse mandata Claudii et consulendum principem respondit. Nero probata Strabonis sententia, se nihilo minus subvenire sociis et usurpata concedere rescripsit.

19. Sequuntur virorum illustrium mortes, Domitii Afri et M. Servilii, qui summis honoribus et multa eloquentia viguerant, ille orando causas, Servilius diu foro, mox tradendis rebus Romanis celebris et elegantia vitae, quam clariorem effecit, ut par ingenio, ita morum diversus.

20. Nerone quartum Cornelio Cosso consulibus quinquennale

gard to such legal authorization, and occasionally such were suppressed as not 'legitima.' Publius Clodius, in his tribunate, restored such 'collegia' which had been suppressed by the senate, and formed numberless others. Cic. in Pison. 4, "nova ex omni faece urbis et servitio concitata." Compare Cic. ad Attic. iii. 15, 4; Dio xxxviii. 15; Cic. pro Sest. 15, "nomine collegiorum cum vicatim homines conscriberentur decuriarentur, ad vim, ad manus, ad caedem, ad direptionem incitarentur." Many of these 'collegia' which were not 'legitima' were suppressed by C. Julius Caesar (Suet. C. Julius Caesar, 42), and by Augustus (Suet. August. 32), "plurimae factiones titulo collegii novi ad nullius non facinoris societatem coibant . . . collegia praeter antiqua et legitima dissolvit."

18. *Pedius Blaesus*] He was afterwards restored (H. i. 77). Just below, 'accusantibus' is used aoristically, as Draeger points out. He compares (xi. 35) "praemonente Narcisso," (xii. 69) "monente Narcisso." The action conveyed in the participial clauses in these instances was really completed before that of the main verb began. Just the opposite use of the past participle to describe contemporaneous action occurs often. Cf. H. i. 2, "urbs incendiis vastata consumptis antiquissimis delubris." So H. i. 20, "decuma parte . . . relicta;" vi. 45, "deusta parte Circi." The construction here with 'accusantibus' (an accusative and infinitive, 'thesaurum violatum esse') occurs nowhere else.

Apionis] Cf. Liv. Epit. 70, "Ptolemaeus Cyrenarum rex, cui cognomentum Apioni fuit, mortuus heredem populum R. reliquit, et eius regni civitates senatus liberas esse iussit." This was 96 A.C., so that something like a century and a half had elapsed. 'Possessor' is not of course 'an owner,' but 'occupier.' The ownership of the 'ager publicus' lay in the State; the occupiers to whom it was let, although 'possessores,' were not owners.

19. *Domitii Afri*] Cf. iv. 52; for M. Servilius, cf. vi. 31.

clariorem] More illustrious than the life of Domitius, of whom Tacitus says (iv. 52), "prosperiore eloquentiae quam morum fama fuit."

20. *Cornelio Cosso*] Cossus Cornelius Lentulus was son of the consul of the same name of the year A.D. 25 (iv. 34). Below, for 'ad morem Graeci certaminis,' cf. Suet. Nero, 12, "instituit certamen . . . more Graeco triplex musicum gymnicum equestre."

ludicrum Romae institutum est ad morem Graeci certaminis, varia fama, ut cuncta ferme nova. quippe erant qui Gnaeum quoque Pompeium incusatum a senioribus ferrent, quod mansuram theatri sedem posuisset. nam antea subitariis gradibus et scaena in tempus structa ludos edi solitos, vel si vetustiora repetas, stantem populum spectavisse, ne, si consideret theatro, dies totos ignavia continuaret. spectaculorum quidem antiquitas servaretur, quotiens praetor sederet, nulla cuiquam civium necessitate certandi. ceterum abolitos paulatim patrios mores funditus everti per accitam lasciviam, ut quod usquam corrumpi et corrumpere queat, in urbe visatur, degeneretque studiis externis iuventus, gymnasia et otia et turpes amores exercendo, principe et senatu auctoribus, qui non modo licentiam vitiis permiserint, sed vim adhibeant, *ut* proceres Romani specie orationum et carminum scaena polluantur. quid superesse, nisi ut corpora quoque nudent et caestus adsumant easque pugnas pro militia et armis meditentur? an iustitiam augurii et decurias equitum egregium iudicandi munus expleturos, si fractos sonos et dulcedinem vocum perite audissent? noctes quoque dedecori adiectas, ne quod tempus pudori relinquatur, sed coetu promisco, quod perditissimus quisque per diem concupiverit, per tenebras audeat.

21. Pluribus ipsa licentia placebat, ac tamen honesta nomina praetendebant. maiores quoque non abhorruisse spectaculorum oblectamentis pro fortuna quae tum erat, eoque a Tuscis accitos

stantem] Cf. Liv. Epit. 48, "cum locatum a censoribus theatrum extrueretur P. Cornelio auctore tamquam inutile et nociturum publicis moribus ex senatus consulto destructum est, populusque aliquamdiu stans ludos spectavit."

ne, si consideret theatro] The reading of the Codex Medic. is "si consideret . . . ne," which is unintelligible. The Codex Agricolae has the reading in the text.

sederet] 'Sat in state at the games.' Cf. Juv. xi. 195, "praeda caballorum praetor sedet."

iustitiam augurii] This is very near the reading of the Codex Medic.—"iustitia augurii." The sense can only be, 'the requirements of augury,' all that was necessary to make an augury valid, the legitimate ceremonies of the art; but the phrase is certainly suspicious. The subject of 'expleturos' is 'proceres Romanos,' and 'egregium iudicandi munus' is in apposition to 'decurias equitum,' as a kind of explanation. "Explere decurias equitum" is 'to fill up the decuries of knights' for judicial purposes; and that the allusion is to this is conveyed by 'egregium iudicandi munus,' not of course quite correctly, for the decuries of knights are not themselves the 'munus,' or duty, but only discharged it. I doubt whether 'decurias equitum' could be the subject of 'expleturos,' as being equivalent to 'equites,' and so constructed with a participle in the masculine.

21. *a Tuscis accitos*] Cf. Liv. vii. 2, "C. Sulpicio Petico, C. Licinio Stolone pestilentia fuit, et cum vis morbi nec humanis consiliis nec ope divina levaretur, victis superstitione animis ludi quoque scænici inter alia caelestis irae placamina instituti dicuntur: sine carmine ullo sine imitandorum carminum actu ludiones ex Etruria acciti ad tibicinis modos saltantes haud indecoros motus more Tusco dabant."

histriones, a Thuriis equorum certamina; et possessa Achaia Asiaque ludos curatius editos, nec quemquam Romae honesto loco ortum ad theatrales artes degeneravisse, ducentis iam annis a L. Mummii triumpho, qui primus id genus spectaculi in urbe praebuerit. sed et consultum parsimoniae, quod perpetua sedes theatro locata sit potius, quam immenso sumptu singulos per annos consurgeret ac strueretur. nec perinde magistratus rem familiarem exhausturos aut populo efflagitandi Graeca certamina *a* magistratibus causam fore, cum eo sumptu res publica fungatur. oratorum ac vatum victorias incitamentum ingeniis allaturas; nec cuiquam iudici grave aures studiis honestis et voluptatibus concessis impertire. laetitiae magis quam lasciviae dari paucas totius quinquennii noctes, quibus tanta luce ignium nihil illicitum occultari queat. sane nullo insigni dehonestamento id spectaculum transit. ac ne modica quidem studia plebis exarsere, quia redditi quamquam scaenae pantomimi certaminibus sacris prohibebantur. eloquentiae primas nemo tulit, sed victorem esse Caesarem pronuntiatum. Graeci amictus, quis per eos dies plerique incesserant, tum exoleverant.

22. Inter quae et sidus cometes effulsit, de quo vulgi opinio est tamquam mutationem regis portendat. igitur quasi iam depulso Nerone, quisnam deligeretur anquirebant. et omnium ore Rubellius Plautus celebratur, cui nobilitas per matrem ex Iulia familia. ipse placita maiorum colebat, habitu severo, casta et secreta domo, quantoque metu occultior, tanto plus famae adeptus. auxit rumorem pari vanitate orta interpretatio fulguris. nam quia discumbentis Neronis apud Simbruina stagna, cui Sublaqueum nomen

possessa Achaia Asiaque] In 146 A.C. and 129 A.C. by L. Mummius and M'. Aquillius respectively. The shows of L. Mummius were plays and theatrical performances. Below, the phrase 'aures impertire,' Draeger says, occurs nowhere else.

redditi quamquam scaenae pantomimi] They had been driven from Italy four years before (xiii. 25).

eloquentiae primas] Sc. 'partes.' Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 9. 45, "posset qui ferre secundas."

tum exoleverant] 'Had at once become obsolete.' The pluperfect apparently is used to convey the idea of the immediate and universal disuse of the Greek dress. There was no interval of partial use: the moment the games were over, and almost before, the dress was laid aside.

22. *mutationem regis*] If the reading is correct, 'regis' is not to be taken to refer to Nero particularly, for the name of 'rex' was never used to designate the Caesars; but the expression must be a general one: the people always regard such phenomenon as indicating a change of kings, and so they applied this usual belief to the case in point—that of Nero.

cui nobilitas per matrem] See note on Rubellius Plautus, xiii. 19. Below, after 'apud Simbruina stagna,' 'cui' follows, because the words naturally suggest the idea of a house near the pools, and the relative is constructed accordingly. These lakes are made by the Anio (Plin. N. H. iii. 12).

est, ictae dapes mensaque disiecta erat, idque finibus Tiburtum acciderat, unde paterna Plauto origo, hunc illum numine deum destinari credebant, fovebantque multi, quibus nova et ancipitia praecolere avida et plerumque fallax ambitio est. ergo permotus his Nero componit ad Plautum litteras, consuleret quieti urbis seque prava diffamantibus subtraheret: esse illi per Asiam avitos agros, in quibus tuta et inturbida iuventa frueretur. ita illuc cum coniuge Antistia et paucis familiarium concessit.

Isdem diebus nimia luxus cupido infamiam et periculum Neroni tulit, quia fontem aquae Marciae ad urbem deductae nando incesserat: videbaturque potus sacros et caerimoniam loci corpore loto polluisse. secutaque anceps valitudo iram deum affirmavit.

23. At Corbulo post deleta Artaxata utendum recenti terrore ratus ad occupanda Tigranocerta, quibus excisis metum hostium intenderet vel, si pepercisset, clementiae famam adipisceretur, illuc pergit, non infenso exercitu, ne spem veniae auferret, neque tamen remissa cura, gnarus facilem mutatu gentem, ut segnem ad pericula, ita infidam ad occasiones. barbari, pro ingenio quisque, alii preces offerre, quidam deserere vicos et in avia digredi; ac fuere qui se speluncis et carissima secum abderent. igitur dux Romanus diversis artibus, misericordia adversus supplices, celeritate adversus profugos, inmitis iis qui latebras insederant, ora et exitus specuum sarmentis virgultisque completos igni exurit. atque illum fines suos praegredientem incursavere Mardi, latro-

hunc illum] This is equivalent to 'hunc illum esse qui destinaretur.' Cf. xii. 36, "avebantque visere quis ille tot per annos opes nostras sprevisset."

prava diffamantibus] In xv. 49, Tacitus has "probroso carmine diffamatus;" and the usual construction of the active is with a personal object. Of this accusative of an adjective there is no other instance. Below, 'inturbida' is peculiar to Tacitus (iii. 52; H. iii. 39).

fontem aquae Marciae] This aqueduct was constructed by Q. Marcius Rex (about 144 A.C.). It was brought from Sublaqueum, for a distance of about sixty miles, partly underground and partly on arches. The spring which supplied the water rose in the remote hills of the Peligni. (Plin. N. H. xxxi. 3, xxxvi. 24).

23. *quibus excisis, &c.*] The participle 'excisis' is replaced in the alternative clause by the conditional turn, 'si pepercisset.' As the latter verb in the active governs a dative, a continuation of the participial construction was impossible. Hence, 'quibus excisis' and 'quibus (the dative) si pepercisset' are connected by 'vel;' and, for brevity's sake, 'quibus' is omitted in the second clause.

praegredientem] 'Marching past.' So ii. 6, "qua Germaniam praevehitur;" ii. 63, "qua Noricam provinciam praefluit;" xv. 15, "is castra praefluebat." In all these instances 'prae' has the sense of 'praeter.' The interchange is not unnatural, for a stream may easily be regarded as either flowing past its banks or flowing in front of them, by any one who stands on the edge. The 'Mardi' here mentioned seem to have been settled south-west of the Caspian sea, but at a considerable distance from it, or they would not have been able to attack Corbulo on his march from Artaxata to Tigranocerta. The Mardi were widely spread. They were found on the eastern shores of the Euxine (Plin. N. H. vi. 5).

ciniis exerciti contraque irrumpentem montibus defensi: quos Corbulo inmissis Hiberis vastavit hostilemque audaciam externo sanguine ultus est.

24. Ipse exercitusque ut nullis ex proelio damnis, ita per inopiam et labores fatiscebant, carne pecudum propulsare famem adacti. ad hoc penuria aquae, fervida aestas, longinqua itinera sola ducis patientia mitigabantur, eadem pluraque gregario milite tolerantis. ventum dehinc in locos cultos demessaeque segetes, et ex duobus castellis, in quae confugerant Armenii, alterum impetu captum; qui primam vim depulerant, obsidione coguntur. unde in regionem Tauraunitium transgressus inprovisum periculum vitavit. nam haud procul tentorio eius non ignobilis barbarus cum telo repertus ordinem insidiarum seque auctorem et socios per tormenta edidit, convictique et puniti sunt qui specie amicitiae dolum parabant. nec multo post legati Tigranocerta missi patere moenia afferunt, intentos popularis ad iussa: simul hospitale donum, coronam auream, tradebant. accepitque cum honore, nec quicquam urbi detractum, quo promptius obsequium integri retinerent.

25. At praesidium Legerda, quod ferox iuventus clauserat, non sine certamine expugnatum est: nam et proelium pro muris ausi erant et pulsi intra munimenta aggeris demum et irrumpentium armis cessere. quae facilius proveniebant, quia Parthi Hyrcano bello distinebantur. miserantque Hyrcani ad principem Romanum societatem oratum, attineri a se Vologesen pro pignore amicitiae ostentantes. eos regredientes Corbulo, ne Euphraten transgressi hostium custodiis circumvenirentur, dato praesidio ad litora maris rubri deduxit, unde vitatis Parthorum finibus patrias in sedes remeavere.

24. *carne pecudum*] Cf. Caesar, B. G. vii. 17, "usque eo ut complures dies milites frumento caruerint et pecore e longinquioribus vicis adacto extremam famem sustentarent." The 'inopia' here was the absence of bread.

Tigranocerta missi] 'Sent from Tigranocerta.' So xv. 4, "occupaverat Tigranocertam;" and xv. 5, "a Tigranocerta distantem." On the other hand, in the previous chapter (xiv. 23), "ad occupanda Tigranocerta." See ii. 56, under "in urbe Artaxata." Tigranocerta was in Armenia Major, near its southern frontier (Plin. N. H. v. 10).

25. *Legerda*] The MS. has "legerat." There is a Legerda mentioned in Ptolemaeus, v. 13. 19, where, however, there are many other readings.

aggeris demum] This apparently depends on 'armis,' a word strictly appropriate only to 'irrumpentium:' 'yielded to the attacks delivered by means of a rampart and to the arms of the troops who burst in.' I should be inclined, however, to read 'aggeribus.'

maris rubri] The Hyrcanian ambassadors, Walther says, were conveyed to Syria, and thence to the shores of the Persian Gulf, or Indian Ocean; thence they sailed up the Araxes or some other river; which was a much more conve-

26. Quin et Tiridaten per Medos extrema Armeniae intrantem, praemisso cum auxiliis Verulano legato, atque ipse legionibus citis, abire procul ac spem belli omittere subegit; quosque nobis aversos animis cognoverat, caedibus et incendiis perpopulatus, possessionem Armeniae usurpabat, cum advenit Tigranes a Nerone ad capessendum imperium delectus, Cappadocum ex nobilitate, regis Archelai nepos, sed quod diu obses apud urbem fuerat, usque ad servilem patientiam demissus. nec consensu acceptus, durante apud quosdam favore Arsacidarum. at plerique superbiam Parthorum perosi datum a Romanis regem malebant. additum et praesidium mille legionarii, tres sociorum cohortes duaeque equitum alae, et quo facilius novum regnum tueretur, pars Armeniae, ut cuique finitima, Pharasmani Polemonique et Aristobulo atque Antiocho parere iussae sunt. Corbulo in Syriam abscessit, morte Ummidii legati vacuam ac sibi permissam.

27. Eodem anno ex inlustribus Asiae urbibus Laodicea tremore terrae prolapsa, nullo *a* nobis remedio, propriis opibus revaluit. at in Italia vetus oppidum Puteoli ius coloniae et cognomentum a

nient route than overland through the wild regions near the Caspian sea. I transcribe his note in the hope that the reader will be more fortunate than myself, and understand it. No other commentator I have seen offers any real explanation of the words as they stand. The Hyrcani dwelt on the shores of the Caspian, and a journey from the 'mare rubrum' to the Caspium would have taken them through the territories of the people they wished to avoid. Lipsius reads 'maris sui,' and observes that the ambassadors went above the Euphrates, through Iberia to the Caspian. This I believe to be the true reading and explanation.

26. *legionibus citis*] 'With the legions in light marching order.' Cf. xi. 1; xii. 31.

aversos animis] So Bekker for the reading of the MS., "ab re aninis."

regis Archelai nepos] Tacitus seems to have confused different persons here, as will be seen from the annexed table:—

Herod the Great m. Mariamne.
|
Alexander m. daughter of Archelaus (King of Cappadocia, ii. 42).
|
Alexander. — Tigranes (vi. 40).
|
Tigranes (xiv. 26).

The younger Tigranes was thus great-grandson ('pronepos') of Archelaus; the elder Tigranes was grandson ('nepos') of that king.

Pharasmani, &c.] These kings respectively governed the Hiberi (xii. 44), Pontus (H. iii. 47), the Lesser Armenia (xiii. 7). Aristobulus was son of Herod Agrippa, king of Chalcis (Joseph. Antiq. xx. 8) and Commagene (xii. 55). The reading 'Pharasmani Polemonique,' is the emendation of T. F. Gronovius, for 'pars nipulique' in the Cod. Med.

27. *Laodicea*] This was in Phrygia, in the south-west corner, near the junction of the Asopus and Caprus with the Lycus (Plin. N. H. v. 29). Below, 'tremore terrae' is an expression only found in writers of the silver age.

ius coloniae] Puteoli had long been

Nerone apiscuntur. veterani Tarentum et Antium adscripti non tamen infrequentiae locorum subvenere, dilapsis pluribus in provincias in quibus stipendia expleverant: neque coniugiis suscipiendis neque alendis liberis sueti orbas sine posteris domos relinquebant. non enim, ut olim, universae legiones deducebantur cum tribunis et centurionibus et sui cuiusque ordinis militibus, ut consensu et caritate rem publicam efficerent, sed ignoti inter se, diversis manipulis, sine rectore, sine affectibus mutuis, quasi ex alio genere mortalium repente in unum collecti, numerus magis quam colonia.

28. Comitia praetorum arbitrio senatus haberi solita, quoniam acriore ambitu exarserant, princeps composuit, tris, qui supra numerum petebant, legioni praeficiendo. auxitque patrum honorem statuendo ut, qui a privatis iudicibus ad senatum provocavissent, eiusdem pecuniae periculum facerent cuius si qui imperatorem appellavere; nam antea vacuum id solutumque poena fuerat. fine anni Vibius Secundus eques Romanus accusantibus Mauris repetundarum damnatur atque Italia exigitur, ne graviore poena afficeretur, Vibii Crispi fratris opibus enisus.

a Roman colony; from 194 A.C. (Liv. xxxiv. 45), when three hundred citizens were settled there. Augustus a second time established a colony there, and Nero must therefore have only recruited what had probably become a languishing settlement, and styled it probably Colonia Neronia (or Claudia) Augusta. Under Vespasian it became Colonia Flavia Augusta. Below, 'Tarentum' and 'Antium' were both old 'Coloniae,' the former being established 122 A.C. (Vell. Paterc. i. 15), and Antium 467 A.C. (Liv. iii. 1).

sui cuiusque ordinis] Here 'suus quisque' is regarded as a single word, and constructed accordingly. Madvig quotes from the Tabula Heracleensis (v. 92), "quae stipendia in castris inve provincia maiorem partem sui cuiusve anni fecerit." Cic. Acad. ii. 19, "in sensibus sui cuiusque generis;" Liv. xxxiii. 46, "pecunia quae in stipendium Romanis suo quoque anno penderetur;" Suet. August. 40, "concessit rursus ut sui cuiusque mensis (frumentum) acciperet."

28. *arbitrio senatus*] Cf. i. 15. The three superfluous candidates were appointed legati legionis. Under Tiberius (ii. 36), a proposal had been made that a legatus legionis should immediately on his appointment become, by virtue of this appointment, a candidate for the praetorship. The proposal, however, fell to the ground; otherwise it would have explained the selection especially of a legatio legionis for the candidates above the required number. Tacitus is here speaking of an arrangement in one single year; but I should gather from the language of Suetonius (Nero, 15), "candidatos qui supra numerum *essent* in solatium dilationis ac morae legionibus praeposuit," that the arrangement was made several times, or else I do not understand why the subjunctive "essent" is used.

eiusdem pecuniae] The penalty for frivolous appeal was fixed at one-third of the sum in dispute between the litigants. Orelli quotes Julius Paulus Recept. Sent. v. 33. 7, for this. The 'privati iudices' are the 'iudices' in civil actions.

accusantibus Mauris] Ptolemaeus, son of Juba, the last king of Mauretania, was put to death by Caligula (Suet. Calig. 26), and Mauretania formed into a province. Claudius subdivided it. Below, 'Vibius Crispus' was an orator (Quint. v. 13, 48; and x. 1. 119). Juvenal (iv. 81) describes him as possessing "mite ingenium," and more of a courtier than an outspoken patriot.

29. Caesennio Paeto et Petronio Turpiliano consulibus gravis clades in Britannia accepta, in qua neque A. Didius legatus, ut memoravi, nisi parta retinuerat, et successor Veranius modicis excursibus Siluras populatus quin ultra bellum proferret morte prohibitus est, magna, dum vixit, severitatis fama, supremis testamenti verbis ambitionis manifestus: quippe multa in Neronem adulatione addidit subiecturum ei provinciam fuisse, si biennio proximo vixisset. sed tum Paulinus Suetonius obtinebat Britannos, scientia militiae et rumore populi, qui neminem sine aemulo sinit, Corbulonis concertator, receptaeque Armeniae decus aequare domitis perduellibus cupiens. igitur Monam insulam, incolis validam et receptaculum perfugarum, adgredi parat, navesque fabricatur plano alveo adversus breve et incertum. sic pedes; equites vado secuti aut altiores inter undas adnantes equis tramisere.

30. Stabat pro litore diversa acies, densa armis virisque, intercursantibus feminis; in modum Furiarum veste ferali, crinibus deiectis faces praeferebant; Druidaeque circum, preces diras sublatis ad caelum manibus fundentes novitate aspectus perculere militem, ut quasi haerentibus membris immobile corpus vulneribus praeberent. dein cohortationibus ducis et se ipsi stimulantes, ne muliebre et fanaticum agmen pavescerent, inferunt signa sternuntque obvios et igni suo involvunt. praesidium posthac inpositum victis excisique luci saevis superstitionibus sacri: nam cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibris consulere deos fas habebant. haec agenti Suetonio repentina defectio provinciae nuntiatur.

29. *Caesennio Paeto*] The MS. has "Cesonio Paeto." In xv. 6, there is a Caesennius Paetus mentioned, who was 'consularis,' whom Dion Cassius (lxii. 20) calls Λούκιον Καισέννιον Παῖτον, and an inscription (Gruter, 64. 9) so spells the name of the consul apparently of this year (A.D. 61). For 'et,' used here to connect the names of the consuls, cf. iv. 68.

parta retinuerat] Cf. Agric. 14, "Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur." For A. Didius (an emendation of Lipsius for 'hauitus'), cf. xii. 15; and for Veranius, ii. 56. xii. 5.

supremis testamenti verbis] In vi. 38, Tacitus speaks of "supremis tabulis." In the same meaning he uses 'supremis verbis,' and 'testamenti' is added by way of explanation. The sense is 'his last words, as conveyed by his will.' Below, 'concertator' is found nowhere else. The 'Mona' here mentioned is Anglesey.

adversus breve et incertum] For this use of an adjective substantively, cf. vi. 24, "tamquam egregium;" iv. 61, "sic Haterii canorum illut et profluens." Cf. also xiii. 46, xiv. 56, xv. 34.

30. *agmen pavescerent*] So in i. 59, H. iv. 7. The same construction occurs elsewhere only in Silius xvi. 127. Suetonius, however, has "tonitrua et fulgura expavescebat" (August. 90).

adolere aras] Cf. vi. 28, "subire patrium corpus inque Solis aram perferre atque adolere." Also H. ii. 3, "precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur." With these compare Lucret. iv. 1237, "adolent altaria donis," and Virg. Aeneid. vii. 71,

31. Rex Icenorum Prasutagus, longa opulentia clarus, Caesarem heredem duasque filias scripserat, tali obsequio ratus regnumque et domum suam procul iniuria fore. quod contra vertit, adeo ut regnum per centuriones, domus per servos velut capta vastarentur. iam primum uxor eius Boudicca verberibus affecta et filiae stupro violatae sunt: praecipui quique Icenorum, quasi cunctam regionem muneri accepissent, avitis bonis exuuntur, et propinqui regis inter mancipia habebantur. qua contumelia et metu graviorum, quando in formam provinciae cesserant, rapiunt arma, commotis ad rebellationem Trinobantibus et qui alii nondum servitio fracti resumere libertatem occultis coniurationibus pepigerant, acerrimo in veteranos odio. quippe in coloniam Camulodunum recens deducti pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris, captivos, servos appellando, foventibus inpotentiam veteranorum militibus similitudine vitae et spe eiusdem licentiae. ad hoc templum divo Claudio constitutum quasi arx aeternae dominationis aspiciebatur, delectique sacerdotes specie religionis omnis fortunas effundebant. nec arduum videbatur excindere coloniam nullis munimentis saeptam; quod ducibus nostris parum provisum erat, dum amoenitati prius quam usui consulitur.

32. Inter quae nulla palam causa delapsum Camuloduni simulacrum Victoriae ac retro conversum, quasi cederet hostibus. et feminae in furorem turbatae adesse exitium canebant, externosque fremitus in curia eorum auditos; consonuisse ululatibus theatrum visamque speciem in aestuario Tamesae subversae coloniae: iam

"castis adolet dum altaria donis." The sense appears to be, 'to make any thing reek with the smell of burnt sacrifice.' ('olere,' 'odor,' ὄζειν, being connected). The idea that 'adolere' is equivalent to 'augere,' as 'adolescere' is to 'crescere,' is incorrect. For the fact here intimated, cf. i. 61, "barbarae arae apud quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactaverant."

31. *per centuriones*] The centurions were the military officials of the 'legatus'—the slaves, the ministers of the 'procurator.' Cf. Agric. 15, "binos inponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret . . . alterius manus centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere."

accepissent] The subject of this verb is, of course, 'centuriones et servi.'

similitudine vitae] 'By reason of the resemblance of their own life to that of the veterans.' They were influenced by a soldier's *esprit de corps* to regard with favour whatever the veterans did. The ablative is a causal one.

delectique sacerdotes] These were apparently Britons who had been induced to accept the office of flamines, &c., in connexion with the worship of Claudius. These had wasted the wealth of their countrymen in providing victims for sacrifice and other requirements of the cult they had undertaken. On the plea of religion, these priests had impoverished their countrymen by their exactions.

32. *in curia eorum*] The 'curia' was the chamber for the meeting of the 'decuriones,' or provincial senate, existing at Camulodunum, as a Roman colonia.

in aestuario Tamesae] Tacitus seems here to give a wide interpretation to the estuary of the Thames. Perhaps the whole indentation, as Dr. Merivale (Hist. of the Romans under the Empire,

Oceanus cruento aspectu dilabente aestu humanorum corporum effigies relictae, ut Britannis ad spem, ita veteranis ad metum trahebantur. sed quia procul Suetonius aberat, petivere a Cato Deciano procuratore auxilium. ille haud amplius quam ducentos sine iustis armis misit; et inerat modica militum manus. tutela templi freti, et impedientibus qui occulti rebellionis conscii consilia turbabant, neque fossam aut vallum praeduxerunt, neque motis senibus et feminis iuventus sola restitit: quasi media pace incauti multitudine barbarorum circumveniuntur. et cetera quidem impetu direpta aut incensa sunt: templum, in quo se miles conglobaverat, biduo obsessum expugnatumque. et victor Britannus Petilio Ceriali legato legionis nonae in subsidium adventanti obvius fudit legionem, et quod peditum interfecit: Cerialis cum equitibus evasit in castra et munimentis defensus est. qua clade et odiis provinciae, quam avaritia in bellum egerat, trepidus procurator Catus in Galliam transiit.

33. At Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostes Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniae non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et commeatuum maxime celebre. ibi ambiguus an illam sedem bello deligeret, circumspecta infrequentia militis, satisque magnis documentis temeritatem Petilii coercitam, unius oppidi damno servare universa statuit. neque fletu et lacrimis auxilium eius orantium flexus est quin daret profectionis signum et comitantes in partem agminis acciperet: si quos inbellis sexus aut fessa aetas vel loci dulcedo attinuerat, ab hoste oppressi sunt. eadem clades municipio Verulamio fuit, quia barbari omissis castellis praesidiisque militarium, quod uberrimum spolianti et defendentibus intutum, laeti praeda et aliorum segnes petebant. ad

ch. li.) suggests, of the coast from the North Foreland to Landguard Point may have been comprised in it. Or, comparing Dio (lxii. 1), *οἰκίαι τέ τινες ἐν τῷ Ταμέσᾳ ποταμῷ ἔφυδροι ἑωρῶντο*, perhaps the colonia may be not the Colonia Camulodunum, but simply 'a colony.' The appearance in the water was thought to be the same as that which would be presented by any Roman colony.

occulti . . . turbabant] Cf. iii. 29, "qui eiusmodi preces occulti inluderent;" iv. 12, "occulti laetabantur."

Petilio Ceriali] Q. Petilius Cerialis was subsequently legatus of Britain. (Agric. 8). He was consul suffectus twice (A.D. 70 and 74). He was one of Vespasian's generals (H. iii. 59), and conducted the war in Germany against Civilis (H. v. 14).

fudit legionem] At Wormingford, about six miles north of Colchester, there is a very large tumulus; and from this fact the battle in which Cerealis was defeated is supposed to have been fought near that spot.

33. *satisque magnis documentis*] This clause depends on some word suggested by 'circumspecta,' such as 'intelligens,' or the like. Suetonius observed that the rashness of Cerealis had been so heavily punished, that it was a clear warning for others to avoid the same fault.

aliorum segnes] 'Indolent in all else.'

septuaginta milia civium et sociorum iis quae memoravi locis cecidisse constitit. neque enim capere aut venundare aliutve quod belli commercium, sed caedes patibula ignes cruces, tamquam redditturi supplicium ac praerepta interim ultione festinabant.

34. Iam Suetonio quarta decuma legio cum vexillariis vicesimanis et e proximis auxiliares, decem ferme milia armatorum erant, cum omittere cunctationem et congredi acie parat. deligitque locum artis faucibus et a tergo silva clausum, satis cognito nihil hostium nisi in fronte et apertam planitiem esse, sine metu insidiarum. igitur legionarius frequens ordinibus, levis circum armatura, conglobatus pro cornibus eques astitit. at Britannorum copiae passim per catervas et turmas exultabant, quanta non alias multitudo, et animo adeo feroci, ut coniuges quoque testes victoriae secum traherent plaustrisque inponerent, quae super extremum ambitum campi posuerant.

35. Boudicca curru filias prae se vehens, ut quamque nationem accesserat, solitum quidem Britannis feminarum ductu bellare testabatur, sed tunc non ut tantis maioribus ortam regnum et opes, verum ut unam e vulgo libertatem amissam, confectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam ulcisci. eo provectas Romanorum cupidines, ut non corpora, ne senectam quidem aut virginitatem inpollutam relinquant. adesse tamen

Cf. xvi. 14, "occasionum haud segnis." The Britons were eager for plunder, and too indolent to undertake any military operations which required time and labour, such as storming entrenchments, &c.

tamquam reddituri] 'Under the idea of having sooner or later to undergo punishment.' The Britons knew their time was short and were anxious to make the most of it, and do all the mischief they could. This is, I think, the sense, from the next clause, 'praerepta interim ultione.' Others take it 'as about to inflict on the enemy a retaliatory punishment,' comparing Liv. xxiv. 20, "Hanno haud multo minorem quam ad Beneventum acceperat reddidit hosti cladem." But the use of 'supplicium' appears to alter the matter, and 'reddere supplicium' is formed after the model of 'dare poenas.'

34. *vexillariis*] Cf. i. 17, and the note there. If the view there stated be correct, these 'vexillarii' would not be, as Orelli and Nipperdey suppose, a mere detachment of the 20th Legion, serving under a 'vexillum,' but the veterans of that corps technically so called.

35. *feminarum ductu bellare*] Cf. Agric. 16, "Boudicca duce, neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt."

sed tunc] As Nipperdey observes 'tunc' here is used because the time to which it refers is viewed from the standpoint of the historian, and not from that of the speaker. Boudicca would have said 'nunc,' and this ought to have been retained in the 'Oratio Obliqua;' as it actually is in xi. 30, "nunc adulterium obiecturum ait." But 'tum' or 'tunc' is far more general. Cf. iii. 61, "quae tum etiam maneat;" vi. 21, "quem tum annum, qualem diem haberet;" xvi. 3, "se que tunc primum elusum admirans." Nipperdey quotes Sall. Jug. 81, 83, 102; Liv. xxx. 42, xxxvi. 12; Tusc. v. 12; in Verr. Act ii. 4, 29. Below, with 'regnum et opes' supply 'amissas.'

deos iustae vindictae: cecidisse legionem quae proelium ausa sit; ceteros castris occultari aut fugam circumspicere. ne strepitum quidem et clamorem tot milium, nedum impetus et manus perlaturos. si copias armatorum, si causas belli secum expenderent, vincendum illa acie vel cadendum esse. id mulieri destinatum: viverent viri et servirent.

36. Ne Suetonius quidem in tanto discrimine silebat. quamquam confideret virtuti, tamen exhortationes et preces miscebat, ut spernerent sonores barbarorum et inanes minas: plus illic feminarum quam iuventutis aspici. inbelles inermes cessuros statim, ubi ferrum virtutemque vincentium totiens fusi agnovissent. etiam in multis legionibus paucos, qui proelia profligarent: gloriaeque eorum accessurum quod modica manus universi exercitus famam adipiscerentur. conferti tantum et pilis emissis post umbonibus et gladiis stragem caedemque continuarent, praedae inmemores: parta victoria cuncta ipsis cessura. is ardor verba ducis sequebatur, ita se ad intorquenda pila expedierat vetus miles et multa proeliorum experientia, ut certus eventus Suetonius daret pugnae signum.

37. Ac primum legio gradu inmota et angustias loci pro munimento retinens, postquam propius suggressus hostis certo iactu tela exhauserat, velut cuneo erupit. idem auxiliarium impetus: et eques protentis hastis perfringit quod obvium et validum erat. ceteri terga praebuere, difficili effugio, quia circumiecta vehicula saepserant abitus. et miles ne mulierum quidem neci temperabat,

vel cadendum esse] Cf. xiii. 41, "vel si integra et incustodita relinquerentur." H. i. 21, " oblivione vel gloria." Of course in these passages 'aut' would have been usual.

36. *sonores barbarorum*] 'Sonor' is mainly a poetical word, but Tacitus uses it in i. 65, and iv. 48. The sounds here spoken of were not merely irregular outcries, but probably included songs. Cf. Dion Cass. lxii. 12, οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι κραυγῇ τε πολλῇ καὶ ᾠδαῖς ἀπειλητικαῖς χρώμενοι. In the Germania (3) Tacitus says the Germans had songs, " quem Barditum vocant," which they sang on entering into battle, to inflame their courage. The word for the writers of such songs in the Germanic tongues was 'scop,' and in the Scandinavian 'scald.' 'Barditus,' on the other hand, is said to be of Keltic origin. The custom was common to both races. Lucan speaks of these Keltic bards, i. 447, &c.

profligarent] 'Broke the back,' as it were, of the battles; so far gained them, that the main struggle was over, and the rest was comparatively easy work. Cf. Florus, ii. 15, "primo tempore commissum bellum, profligatum secundo, tertio vero confectum."

et pilis emissis, &c.] In this sentence 'post' is really superfluous. Translate, 'in serried ranks, and when their javelins were launched, *then* with the bosses of their shields and swords . . .'

37. *propius suggressus*] The enemy having advanced up towards the works, had exhausted the pila of the Romans. The Britons, during their approach, had received amongst their ranks all the pila the Romans hurled with unerring aim; having no further weapons of the kind left, the legion burst out of their works.

confixaque telis etiam iumenta corporum cumulum auxerant. clara et antiquis victoriis par ea die laus parta: quippe sunt qui paulo minus quàm octoginta milia Britannorum cecidisse tradant, militum quadringentis ferme interfectis nec multo amplius vulneratis. Boudicca vitam veneno finivit. et Poenius Postumus praefectus castrorum secundae legionis, cognitis quartadecumanorum vicesimanorumque prosperis rebus, quia pari gloria legionem suam fraudaverat abnueratque contra ritum militiae iussa ducis, se ipse gladio transegit.

38. Contractus deinde omnis exercitus sub pellibus habitus est ad reliqua belli perpetranda. auxitque copias Caesar missis ex Germania duobus legionariorum milibus, octo auxiliarium cohortibus ac mille equitibus, quorum adventu nonani legionario milite suppleti sunt. cohortes alaeque novis hibernaculis locatae, quodque nationum ambiguum aut adversum fuerat igni atque ferro vastatur. sed nihil aeque quam fames affligebat serendis frugibus incuriosos, et omni aetate ad bellum versa, dum nostros commeatus sibi destinant. gentesque praeferoces tardius ad pacem inclinant, quia Iulius Classicianus successor Cato missus et Suetonio discors bonum publicum privatis simultatibus impediebat disperseratque novum legatum opperiendum esse, sine hostili ira et superbia victoris clementer deditis consulturum. simul in urbem mandabat, nullum proeliorum finem expectarent, nisi succederetur Suetonio, cuius adversa pravitati ipsius, prospera ad fortunam referebat.

auxerant] The reason for the use of the pluperfect here is not obvious. It seems to be giving a reason for the great slaughter of women even: they were unable to fly in time, because, on attempting to do so, they found that the slaughtered cattle had already blocked up the outlets by which otherwise they might have escaped.

38. *serendis frugibus*] The dative after 'incuriosus' occurs only in H. ii. 17, "melioribus incuriosos." The usual construction is with a genitive. Walther makes the sense different, according as a dative or genitive is used: 'serendis frugibus incuriosus' would be, 'careless whether crops were sown or not;' 'serendarum frugum incuriosus,' 'careless in the sowing of the crops.' I doubt whether there is any thing in this.

gentesque praeferoces] The conjunction 'que' is a little difficult to understand here. Nipperdey supposes a lacuna, which does not appear absolutely necessary. Tacitus seems to imply that, in spite of the devastation of their lands by fire and sword, they were not much influenced by it—not nearly so much as by famine—and, besides, from another reason immediately assigned, they were less disposed to submit than they might otherwise have been: the idea set afloat by Julius Classicianus, inducing them to hang back, for the chance of making better terms with the successor of Suetonius.

disperserat] Sc. 'rumorem,' as iv. 42, "disperso rumore." The word is used as here absolutely, H. ii. 1, "vulgus disperserat accitum in adoptionem."

mandabat] 'Sent a communication.' Cf. Suet. Calig. 25, "tradunt mandasse ad Pisonem."

pravitati ipsius] For the change from the dative to the accusative, with a preposition, in the next clause, cf. iv. 46, "promptum libertati aut ad mortem animum." These changes are very common in Tacitus.

39. Igitur ad spectandum Britanniae statum missus est e libertis Polyclitus, magna Neronis spe posse auctoritate eius non modo inter legatum procuratoremque concordiam gigni, sed et rebelles barbarorum animos pace conponi. nec defuit Polyclitus quo minus ingenti agmine Italiae Galliaeque gravis, postquam Oceanum transmiserat, militibus quoque nostris terribilis incederet. sed hostibus irrisui fuit, apud quos flagrante etiam tum libertate nondum cognita libertinorum potentia erat; mirabanturque quod dux et exercitus tanti belli confector servitiis obedirent. cuncta tamen ad imperatorem in mollius relata; detentusque rebus gerundis Suetonius, quod post paucas naves in litore remigiumque in iis amiserat, tamquam durante bello, tradere exercitum Petronio Turpiliano, qui iam consulatu abierat, iubetur. is non inritato hoste neque lacessitus honestum pacis nomen segni otio imposuit.

40. Eodem anno Romae insignia scelera, alterum senatoris, servili alterum audacia, admissa sunt. Domitius Balbus erat praetorius, simul longa senecta, simul orbitate et pecunia insidiis obnoxius. ei propinquus Valerius Fabianus, capessendis honoribus destinatus, subdidit testamentum ascitis Vinicio Rufino et Terentio Lentino equitibus Romanis. illi Antonium Primum et Asinium Marcellum sociaverant. Antonius audacia promptus, Marcellus Asinio Pollione proavo clarus neque morum spernendus habebatur, nisi quod paupertatem praecipuum malorum credebat. igitur Fabianus tabulas iis quos memoravi et aliis minus illustribus obsignat. quod apud patres convictum, et Fabianus Antoniusque cum Rufino et Terentio lege Cornelia damnantur. Marcellum memoria maiorum et preces Caesaris poenae magis quam infamiae exemere.

39. *detentusque rebus gerundis*] 'Still kept in his command to discharge its duties.' Suetonius was not removed at once, but allowed to retain his command; shortly after, however, on a trifling reverse befalling him, he received orders to retire in favour of Turpilianus. Cf. Agric. 9, "minus triennium in ea legatione detentus."

40. *senatoris*] Cf. xiii. 25, and the note on "senatorii ordinis." Below, 'Antonius Primus' was a zealous supporter of Vespasian (H. ii. 86). His recovery of his senatorial rank is there spoken of as one of the evils of the war. For 'Asinius Marcellus,' cf. xii. 64.

morum spernendus] The genitive is not elsewhere, I believe, found after 'spernendus;' but the construction is one constantly occurring in Tacitus, with adjectives. Cf. i. 7, and the note on "imperandi."

iis quos memoravi] An instrumental ablative. Fabianus was enabled to sign the forged will in due form by the fact of his friends serving as witnesses.

lege Cornelia] The Lex Cornelia de Falso passed about 81 A.C. The punishment in the law was probably "interdictio aquae et ignis;" but under the empire, "deportatio in insulam" (Digest. xlviii. 10, 11).

41. Perculit is dies Pompeium quoque Aelianum, iuvenem quaestorium, tamquam flagitiorum Fabiani gnarum, eique Italia et Hispania, in qua ortus erat, interdictum est. pari ignominia Valerius Ponticus afficitur, quod reos, ne apud praefectum urbis arguerentur, ad praetorem detulisset, interim specie legum, mox praevaricando ultionem elusurus. additur senatus consulto, qui talem operam emptitasset vendidissetve, perinde poena teneretur ac si publico iudicio calumniae condemnatus.

42. Haud multo post praefectum urbis Pedanium Secundum servus ipsius interfecit, seu negata libertate, cui pretium pepigerat, sive amore exoleti incensus et dominum aemulum non tolerans.

41. *ad praetorem*] That one of the praetors who took cases of 'falsum,' . . . . forgery being amongst those crimes for which there were perpetuae quaestiones. The powers of the praefectus urbi, originally limited on his first appointment by Augustus, had gradually enlarged, until he completely overshadowed the praetors in judicial importance. There was no appeal from his sentence except to the emperor: from the decision of the praetor there was an appeal to *him*. The obscure point here, of which, as far as I can find, no clear explanation is given by any commentator, is why there was a greater opportunity of collusion on the part of the accuser in the praetor's court than in that of the praefectus urbi. The cases at this period brought under the cognizance of the praetor were, perhaps, generally trivial in character, and the penalties inflicted in his court might be less severe than those assigned by the praefectus urbi; but the penalty in this case was fixed by the law. Perhaps a prosecution before the praetor might create less notice, and therefore present better opportunities of collusion and a fraudulent dropping of the prosecution altogether. Or if the cause were tried by the praetor, it might be protracted by appeal from his decision, and so increase the chance of an ultimate defeat of justice. At the same time the proceeding would have the veil of law thrown over it ('species legum'); there would be no appearance of running counter to them, as the praetor was the officer in whose hands such jurisdiction had been originally vested.

interim] Cf. i. 4, "qui rem publicam interim premant quandoque distrahant."

senatus consulto] This is the Senatus Consultum Turpilianum, by which penalties were inflicted on any prosecutor who collusively abandoned a charge once brought forward before a court of justice. 'Calumniari' in the Digest (xlviii. 16. 1) is defined, "falsa crimina intendere;" 'praevaricari,' is "vera crimina abscondere;" 'tergiversari,' "in universum ab accusatione desistere."

calumniae] This genitive depends on 'condemnatus,' not on 'iudicio.' It was possible to be guilty of calumnia in civil as well as criminal proceedings. In civil actions the 'actor' seems to have been mulcted of one-tenth of the value of the object of the suit (Gaius, iv. 175). In a 'publicum iudicium' (one where the offence was prosecuted under a special lex), the penalty was fixed by the Lex Remmia, and is by some writers thought to have consisted in branding the forehead of the man convicted of it with a 'k' ('kalumnia') (cf. Cic. Rosc. Amerin. 20); but this is uncertain. In later periods the penalty was exile ('relegatio in insulam') or loss of rank (Paul. Sentent. Recept. v. 4. 11).

42. *cui pretium pepigerat*] From his 'peculium,' which though in law the property of the master, by usage was that of the slave, and an arrangement was sometimes made that the slave should purchase his freedom with this 'peculium' when it reached a certain sum. Cf. Senec. Ep. 80, "peculium suum quod comparaverunt ventre fraudato, pro capite numerant;" Plaut. Aulcil. v. 1. 15, "ubi id est aurum? in arca apud me: nunc volo manu me emitti."

ceterum cum vetere ex more familiam omnem, quae sub eodem tecto mansitaverat, ad supplicium agi oporteret, concursu plebis, quae tot innoxios protegebat, usque ad seditionem ventum est senatusque . . . . . in quo ipso erant studia nimiam severitatem aspernantium, pluribus nihil mutandum censentibus. ex quis C. Cassius sententiae loco in hunc modum disseruit:

43. 'Saepe numero, patres conscripti, in hoc ordine interfui, cum contra instituta et leges maiorum nova senatus decreta postularentur; neque sum adversatus, non quia dubitarem, super omnibus negotiis melius atque rectius olim provisum et quae converterentur deterius mutari, sed ne nimio amore antiqui moris studium meum extollere viderer. simul quidquid hoc in nobis auctoritatis est, crebris contradictionibus destruendum non existimabam, ut maneret integrum, si quando res publica consiliis eguisset. quod hodie venit, consulari viro domi suae interfecto per insidias serviles, quas nemo prohibuit aut prodidit quamvis nondum concusso senatus consulto, quod supplicium toti familiae minitabatur. decernite hercule inpunitatem, ut quem dignitas

vetere ex more] Lipsius refers in illustration of this to Cic. ad Fam. iv. 12, where Sulpicius writes, "ego tamen ad tabernaculum eius perrexi; inveni duos libertos et pauculos servos; reliquos aiebant profugisse metu perterritos quod dominus eorum ante tabernaculum interfectus esset." For the Senatus Consultum Silanianum, passed under Augustus, see the Dictionary of Antiquities. Below, after 'senatusque,' there is evidently a gap.

43. *deterius mutari*] The Cod. Flor. has simply 'deterius mutari,' but in iv. 6, Tacitus writes, "mutati in deterius principatus." So in iv. 20, "in melius mutet;" but on the other hand (iii. 34), "melius et laetius mutata." It is singular that both forms should occur with both words, 'deterius' and 'melius' unless we suppose both forms admissible. I have therefore left the readings as I find them. Of course here the sense is, 'changed in a worse sort of way,' rather than 'changed for the worse.'

consulari viro] Cf. vi. 11, "sumpsit e consularibus qui servitia coerceret et quod civium audacia turbidum nisi vim metuat." For the sense of 'venit' Nipperdey quotes Cic. pro. Balbo, 21, "cum paucis annis post hanc civitatis donationem acerrima de civitate quaestio venisset." It seems unnecessary to alter the reading to 'evenit.'

ut quem dignitas sua defendat] This passage can hardly be quite sound in the Cod. Flor., where the reading is, "ut quem . . . defendat cui praefectus urbis non profuit." 'Profuit' ought clearly to be 'profuerit,' as the matter is put indefinitely, and not with reference to any individual instance. But with this alteration, I think the passage may stand. It is of course peculiar, for the turn of the sentence, from the expression of the final purpose with 'ut' (ironically of course) to the interrogative 'quem, &c.' is very singular. Translate, 'by all means decree absolute impunity, in order, forsooth, that—why, whom is his own dignity to protect, if the praefect of the city has proved utterly useless?' Tacitus might have written 'decernite Hercule inpunitatem, ut eum dignitas sua defendat cui,' &c., or 'decernite Hercule inpunitatem; at quem dignitas sua defendet cui,' &c. Another explanation would be, that 'quem' is put indefinitely, not interrogatively: 'that his own dignity may protect any one, whom the praefect,' &c. But the objection to this appears to me that 'quem' and 'cui' are used just afterwards interrogatively; but this may not be a serious objection in the eyes of every one. Nipperdey quotes Liv. xliv. 39, "sine ulla sede vagi dimicassemus ut quo victores nos reciperemus;" and Cic. pro Font.

sua defendat, cui praefectus urbis non profuerit? quem numerus servorum tuebitur, cum Pedanium Secundum quadringenti non protexerint? cui familia opem ferat, quae ne in metu quidem pericula nostra advertit? an, ut quidam fingere non erubescunt, iniurias suas ultus est interfector, quia de paterna pecunia transegerat aut avitum mancipium detrahebatur? pronuntiemus ultro dominum iure caesum videri.

44. Libet argumenta conquirere in eo quod sapientioribus deliberatum est? sed et si nunc primum statuendum haberemus, creditisne servum interficiendi domini animum insumpsisse, ut non vox minax excideret, nihil per temeritatem proloqueretur? sane consilium occuluit, telum inter ignaros paravit: num excubias transiret, cubiculi fores recluderet, lumen inferret, caedem patraret omnibus nesciis? multa sceleris indicia praeveniunt: servi si prodant, possumus singuli inter plures, tuti inter anxios, postremo, si pereundum sit, non inulti inter nocentes agere. suspecta maioribus nostris fuerunt ingenia servorum, etiam cum in agris aut domibus isdem nascerentur caritatemque dominorum statim acciperent. postquam vero nationes in familiis habemus, quibus diversi ritus, externa sacra aut nulla sunt, colluviem istam non nisi metu coercueris. at quidam insontes peribunt. nam et ex fuso exercitu cum decumus quisque fusti feritur, etiam strenui sortiuntur. habet aliquid ex iniquo omne magnum exemplum, quod contra singulos utilitate publica rependitur.'

45. Sententiae Cassii ut nemo unus contra ire ausus est, ita dissonae voces respondebant numerum aut aetatem aut sexum ac

14, "vos tamen cum Gallis iurare malitis, quid ut secuti esse videamini."

transegerat] The subject of the verb is 'interfector,' and the passage is ironical: because the slave had legally no father or ancestor, and therefore no rights of inheritance. Translate, 'had settled some money account belonging to his father, or was losing an ancestral slave.'

44. *sapientioribus*] 'By our wiser ancestors,' who had already discussed and settled the matter. The case is probably the dative. The answer to this question is omitted: the reply 'no' is too obvious to need insertion. The speaker then proceeds to show that even if the matter had not been already decided, and had started up for discussion now for the first time, there could really be no doubt of the true line to take in legislation.

insumpsisse] 'To take upon himself.' Cf. vi. 32, "instituta Parthorum insumit."

num excubias transiret] Lipsius quotes Silius, i. 66, "saepe etiam famuli turbato ad limina somno expavere trucem per vasta silentia vocem." The great Romans, one would suppose, lived and slept in constant fear of an outbreak amongst their crowds of often cruelly treated slaves.

nam et] These words are used elliptically, with reference to a clause implied. Translate, 'but you will say, the guiltless will perish: (true, but there is nothing unprecedented in this confusion of the innocent with the guilty) for in an army too,' &c. 'Nam et' would be 'et quidem,' or 'quidem' in Cicero, as de Fin, i. § 35, "at magnum periculum adiit; In oculis quidem exercitus."

plurimorum indubiam innocentiam miserantium: praevaluit tamen pars quae supplicium decernebat. sed obtemperari non poterat, conglobata multitudine et saxa ac faces minante. tum Caesar populum edicto increpuit atque omne iter, quo damnati ad poenam ducebantur, militaribus praesidiis saepsit. censuerat Cingonius Varro ut liberti quoque, qui sub eodem tecto fuissent, Italia deportarentur. id a principe prohibitum est, ne mos antiquus, quem misericordia non minuerat, per saevitiam incenderetur.

46. Damnatus isdem consulibus Tarquitius Priscus repetundarum Bithynis interrogantibus, magno patrum gaudio, qui accusatum ab eo Statilium Taurum pro consule ipsius meminerant. census per Gallias a Q. Volusio et Sextio Africano Trebellioque Maximo acti sunt, aemulis inter se per nobilitatem Volusio atque Africano: Trebellium dum uterque dedignatur supra tulere.

47. Eo anno mortem obit Memmius Regulus, auctoritate constantia fama, in quantum praeumbrante imperatoris fastigio datur, clarus, adeo ut Nero aeger valetudine, et adulantibus circum qui finem imperio adesse dicebant, si quid fato pateretur, responderit habere subsidium rem publicam. rogantibus dehinc in quo potissimum, addiderat in Memmio Regulo. vixit tamen post haec Regulus, quiete defensus et quia nova generis claritudine neque invidiosis opibus erat. gymnasium eo anno dedicatum a Nerone praebitumque oleum equiti ac senatui Graeca facilitate.

48. P. Mario L. Asinio consulibus Antistius praetor, quem in tribunatu plebis licenter egisse memoravi, probrosa adversus principem carmina factitavit vulgavitque celebri convivio, dum

45. *Cingonius Varro*] He was consul designatus A.D. 69, and was put to death in that year by Galba, (H. i. 6). Below, for the omission of the preposition in 'Italia deportarentur,' see a note on 'triumviratu' in iii. 28.

mos antiquus . . . incenderetur] So the Cod. Med. Cf. i. 23, "incendebat haec fletu;" ii. 82, "hos vulgi sermones audita mors adeo incendit." I think possibly, therefore, the reading may be correct, and I have therefore retained it.

46. *Statilium Taurum*] Cf. xii. 59. Below for Q. Volusius, cf. xiii. 25, and for Sextius Africanus cf. xiii. 19. Trebellius Maximus was consul suffectus A.D. 58, or A.D. 62, with Seneca (cf. xiv. 53, 'tantum honorum'), legatus of Britain A.D. 64 (Agric. 16).

supra tulere] This surely does not mean, as Orelli makes it, 'allowed him to become their superior;' but 'raised him to an eminence above themselves.' It is equivalent to 'supra se extulere."

47. *Memmius Regulus*] Cf. v. 11. Below, 'praeumbrare' occurs nowhere else. Tacitus has 'obumbrare,' H. ii. 32.

et adulantibus] The 'et' would more usually be omitted; but for its insertion cf. xiv. 48, "id egregio sub principe et nulla necessitate obstricto senatui statuendum disseruit;" xv. 12, "interritus et parte copiarum apud Syriam relicta."

Græca facilitate] 'With the good-natured liberality shown by the Greeks (under similar circumstances).' The Gymnasiarch, whose office was one of the regular liturgies at Athens, provided the frequenters of the gymnasium with oil, and perhaps dust.

48. *memoravi*] Cf. xiii. 28.

apud Ostorium Scapulam epulatur. exim a Cossutiano Capitone, qui nuper senatorium ordinem precibus Tigillini soceri sui receperat, maiestatis delatus est. tum primum revocata ea lex, credebaturque haud perinde exitium Antistio quam imperatori gloriam quaeri, ut condemnatus a senatu intercessione tribunicia morti eximeretur. et cum Ostorius nihil audivisse pro testimonio dixisset, adversis testibus creditum; censuitque Iunius Marullus consul designatus adimendam reo praeturam necandumque more maiorum. ceteris inde assentientibus, Paetus Thrasea, multo cum honore Caesaris et acerrime increpito Antistio, non quidquid nocens reus pati mereretur, id egregio sub principe et nulla necessitate obstricto senatui statuendum disseruit: carnificem et laqueum pridem abolita, et esse poenas legibus constitutas, quibus sine iudicum saevitia et temporum infamia supplicia decernerentur. quin in insula publicatis bonis, quo longius sontem vitam traxisset, eo privatim miseriorem et publicae clementiae maximum exemplum futurum.

49. Libertas Thraseae servitium aliorum rupit, et postquam discessionem consul permiserat, pedibus in sententiam eius iere, paucis exceptis, in quibus adulatione promptissimus fuit A. Vitellius, optimum quemque iurgio lacessens et respondenti reticens, ut pavida ingenia solent. at consules perficere decretum senatus non ausi de consensu scripsere Caesari. ille inter pudorem et iram cunctatus, postremo rescripsit: nulla iniuria provocatum Antistium gravissimas in principem contumelias dixisse; earum ultionem a patribus postulatam, et pro magnitudine delicti poenam statui par fuisse. ceterum se, qui severitatem decernentium impediturus fuerit, moderationem non prohibere: statuerent ut vellent, datam et absolvendi licentiam. his atque talibus recitatis et offensione manifesta, non ideo aut consules mutavere relationem aut Thrasea decessit sententia ceterive quae probaverant deseruere, pars, ne principem obiecisse invidiae viderentur, plures numero tuti, Thrasea sueta firmitudine animi et ne gloria intercideret.

50. Haud dispari crimine Fabricius Veiento conflictatus est,

intercessione tribunicia] The emperors possessed the tribunitial power permanently. Cf. iii. 56, "id (potestatem tribuniciam) summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret ac tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperia praemineret."

49. *respondenti reticens*] This construction occurs in Livy and Ovid. Cf. Liv. xxiii. 12, "nunc interroganti senatori paeniteatne me adhuc suscepti adversus Romanos belli si reticeam." Also iii. 41, "negantem se privato reticere." Ovid Metam. iii. 357, "nec reticere loquenti nec prior ipsa loqui didicit."

50. *Fabricius Veiento*] This is the

quod multa et probrosa in patres et sacerdotes composuisset iis libris quibus nomen codicillorum dederat. adiciebat Talius Geminus accusator venditata ab eo munera principis et adipiscendorum honorum ius. quae causa Neroni fuit suscipiendi iudicii, convictumque Veientonem Italia depulit et libros exuri iussit, conquisitos lectitatosque, donec cum periculo parabantur: mox licentia habendi oblivionem attulit.

51. Sed gravescentibus in dies publicis malis subsidia minuebantur, concessitque vita Burrus, incertum valetudine an veneno. valetudo ex eo coniectabatur, quod in se tumescentibus paulatim faucibus et impedito meatu spiritum finiebat. plures iussu Neronis, quasi remedium adhiberetur, inlitum palatum eius noxio medicamine adseverabant, et Burrum intellecto scelere, cum ad visendum eum princeps venisset, aspectum eius aversatum sciscitanti hactenus respondisse: 'ego me bene habeo.' civitati grande desiderium eius mansit per memoriam virtutis et successorum alterius segnem innocentiam, alterius flagrantissima flagitia. quippe Caesar duos praetoriis cohortibus imposuerat, Faenium Rufum ex vulgi favore, quia rem frumentariam sine quaestu tractabat, Sofonium Tigillinum, veterem inpudicitiam atque infamiam in eo secutus. atque illi pro cognitis moribus fuere, validior Tigillinus in animo principis et intimis libidinibus adsumptus; prospera populi et militum fama Rufus, quod apud Neronem adversum experiebatur.

man who when praetor introduced at the games in the circus a team of dogs instead of horses (Dion lxi. 6). He was a flatterer of Domitian (Juv. iv. 123). The reading of the Cod. Med. is 'uegento.'

codicillorum] Fabricius Veiento had it seems published certain books, purporting to be the last wills and testaments of various people. Into these he introduced sarcastic remarks about the emperor or the emperor's friends and connexions. This way of delivering one's mind was not uncommon under the emperors: it was a safe way generally, for the man was dead before his sentiments were made known. Cf. vi. 38, "supremis tabulis multa et atrocia in Macronem composuit." Suetonius speaks of this (August. 56), "de inhibenda testamentorum licentia ne Senatus quidquam constitueret intercessit."

51. *incertum valetudine an veneno*] Suetonius (Nero, 35) ascribes his death to poison, as well as Dion (lxii. 13).

in se tumescentibus] The tonsils of Burrus' throat became swollen, and gradually closed. Of course as the swelling was internal, the sides of the throat gradually approached each other. (in se).

hactenus respondisse] See note on xii. 42, under 'hactenus.' Below, the pluperfect 'imposuerat' is used with reference, not to the death of Burrus, for the appointments spoken of were subsequent to that, but to the time of the expression of the regret at the bad character of his successors.

Sofonium Tigillinum] He is described by Tacitus elsewhere (H. i. 72) in unpleasant colours: "obscuris parentibus, foeda pueritia, impudica senecta praefecturam vigilum et praetorii et alia praemia virtutum quia velocius erat vitiis adeptus, crudelitatem mox, deinde avaritiam et virilia scelera exercuit corrupto ad omne facinus Nerone." Dion makes him the most infamous man of his time: ἀσελγείᾳ τε καὶ μιαιφονίᾳ πάντας τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπεράραντα (lxii. 13).

52. Mors Burri infregit Senecae potentiam, quia nec bonis artibus idem virium erat altero velut duce amoto, et Nero ad deteriores inclinabat. hi variis criminationibus Senecam adoriuntur, tamquam ingentes et privatum modum evectas opes adhuc augeret, quodque studia civium in se verteret, hortorum quoque amoenitate et villarum magnificentia quasi principem supergrederetur. obiciebant etiam eloquentiae laudem uni sibi asciscere et carmina crebrius factitare, postquam Neroni amor eorum venisset. nam oblectamentis principis palam iniquum detractare vim eius equos regentis, illudere voces, quotiens caneret. quem ad finem nihil in re publica clarum fore quod non ab illo reperiri credatur? certe finitam Neronis pueritiam et robur iuventae adesse: exueret magistrum, satis amplis doctoribus instructus maioribus suis.

53. At Seneca criminantium non ignarus, prodentibus iis quibus aliqua honesti cura, et familiaritatem eius magis aspernante Caesare, tempus sermoni orat et accepto ita incipit: 'quartus decumus annus est, Caesar, ex quo spei tuae admotus sum, octavus, ut imperium obtines: medio temporis tantum honorum atque opum in me cumulasti, ut nihil felicitati meae desit nisi moderatio eius. utar magnis exemplis, nec meae fortunae sed tuae. abavus

52. *opes adhuc augeret*] Cf. xiii. 42, "qua sapientia quibus philosophorum praeceptis intra quadriennium regiae amicitiae ter milies sestertium paravisset?" This makes his fortune about two millions and a half. Cf. also Seneca de Vita Beata, 17, where Seneca's enemies are represented as asking, "cur trans mare possides? cur plura quam nosti? Turpiter aut tam neglegens es ut non noveris pauculos servos, aut tam luxuriosus ut plures habeas quam quorum notitiae memoria sufficiat." Seneca's gardens are mentioned by Juvenal, x. 16, "magnos Senecae praedivitis hortos."

quasi principem supergrederetur] Tacitus often puts his particles far on in the sentence. Cf. i. 63, "compendiis viarum et cito agmine onustum sarcinis armisque militem cum antevenisset." So xii. 54, 55. For 'ut' so placed cf. xii. 49. For 'donec' and 'dum,' xiii. 33, xiv. 5. For 'si,' xiv. 3. 58. For 'si quidem,' Germ. 30.

quem ad finem] 'How long?' not 'for what purpose?' So Cic. Catil. i. 1, "quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia."

53. *spei tuae admotus*] Is this 'the hopes you entertain,' or 'the hopes others entertain of you'? I think the latter, because Seneca would scarcely have reminded Nero of any ambitious views if he had entertained them, and besides Nero, at the time spoken of, was far too young to have any views at all.

ut imperium obtines] 'Ut' here is equivalent to 'ex quo.' This meaning occurs nowhere else in Tacitus, but is found in other writers generally with a past tense, as Horat. Epod. vii. 17, "acerba fata Romanos agunt scelusque fraternae necis ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi sacer nepotibus cruor;" but also with a present, Ovid Epist. ex Ponto i. 9. 5, "nec quicquam ad nostras pervenit acerbius aures ut sumus in Ponto."

abavus tuus] So Lipsius for the 'atavus' of Cod. Med. This is made clear by the annexed stem—

Augustus.
|
Julia m. M. Agrippa.
|
Agrippina.
|
Agrippina.
|
Nero.

tuus Augustus M. Agrippae Mytilenense secretum, C. Maecenati urbe in ipsa velut peregrinum otium permisit; quorum alter bellorum socius, alter Romae pluribus laboribus iactatus ampla quidem, sed pro ingentibus meritis praemia acceperant. ego quid aliud munificentiae adhibere potui quam studia, ut sic dixerim, in umbra educata, et quibus claritudo venit, quod iuventae tuae rudimentis affuisse videor, grande huius rei pretium. at tu gratiam immensam, innumeram pecuniam circumdedisti, adeo ut plerumque intra me ipse volvam: egone, equestri et provinciali loco ortus, proceribus civitatis adnumeror? inter nobiles et longa decora praeferentes novitas mea enituit? ubi est animus ille modicis contentus? talis hortos extruit et per haec suburbana incedit et tantis agrorum spatiis, tam lato faenore exuberat? una defensio occurrit, quod muneribus tuis obniti non debui.

54. Sed uterque mensuram inplevimus, et *tu*, quantum princeps tribuere amico posset, et ego, quantum amicus a principe accipere: cetera invidiam augent. quae quidem, ut omnia mortalia, infra tuam magnitudinem iacent, sed mihi incumbunt, mihi subveniendum est. quo modo in militia aut via fessus adminiculum orarem, ita in hoc itinere vitae senex et levissimis quoque curis inpar, cum opes meas ultra sustinere non possim, praesidium peto. iube per procuratores tuos administrari, in tuam fortunam recipi. nec me in paupertatem ipse detrudam, sed traditis quorum fulgore praestringor, quod temporis hortorum aut villarum curae seponitur, in animum revocabo. superest tibi robur et tot per annos visum fastigii regimen: possumus seniores amici quietem repo-

Augustus, therefore, was great-great-grandfather (abavus) to Nero.

Mytilenense secretum] Cf. Suet. Aug. 66, "Cum ille (M. Agrippa) ex levi rigoris suspicione et quod Marcellus sibi anteferretur, Mytilenas se relictis omnibus contulisset."

munificentiae] 'What service have I been able to render?' Perhaps Tacitus uses the word because 'ingentibus meritis' occurs just before: *they* displayed great services, lavished all their powers in their zeal for Augustus. What similar boon, asks Seneca, could *I* lavish on you?

54. *infra tuam magnitudinem iacent*] Seneca means, I think, that honours, gifts, &c., added to what already were bestowed on him, although they fell below the Emperor's exalted position, and might appear to *him* trifling, would yet prove a burden too heavy for any other shoulders. I do not see any necessity for altering the reading to 'iacet' and 'incumbit.' Below, 'iube per procuratores' is the reading of Ritter for the 'iuuere procuratores' of the Cod. Med.

in animum revocabo] 'I will recall (from those objects) to spend on self-improvement.'

visum] Tacitus seems to employ this word, because he takes in the period before Nero's actual accession to the throne, during which he was a spectator of the administration of Claudius, so becoming acquainted with the secrets of the empire.

quietem reposcere] I have adopted this reading for the 'quietem respondere' of the Med. Cod., which is clearly corrupt. 'Quiete respondere,' seems to introduce an idea extraneous to the pas-

scere. hoc quoque in tuam gloriam cedet, eos ad summa vexisse qui et modica tolerarent.'

55. Ad quae Nero sic ferme respondit ei: 'quod meditatae orationi tuae statim occurram, id primum tui muneris habeo, qui me non tantum praevisa sed subita expedire docuisti. abavus meus Augustus Agrippae et Maecenati usurpare otium post labores concessit, sed in ea ipse aetate, cuius auctoritas tueretur quidquid illud et qualecumque tribuisset; ac tamen neutrum datis a se praemiis exuit. belli et periculis meruerant; in iis enim iuventa Augusti versata est. nec mihi tela et manus tuae defuissent in armis agenti: sed quod praesens condicio poscebat, ratione consilio praeceptis pueritiam, dein iuventam meam fovisti. et tua quidem erga me munera, dum vita suppetet, aeterna erunt: quae a me habes, horti et faenus et villae, casibus obnoxia sunt. ac licet multa videantur, plerique haudquaquam artibus tuis pares plura tenuerunt, nisi forte aut te Vitellio ter consuli aut me Claudio postponis, et quantum Volusio longa parsimonia quaesivit, tantum in te mea liberalitas explere non potest. pudet referre libertinos, qui ditiores spectantur: unde etiam mihi rubori est quod praecipuus caritate nondum omnes fortuna antecellis.

56. Verum et tibi valida aetas rebusque et fructui rerum sufficiens, et nos prima inperii spatia ingredimur: quin, si qua in parte lubricum adulescentiae nostrae declinat, revocas ornatumque robur subsidio inpensius regis? non tua moderatio, si reddideris

sage, as it could only mean, 'to answer your summons in retirement,' 'to answer all calls upon us, while remaining in a retired position;' and even then the wording would be strange. Seneca means that the vigour of Nero's age, enabled his friends to do what they were anxious to do, viz., as their years advanced, to retire from active life into the shade.

55. *in ea ipse aetate*] Augustus allowed his ministers to retire from office, and left them in the enjoyment of their wealth and honours; and yet his age and authority were such that he might, if he wished it, have recalled all he had previously given. Nero was not old or strong enough to recall Seneca's wealth; it would have been too high-handed a proceeding for him to attempt. 'Tueri' here is used for 'to keep a tight hand on,' 'to retain in his grasp.' This, I think, must be the sense of the word and passage, or else 'tamen' in the next clause is meaningless.

Vitellio ter consuli] This is L. Vitellius, the father of the Emperor Vitellius. He was consul A.D. 34, 43, and 47. This clause 'nisi forte,' &c., appears to be out of its place in the Cod. Med., for it occurs after 'inperii spatia ingredimur.' Haase inserts it here. Spengel and others, after 'fortuna antecellis.'

omnes fortuna antecellis] Cf. H. ii. 3, "ne honore nullo regium genus peregrinam stirpem antecelleret." This construction is only found in late writers. Cicero uses the word absolutely or constructs it with a dative.

56. *rebusque et fructui rerum*] 'For business and the enjoyment of the advantages accruing to you from the proper discharge of the business.' Seneca was still young enough to be useful to the Emperor, and to enjoy such recompense as would arise from so doing.

ornatumque robur] 'Direct with greater earnestness than before my robuster years, adorned by your support.' Seneca had guided and formed the earlier period of Nero's life; he was now to

pecuniam, nec quies, si reliqueris principem, sed mea avaritia, meae crudelitatis metus in ore omnium versabitur. quod si maxime continentia tua laudetur, non tamen sapienti viro decorum fuerit, unde amico infamiam paret, inde gloriam sibi recipere.' his adicit complexum et oscula, factus natura et consuetudine exercitus velare odium fallacibus blanditiis. Seneca, qui finis omnium cum dominante sermonum, grates agit: sed instituta prioris potentiae commutat, prohibet coetus salutantium, vitat comitantis, rarus per urbem, quasi valetudine infensa aut sapientiae studiis domi adtineretur.

57. Perculso Seneca promptum fuit Rufum Faenium inminuere Agrippinae amicitiam in eo criminantibus. validiorque in dies Tigillinus et malas artes, quibus solis pollebat, gratiores ratus, si principem societate scelerum obstringeret, metus eius rimatur; conpertoque Plautum et Sullam maxime timeri, Plautum in Asiam, Sullam in Galliam Narbonensem nuper amotos, nobilitatem eorum et propinquos huic orientis, illi Germaniae exercitus commemorat. non se, ut Burrum, diversas spes, sed solam incolumitatem Neronis spectare; cui caveri utcumque ab urbanis insidiis praesenti opera: longinquos motus quonam modo comprimi posse? erectas Gallias ad nomen dictatorium, nec minus suspectos Asiae populos claritudine avi Drusi. Sullam inopem, unde praecipuam audaciam, et simulatorem segnitiae, dum temeritati locum reperiret. Plautum magnis opibus ne fingere quidem cupidinem otii, sed veterum Romanorum imitamenta praeferre, assumpta etiam Stoicorum adrogantia sectaque, quae turbidos et negotiorum adpetentes faciat. nec ultra mora. Sulla sexto die pervectis Massiliam

direct and aid the Emperor in his advancing years. 'Robur' means here, 'matured character.'

velare odium] This, I believe, is a solitary instance of an infinitive, following either 'factus' or 'exercitus.'

57. *Plautum et Sullam*] Cf. xiv. 22, and xiii. 47.

diversas spes] This seems to mean that Burrus had been rendered less devoted to Nero by his regard for Agrippina. He was drawn two ways, between his attachment to the Emperor and the Emperor's mother. Cf. xiii. 20, "Burrum etiam demovere praefectura destinaret tamquam Agrippinae gratia provectum et vicem reddentem."

caveri utcumque] 'For whose safety, by exertions on the spot, precaution could be taken somehow or other.' For 'utcumque,' see note on i. 5. Below, in 'quonam modo comprimi posse,' cf. i. 17, 'ausuros,' and the note there.

nec minus suspectos] The Gallic tribes were in a state of expectancy ('suspectos' is the suggestion of Lipsius for the reading of the Cod. Med. 'suspensos'), due to Sulla's descent from the Great Dictator Sulla, and the various races of Asia were equally under suspicion, as likely to be led away by the illustrious birth of Plautus, who was the grandson of the younger Drusus, the son of Tiberius; his mother being Julia, the daughter of this Drusus. 'Claritudine' is the ablative of the instrument; the lustre attached to Drusus, made it likely that the Asiatics would favour his descendant.

percussoribus ante metum et rumorem interficitur, cum epulandi causa discumberet. perlatum caput eius inlusit Nero tamquam praematura canitie deforme.

58. Plauto parari necem non perinde occultum fuit, quia pluribus salus eius curabatur, et spatium itineris ac maris tempusque interiectum moverat famam; vulgoque fingebant petitum ab eo Corbulonem, magnis tum exercitibus praesidentem et, clari atque insontes *si* interficerentur, praecipuum ad pericula. quin et Asiam favore iuvenis arma cepisse, nec milites ad scelus missos aut numero validos aut animo promptos, postquam iussa efficere nequiverint, ad spes novas transisse. vana haec more famae credentium otio augebantur; ceterum libertus Plauti celeritate ventorum praevenit centurionem et mandata L. Antistii soceri attulit: effugeret segnem mortem; otium suffugium et magni nominis miseratione reperturum bonos, consociaturum audaces: nullum interim subsidium aspernandum. si sexaginta milites (tot enim adveniebant) propulisset, dum refertur nuntius Neroni, dum manus alia permeat, multa secutura quae adusque bellum evalescerent. denique aut salutem tali consilio quaeri, aut nihil gravius audenti quam ignavo patiendum esse.

59. Sed Plautum ea non movere, sive nullam opem providebat inermis atque exul, seu taedio ambiguae spei, an amore coniugis et liberorum, quibus placabiliorem fore principem rebatur nulla sollicitudine turbatum. sunt qui alios a socero nuntios venisse ferant, tamquam nihil atrox immineret; doctoresque sapientiae, Coeranum Graeci, Musonium Tusci generis, constantiam opperiendae mortis pro incerta et trepida vita suasisse. repertus est certe per medium diei nudus exercitando corpori. talem eum

58. *petitum ab eo Corbulonem*] 'That he was making his way to Corbulo,' then legatus propraetore of Syria.

nec milites] This is put for 'et milites ad scelus missos non aut numero,' &c. The negative only extends to the earlier portion of the sentence, not to the whole. See xii. 36, for a similar instance.

credentium otio] 'By the absence of occupation on the part of those who believed the story.' The people had nothing to do, and so they spent their leisure time in adding a little to the story that was afloat.

otium suffugium] This is corrupt, and no emendation I have seen is the least probable. I therefore leave it as it stands.

adusque bellum] 'Adusque' is only found in the poets (and late prose). Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 5. 96; Virg. Aen. xi. 262. In xiii. 47, and xv. 37, Tacitus has 'abusque.'

59. *an amore*] For 'sive . . . an,' cf. xi. 26, "sive fatali vaecordia an . . . ratus." Below, 'Coeranus' is mentioned in the index to the second book of Pliny's Natural History as amongst the foreign writers consulted. C. Musonius Rufus was born at Vulsinii, of equestrian rank, and a stoic (H. iii. 81).

talem] 'Naked,' the commentators say. Perhaps it is; but I do not feel quite certain. Why should it not refer to the main character as deduced from the traits already given previously?

centurio trucidavit coram Pelagone spadone, quem Nero centurioni et manipulo, quasi satellitibus ministrum regium, praeposuerat. caput interfecti relatum; cuius aspectu (ipsa principis verba referam) 'cur,' inquit Nero, '* * *' et posito metu nuptias Poppaeae ob eius modi terrores dilatas maturare parat Octaviamque coniugem amoliri, quamvis modeste ageret, nomine patris et studiis populi gravem. sed ad senatum litteras misit de caede Sullae Plautique haud confessus, verum utriusque turbidum ingenium esse, et sibi incolumitatem rei publicae magna cura haberi. decretae eo nomine supplicationes, utque Sulla et Plautus senatu moverentur, gravioribus tamen ludibriis quam malis.

60. Igitur accepto patrum consulto, postquam cuncta scelerum suorum pro egregiis accipi videt, exturbat Octaviam, sterilem dictitans; exim Poppaeae coniungitur. ea diu paelex et adulteri Neronis, mox mariti potens, quendam ex ministris Octaviae impulit servilem ei amorem obicere. destinaturque reus cognomento Eucaerus, natione Alexandrinus, canere per tibias doctus. actae ob id de ancillis quaestiones, et vi tormentorum victis quibusdam si falsa annuerent, plures perstitere sanctitatem dominae tueri; ex quibus una instanti Tigillino castiora esse muliebria Octaviae respondit quam os eius. movetur tamen primo civilis discidii specie

'Such was the character of the man whom a centurion slew,' &c. Below, the word 'manipulus,' as there were only sixty soldiers (c. 58), is generally supposed to be used for a small detachment: so Varro, L. L. v. § 88, "manipulos exercitus minimas manus quae unum sequuntur signum." But that passage need only imply, as far as I understand it, that the 'manipulus' was the smallest division of a legion which had a flag of its own, meaning that 'the century' had none, which I suppose may have been true at the time in question. However this may be, 'manipularis' is often used for 'a soldier in the ranks' (i. 20); and so in like manner, probably, 'manipulus' is used for any small body of troops, in addition to its more technical meaning of two centuries.

nomine patris] Octavia was the daughter of Claudius. She was a standing memento of the crimes of Nero's mother, and of the fact that Nero was only stepson of the late emperor; and a contrast to him in character, for Claudius has apparently been treated with too little respect by historians.

sibi incolumitatem] 'The safety of the state was attended to by himself with the greatest care.' 'Sibi' is the dative after 'haberi,' equivalent to 'a se,' as often elsewhere in Tacitus; or, possibly, it is used here as from the equivalence of 'magna cura haberi' to 'magnae curae esse.' The opposite, 'sine cura haberi' occurs H. i. 79.

60. *cuncta scelerum suorum*] Cf. iii. 35, "quod cuncta curarum ad principem reicerent." So H. v. 10, "cuncta camporum."

per tibias] The ablative would be the usual case. Cf. H. v. 5, "tibia tympanisque concinebant;" but 'per tibias' seems a possible expression.

si falsa annuerent] This depends on the idea conveyed by 'tormentorum' rather than the word itself: 'the force of torments, administered to see if they would confess what was false.' 'Si,' in the sense of 'to try whether,' is not uncommon. Cf. xii. 28, and the note on iv. 59, under 'si auderent.'

movetur . . . civilis discidii specie] 'She is removed (xiv. 32) under the guise of an ordinary divorce,' a divorce such as was commonly arranged amongst citizens. Below, 'his quamquam,' &c., is corrupt.

domumque Burri, praedia Plauti, infausta dona, accipit: mox in Campaniam pulsa est addita militari custodia. inde crebri questus nec occulti per vulgum, cui minor sapientia, ex mediocritate fortunae pauciora pericula sunt. his quamquam Nero paenitentia flagitii, coniugem revocavit Octaviam.

61. Exim laeti Capitolium scandunt deosque tandem venerantur. effigies Poppaeae proruunt, Octaviae imagines gestant umeris, spargunt floribus foroque ac templis statuunt. itur etiam in principis laudes repetitum venerantium. iamque et Palatium multitudine et clamoribus complebant, cum emissi militum globi verberibus et intento ferro turbatos disiecere. mutataque quae per seditionem verterant, et Poppaeae honos repositus est. quae semper odio, tum et metu atrox, ne aut vulgi acrior vis ingrueret aut Nero inclinatione populi mutaretur, provoluta genibus eius, non eo loci res suas agi, ut de matrimonio certet, quamquam id sibi vita potius, sed vitam ipsam in extremum adductam a clientelis et servitiis Octaviae, quae plebis sibi nomen indiderint, ea in pace ausi quae vix bello evenirent. arma illa adversus principem sumpta; ducem tantum defuisse, qui motis rebus facile reperiretur, omitteret modo Campaniam et in urbem ipsa pergeret, ad cuius nutum absentis tumultus cierentur. quod alioquin suum delictum? quam cuiusquam offensionem? an quia veram progeniem penatibus Caesarum datura sit, malle populum Romanum tibicinis Aegyptii subolem imperatorio fastigio induci? denique, si id rebus conducat, libens quam coactus acciret dominam, vel consuleret securitati iusta ultione. et modicis remediis primos motus consedisse: at si desperent uxorem Neronis fore Octaviam, illi maritum daturos.

62. Varius sermo et ad metum atque iram accommodatus ter-

61. *tandem*] There had been little enough of late to thank the gods for; every thing had been full of gloom and horrors: *now* the people thought something had occurred for which praise was to be offered to the gods.

repetitum venerantium] This may be correct possibly, I think. The genitive depends on 'laudes,' and 'repetitum' is a substantive (found in Nonius i. n. 325, according to Forcellini). 'There are raised praises of the Emperor on the part of those who hailed with worshipful delight the recall of Octavia.' 'Venerari' seems used for 'cum veneratione prosequi,' or something of the kind. Of course there is no difficulty in the double genitive after 'laudes.'

ausi] The masculine is used, although 'servitia' precedes, because this last is equivalent to 'servi.' So iv. 48, "Thraecum auxilia territa . . . tanto impensius caesi." Similarly H. i. 31, "Germanica vexilla diu nutavere . . . quod *eos* . . . praemissos . . . Galba refovebat."

quod alioquin suum delictum] 'What offence had she committed except in this matter of Octavia?' The people had no fault to find with Poppaea, beyond the fact that in their eyes she was the rival of Octavia; that was the head and front of her offending.

62. *ad metum atque iram*] 'To rouse Nero's alarm and anger.' Below, 'pa-

ruit simul audientem et accendit. sed parum valebat suspitio in servo et quaestionibus ancillarum elusa erat. ergo confessionem alicuius quaeri placet, cui rerum quoque novarum crimen affingeretur. et visus idoneus maternae necis patrator Anicetus, classi apud Misenum, ut memoravi, praefectus, levi post admissum scelus gratia, dein graviore odio, quia malorum facinorum ministri quasi exprobrantes aspiciuntur. igitur accitum eum Caesar operae prioris admonet: solum incolumitati principis adversus insidiantem matrem subvenisse; locum haud minoris gratiae instare, si coniugem infensam depelleret. nec manu aut telo opus: fateretur Octaviae adulterium. occulta quidem ad praesens sed magna ei praemia et secessus amoenos promittit, vel, si negavisset, necem intentat. ille insita vaecordia et facilitate priorum flagitiorum, plura etiam quam iussum erat fingit fateturque apud amicos, quos velut consilio adhibuerat princeps. tum in Sardiniam pellitur, ubi non inops exilium toleravit et fato obiit.

63. At Nero praefectum in spem sociandae classis corruptum, et incusatae paulo ante sterilitatis oblitus, abactos partus conscientia libidinum, eaque sibi comperta edicto memorat insulaque Pandataria Octaviam claudit. non alia exul visentium oculos maiore misericordia affecit. meminerant adhuc quidam Agrippinae a Tiberio, recentior Iuliae memoria obversabatur a Claudio pulsae: sed illis robur aetatis adfuerat; laeta aliqua viderant et praesentem saevitiam melioris olim fortunae recordatione adlevabant. huic primum nuptiarum dies loco funeris fuit, deductae in domum in qua nihil nisi luctuosum haberet, erepto per venenum patre et statim fratre; tum ancilla domina validior et Poppaea non nisi in perniciem uxoris nupta, postremo crimen omni exitio gravius.

64. Ac puella vicesimo aetatis anno inter centuriones et milites,

trator' occurs nowhere else, except once in Fl. Avienus.

63. *in spem sociandae classis*] Cf. H. iv. 42, "accusationem subisse iuvenis admodum nec depellendi periculi sed in spem potentiae videbatur;" Liv. xxi. 45, "praemia pronuntiat quorum in spem pugnarent." The sense is, 'corrupted, so that there might be a hope of uniting the fleet with them in their conspiracy against Nero.' The object of tampering with Anicetus was, that he in turn might tamper with the sailors. Octavia entertained hope of gaining over the fleet, and with a view to realize the hope Anicetus had been corrupted.

Pandataria] An island off the coast of Campania, in the bay of Puteoli. It was frequently in use as a place of banishment for members of the imperial family. Julia was banished thither by her father Augustus (i. 53), and Agrippina by Tiberius (Suet. Tib. 53). The 'Julia' mentioned below was the daughter of Germanicus (xii. 8; xiii. 42).

patre et statim fratre] That is, Claudius and Britannicus.

64. *vicesimo aetatis anno*] Octavia seems to have been older than Britannicus (Suet. Claud. 27). In the year A.D. 55 Britannicus was not quite fourteen (xiii. 15). In the year now reached

praesagio malorum iam vita exempta, nondum tamen morte adquiescebat. paucis dehinc interiectis diebus mori iubetur, cum iam viduam se et tantum sororem testaretur communesque Germanicos et postremo Agrippinae nomen cieret, qua incolumi infelix quidem matrimonium sed sine exitio pertulisset. restringitur vinclis venaeque eius per omnes artus exsolvuntur; et quia pressus pavore sanguis tardius labebatur, praefervidi balnei vapore enecatur. additurque atrocior saevitia, quod caput amputatum latumque in urbem Poppaea vidit. dona ob haec templis decreta quem ad finem memorabimus? quicumque casus temporum illorum nobis vel aliis auctoribus noscent, praesumptum habeant, quotiens fugas et caedes iussit princeps, totiens grates deis actas, quaeque rerum secundarum olim, tum publicae cladis insignia fuisse. neque tamen silebimus, si quod senatus consultum adulatione novum aut patientia postremum fuit.

65. Eodem anno libertorum potissimos veneno interfecisse creditus est, Doryphorum quasi adversatum nuptiis Poppaeae, Pallantem, quod inmensam pecuniam longa senecta detineret. Romanus secretis criminationibus incusaverat Senecam ut C. Pisonis socium, sed validius a Seneca eodem crimine perculsus est. unde Pisoni timor et orta insidiarum in Neronem magna moles et inprospera.

by Tacitus (A.D. 62) he would have been twenty-one. Tacitus is speaking in round numbers apparently.

vita exempta] Elsewhere Tacitus has the dative (cf. iv. 35; xii. 56; H. iii. 10). But he may have said 'vita eximi,' for other writers use the ablative with 'ex,' and Tacitus accordingly is likely to have written the ablative without the preposition (cf. iii. 28). Below, Octavia calls herself sister of Nero (tantum sororem testaretur) because Nero had been adopted by Claudius her father, and so became her brother by adoption.

communesque Germanicos] Drusus Germanicus was father of Claudius, and therefore grandfather of Octavia. He was also father of Germanicus, grandfather of Agrippina the younger, and greatgrandfather of Nero; and Germanicus was also, of course, uncle of Octavia.

quem ad finem] The phrase may have the same meaning as in xiv. 52; or here rather it is, 'to what purpose?' What was the use, Tacitus asks, of mentioning such incidents as those alluded to; they might be taken for granted.

65. *interfecisse creditus est*] So xiii. 30, "haud creditus sufficere;" vi. 34, "ariete credito vexisse Phryxum;" H. i. 78, "creditus est . . . agitavisse." For a different construction, cf. iv. 55, "Pergamenos . . . satis adeptos creditum."

detineret] If a freedman died possessed of above 100,000 sestertii, and had fewer than three children, the patronus, by the Lex Papia Poppaea, shared equally with the children. Nero was anxious to come into his property, and thought Pallas unreasonably dilatory. Below, for C. Piso, cf. xv. 48.

CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XV.

CONTENTS.

1. Interea rex Parthorum Vologeses cognitis Corbulonis rebus regemque alienigenam Tigranen Armeniae impositum, simul fratre Tiridate pulso spretum Arsacidarum fastigium ire ultum volens, magnitudine rursum Romana et continui foederis reverentia diversas ad curas trahebatur, cunctator ingenio et defectione Hyrcanorum, gentis validae, multisque ex eo bellis illigatus. atque illum ambiguum novus insuper nuntius contumeliae extimulat: quippe egressus Armenia Tigranes Adiabenos, conterminam nationem, latius ac diutius quam per latrocinia vastaverat, idque primores gentium aegre tolerabant: eo contemptionis descensum, ut ne duce quidem Romano incursarentur, sed temeritate obsidis tot per annos inter mancipia habiti. accendebat dolorem eorum Monobazus, quem penes Adiabenum regimen, quod praesidium aut unde peteret rogitans. iam de Armenia concessum, proxima trahi; et nisi defendant Parthi, levius servitium apud Romanos deditis quam captis esse. Tiridates quoque regni profugus per silentium aut modice querendo gravior erat: non enim ignavia magna imperia contineri; virorum armorumque faciendum certamen; id in summa fortuna aequius quod validius; et sua retinere privatae domus, de alienis certare regiam laudem esse.

2. Igitur commotus his Vologeses concilium vocat et proximum sibi Tiridaten constituit atque ita orditur: 'hunc ego eodem mecum patre genitum, cum mihi per aetatem summo nomine concessisset, in possessionem Armeniae deduxi, qui tertius potentiae gradus habetur: nam Medos Pacorus ante ceperat. videbarque contra vetera fratrum odia et certamina familiae nostrae penates rite composuisse. prohibent Romani et pacem numquam ipsis prospere lacessitam nunc quoque in exitium suum abrumpunt. non ibo infitias. aequitate quam sanguine, causa quam armis retinere parta maioribus malueram. si cunctatione deliqui, virtute

interea] The narrative is resumed from xiv. 26.

alienigenam] Cf. xiv. 26, where Tigranes is said to be of Cappadocian birth. The 'uninterrupted treaty' spoken of below seems to have begun under Phraates, who in the year 20 A.C. restored to Augustus the standards taken from Crassus. Below in 'proxima trahi' the verb has the same meaning as in iii. 74, "ne Cirtensium pagi impune traherentur," and H. ii. 61, "proximos Aeduorum vicos trahebat."

Monobazus] He was brother of Izates, king of the Adiabeni (xii. 13.), and son of an elder Monobazus, the predecessor of Izates on the throne (Joseph. Antiq. Jud. xx. 2). Below, for 'trahi,' cf. iii. 74, "ne Cirtensium pagi impune traherentur," and H. ii. 61, "pagos trahebat."

gravior erat] 'Produced a still greater effect' on his brother Vologeses.

2. *summo nomine*] Tiridates resigned to his brother, as senior in age, all claim to the Parthian throne: he retired from the loftiest title, that of king (summo nomine).

malueram] For the mood Nipperdey quotes Cic. ad Attic. ii. 19. 3, "equidem malueram silentio transire," and ad

corrigam. vestra quidem vis et gloria *in* integro est, addita modestiae fama, quae neque summis mortalium spernenda est et a dis aestimatur.' simul diademate caput Tiridatis evincxit; promptam equitum manum, quae regem ex more sectatur, Monesi nobili viro tradidit, adiectis Adiabenorum auxiliis, mandavitque Tigranen Armenia exturbare, dum ipse positis adversus Hyrcanos discordiis vires intimas molemque belli ciet, provinciis Romanis minitans.

3. Quae ubi Corbuloni certis nuntiis audita sunt, legiones duas cum Verulano Severo et Vettio Bolano subsidium Tigrani mittit, occulto praecepto, compositius cuncta quam festinantius agerent: quippe bellum habere quam gerere malebat. scripseratque Caesari proprio duce opus esse, qui Armeniam defenderet: Syriam ingruente Vologese acriore in discrimine esse. atque interim reliquas legiones pro ripa Euphratis locat, tumultuariam provincialium manum armat, hostiles ingressus praesidiis intercipit. et quia egena aquarum regio est, castella fontibus inposita; quosdam rivos congestu harenae abdidit.

4. Ea dum a Corbulone tuendae Syriae parantur, acto raptim agmine Moneses, ut famam sui praeiret, non ideo nescium aut incautum Tigranen offendit. occupaverat Tigranocertam, urbem copia defensorum et magnitudine moenium validam. ad hoc Nicephorius amnis haud spernenda latitudine partem murorum ambit et ducta ingens fossa, qua fluvio diffidebatur. inerantque milites et provisi ante commeatus, quorum subvectu pauci avidius

Famil. vii. 3. 6, "haec tecum coram malueram: sed quia longius fiebat, volui per litteras eadem." The explanation perhaps is that up to the moment of taking a different course he had felt a distinct preference for the one spoken of: the preference being anterior to the act eventually carried out, the pluperfect is naturally used: the preference being a positive fact, the indicative is adopted. Of course the subjunctive could also be employed, as in Suet. Vesp. 8, "maluissem allium aboluisses." For the words 'causa quam armis,' cf. xiii. 37, "quia causa quam vi agere mallent."

3. *Vettio Bolano*] M. Vettius Bolanus was consul suffectus in some year unknown, and in A.D. 69 and 70 legatus pro praetore of Britain (H. ii. 65, 97, Agric. 8, 16). Statius (Silv. v. 2, 142) gives him a great character: "vigiles speculas castellaque longe adspicis? ille dedit. Cernis adhuc titulos: hunc ipse vocantibus armis induit, hunc regi rapuit thoraca Britanno." Tacitus speaks differently of his military qualities: "eadem inertia erga hostes, similis petulantia castrorum nisi quod innocens Bolanus, et nullis delictis invisus, caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis."

bellum habere] Corbulo was not unwilling to have a war on hand, but had no great wish to be actively engaged in it. He enjoyed the sort of prestige connected with the command of troops in time of warfare, and that was all he cared for.

4. *tuendae Syriae parantur*] The dative of the gerundive after 'parare' is, I believe, found nowhere else. Below, for 'ambit,' cf. i. 68, "ut vallum armis ambirent:" and Germ. 1, "cetera Oceanus ambit."

inerantque milites] Cf. xiv. 26, "additum et praesidium mille legionarii

progressi et repentinis hostibus circumventi ira magis quam metu ceteros accenderant. sed Partho ad exsequendas obsidiones nulla comminus audacia: raris sagittis neque clausos exterret et semet frustratur. Adiabeni cum promovere scalas et machinamenta inciperent, facile detrusi, mox erumpentibus nostris caeduntur.

5. Corbulo tamen, quamvis secundis rebus suis, moderandum fortunae ratus misit ad Vologesen qui expostularent vim provinciae illatam: socium amicumque regem, cohortes Romanas circumsideri. omitteret potius obsidionem, aut se quoque in agro hostili castra positurum. Casperius centurio in eam legationem delectus apud oppidum Nisibin, septem et triginta milibus passuum a Tigranocerta distantem, adit regem et mandata ferociter edidit. Vologesi vetus et penitus infixum erat arma Romana vitandi, nec praesentia prospere fluebant. inritum obsidium, tutus manu et copiis Tigranes, fugati qui expugnationem sumpserant, missae in Armeniam legiones, et aliae pro Suria paratae ultro irrumpere; sibi inbecillum equitem pabuli inopia: nam exorta vis locustarum ambederat quicquid herbidum aut frondosum. igitur metu abstruso mitiora obtendens, missurum ad imperatorem Romanum legatos super petenda Armenia et firmanda pace respondet. Monesen omittere Tigranocertam iubet, ipse retro concedit.

6. Haec plures ut formidine regis et Corbulonis minis patrata ac magnifica extollebant: alii occulte pepigisse interpretabantur, ut omisso utrimque bello et abeunte Vologese Tigranes quoque Armenia abscederet. cur enim exercitum Romanum a Tigranocertis deductum? cur deserta per otium quae bello defenderant? an melius hibernavisse in extrema Cappadocia, raptim erectis tuguriis, quam in sede regni modo retenti? dilata prorsus arma, ut Vologeses cum alio quam cum Corbulone certaret, Corbulo meritae tot per annos gloriae non ultra periculum faceret. nam, ut rettuli, proprium ducem tuendae Armeniae poposcerat, et adventare Caesennius Paetus audiebatur. iamque aderat, copiis ita divisis, ut quarta et duodecuma legiones addita quinta, quae

tres sociorum cohortes, duaeque equitum alae."

5. *vitandi*] The genitive depends on 'vetus et penitus infixum' used substantively; 'an old established and resolutely determined policy of avoiding the Roman arms.' Cf. xiii. 26, "nec grave manumissis per idem obsequium retinendi libertatem." Below, 'manu et copiis' is "by soldiery and stores of all kinds." The town was proof against assault or blockade.

ambederat] This is a very rare word. It occurs only in the Digest, 41. 1. 38, "flumen agrum ambedit." The participle, however, is found in Virg. Aeneid. iii. 257., v. 752.

6. *quae defenderant*] For the indicative mood here in the oratio obliqua see the note on i. 10, under 'abstulerat.'

recens e Moesis excita erat, simul Pontica et Galatarum Cappadocumque auxilia Paeto oboedirent, tertia et sexta et decuma legiones priorque Syriae miles apud Corbulonem manerent; cetera ex rerum usu sociarent partirenturve. sed neque Corbulo aemuli patiens, et Paetus, cui satis ad gloriam erat, si proximus haberetur, despiciebat gesta, nihil caedis aut praedae, usurpatas nomine tenus urbium expugnationes dictitans. se tributa ac leges et pro umbra regis Romanum ius victis impositurum.

7. Sub idem tempus legati Vologesis, quos ad principem missos memoravi, revertere inriti, bellumque propalam sumptum a Parthis. nec Paetus detrectavit, sed duabus legionibus, quarum quartam Funisulanus Vettonianus eo in tempore, duodecumam Calavius Sabinus regebant, Armeniam intrat tristi omine. nam in transgressu Euphratis, quem ponte tramittebant, nulla palam causa turbatus equus, qui consularia insignia gestabat, retro evasit. hostiaque, quae muniebantur hibernaculis adsistens, semifacta opera fuga perrupit seque vallo extulit. et pila militum arsere, magis insigni prodigio, quia Parthus hostis missilibus telis decertat.

8. Ceterum Paetus spretis ominibus, necdum satis firmatis hibernaculis, nullo rei frumentariae provisu, rapit exercitum trans montem Taurum reciperandis, ut ferebat, Tigranocertis vastandisque regionibus, quas Corbulo integras omisisset. et capta quaedam castella, gloriaeque et praedae nonnihil partum, si aut gloriam cum modo aut praedam cum cura habuisset. longinquis itineribus percursando quae obtineri nequibant, corrupto qui captus erat

priorque Syriae miles] By this is meant apparently the auxiliary force in Syria, over and above the legionary troops. Below, for 'cui satis ad gloriam erat,' cf. i. 42, and the note there under 'erat.' Below, 'usurpatas nomine tenus,' &c., means that the stormings of cities existed only in name: the reality was absent: there was the bare capture, but no practical result in the way of plunder.

7. *Funisulanus Vettonianus*] He is mentioned in an inscription (Inscript. Lat. n. 5431, "L. Funisulano, L. f. Aniensi tribu), Vettoniano trib. mil. leg. vi. vict. quaestori provinciae Siciliae trib. pleb. praet. leg. leg. iiii. Scythic. praef. aerar. Saturni. curatori. viae. Aemiliae. cos. vii. vir. Epulonum. leg. pro pr. provinc. Delmatiae. item. provinc. Pannoniae. item. Moesiae Superioris. donato. bello Dacico coronis iiii. murali. vallari. classica. aurea. hastis. puris. iiii. vexillis iiii. patrono D.D." Below, for 'regebant' in the plural, cf. iii. 62, "quorum ille Antiocho hic Mithridates pulsis fidem atque virtutem Magnetum decoravere;" xii. 41, "Britannicus in praetexta, Nero triumphali veste travecti sunt."

consularia insignia] Lipsius quotes Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. x. 24 (speaking of L. Quinctius the dictator), ὡς δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦν ἵππους τε αὐτῷ φαλάροις κεκοσμημένους εὐπρέπεσι προσῆγον καὶ πελέκεις ἅμα ταῖς ῥάβδοις . . . ἐσθῆτάς τε ἁλουργεῖς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παράσημα, οἷς πρότερον ἡ τῶν βασιλέων ἐκεκόσμητο ἀρχὴ, προσήνεγκαν.

8. *percursando*] Cf. xiv. 31, "ex turbabant agris captivos servos appellando." The gerund is not, as Draeger says, equivalent to a present participle, but has its proper force: it was by means of this hasty traversing of the country, that he

commeatu et instante iam hieme, reduxit exercitum conposuitque ad Caesarem litteras quasi confecto bello, verbis magnificis, rerum vacuas.

9. Interim Corbulo numquam neglectam Euphratis ripam crebrioribus praesidiis insedit; et ne ponti iniciendo impedimentum hostiles turmae afferrent (iam enim subiectis campis magna specie volitabant), naves magnitudine praestantes et conexas trabibus ac turribus auctas agit per amnem catapultisque et balistis proturbat barbaros, in quos saxa et hastae longius permeabant, quam ut contrario sagittarum iactu adaequarentur. dein pons continuatus collesque adversi per socias cohortes, post legionum castris occupantur, tanta celeritate et ostentatione virium, ut Parthi omisso paratu invadendae Syriae spem omnem in Armeniam verterent, ubi Paetus imminentium nescius quintam legionem procul in Ponto habebat, reliquas promiscis militum commeatibus infirmaverat, donec adventare Vologesen magno et infenso agmine auditum.

10. Accitur legio duodecuma, et unde famam aucti exercitus speraverat, prodita infrequentia, qua tamen retineri castra et eludi Parthus tractu belli poterat, si Paeto aut in suis aut in alienis consiliis constantia fuisset: verum ubi a viris militaribus adversus urguentes casus firmatus erat, rursus, ne alienae sententiae indigens videretur, in diversa ac deteriora transibat. et tunc relictis hibernis non fossam neque vallum sibi, sed corpora et arma in hostem data clamitans, duxit legiones quasi proelio certaturus. deinde amisso centurione et paucis militibus, quos visendis hostium copiis praemiserat, trepidus remeavit. et quia minus acriter Vologeses institerat, vana rursus fiducia tria milia delecti peditis proximo Tauri iugo imposuit, quo transitum regis arcerent; alares quoque Pannonios, robur equitatus, in parte campi locat. coniux ac filius castello, cui Arsamosata nomen est, abditi, data in praesidium cohorte ac disperso milite, qui in uno habitus vagum hostem promptius sustentavisset. et aegre compulsum ferunt, ut

was able on the approach of winter to march his army back. A slower progress would have kept him too long. Below, for the genitive after 'vaccuus,' cf. Sall. Jug. 90, "frugum vaccuus." If Draeger is right, these are the only instances of this construction in prose writers.

9. *catapultisque et balistis*] The first of these machines hurled spears, especially the falarica and trifax; the latter stones. Below, 'commeatibus' is 'furloughs.' Cf. Liv. xxxiii. 29, "argentum in zonis habentes in commeatibus erant."

10. *relictis hibernis*] Paetus was at Randeia, on the river Arsanias (Dio lxii. 21), a tributary of the Euphrates (Plin. N. H. v. 20). Below, 'Arsamosata' or 'Armosata' was a town of Armenia Maior, close to the Euphrates (Pli. N. H. vi. 10).

instantem Corbuloni fateretur. nec a Corbulone properatum, quo gliscentibus periculis etiam subsidii laus augeretur. expediri tamen itineri singula milia ex tribus legionibus et alarios octingentos, parem numerum e cohortibus iussit.

11. At Vologeses, quamvis obsessa a Paeto itinera hinc peditatu inde equite accepisset, nihil mutato consilio, sed vi ac minis alares exterruit, legionarios obtrivit, uno tantum centurione Tarquitio Crescente turrim, in qua praesidium agitabat, defendere auso factaque saepius eruptione et caesis qui barbarorum propius suggrediebantur, donec ignium iactu circumveniretur. peditum si quis integer longinqua et avia, vulnerati castra repetivere, virtutem regis, saevitiam et copias gentium, cuncta metu extollentes, facili credulitate eorum qui eadem pavebant. ne dux quidem obniti adversis, sed cuncta militiae munia deseruerat, missis iterum ad Corbulonem precibus, veniret propere, signa et aquilas et nomen reliquum infelicis exercitus tueretur: se fidem interim, donec vita subpeditet, retenturos.

12. Ille interritus et parte copiarum apud Suriam relicta, ut munimenta Euphrati inposita retinerentur, qua proximum et commeatibus non egenum, regionem Commagenam, exim Cappadociam, inde Armenios petivit. comitabantur exercitum praeter alia sueta bello magna vis camelorum onusta frumenti, ut simul hostem famemque depelleret. primum e perculsis Paccium primi pili centurionem obvium habuit, dein plerosque militum; quos diversas fugae causas obtendentes redire ad signa et clementiam Paeti experiri monebat: se nisi victoribus immitem esse. simul suas legiones adire, hortari, priorum admonere, novam gloriam ostendere. non vicos aut oppida Armeniorum, sed castra Romana duasque in iis legiones pretium laboris peti. si singulis manipularibus praecipua servati civis corona imperatoria manu tribueretur, quod illud et quantum decus, ubi par eorum numerus aspiceretur,

instantem] Sc 'hostem' easily supplied from the preceding clause, or 'Vologesen,' from 'minus acriter Vologeses institerat.' Haase puts the marks of a lacunar between 'sustentavisset' and 'et aegre,' without any necessity I think.

parem numerum e cohortibus] Apparently three thousand (not only eight hundred). These soldiers of course are the auxiliary troops of the allies, not the legionary soldiers.

11. *sed vi ac minis*] The construction is virtually 'nihil mutato auxilio sed vi ac minis usus alares exterruit.' There is consequently not the slightest necessity for expunging 'sed.' Below, with 'longinqua et avia' supply 'petivere' from 'repetivere,' which only suits the second clause.

12. *qua proximum*] Sc. erat. Cf. H. iii. 16, "ut qua cuique proximum praelio occurreret."

onusta frumenti] The same construction occurs in Plautus, Aulul. iv. 2. 4, "audio aulam onustam auri:" but in v. 1. 2, "aulam onustam auro."

aspiceretur] 'When an equal number

qui adtulissent salutem et qui accepissent! his atque talibus in commune alacres (et erant quos pericula fratrum aut propinquorum propriis stimulis incenderent) continuum diu noctuque iter properabant.

13. Eoque intentius Vologeses premere obsessos, modo vallum legionum, modo castellum, quo inbellis aetas defendebatur, adpugnare, propius incedens quam mos Parthis, si ea temeritate hostem in proelium eliceret. at illi vix contuberniis extracti, nec aliud quam munimenta propugnabant, pars iussu ducis, et alii propria ignavia aut Corbulonem opperientes, ac vis *si* ingrueret, provisis exemplis *cladis* Caudinae Numantinaeque; *neque* eandem vim Samnitibus Italico populo aut Poenis, Romani imperii aemulis. validam quoque et laudatam antiquitatem, quotiens fortuna contra daret, saluti consuluisse. qua desperatione exercitus dux subactus primas tamen literas ad Vologesen non supplices, sed in modum querentis composuit, quod pro Armeniis semper Romanae dicionis aut subiectis regi, quem imperator delegisset, hostilia faceret: pacem ex aequo utilem; ne praesentia tantum spectaret. ipsum adversus duas legiones totis regni viribus advenisse: at Romanis orbem terrarum reliquum, quo bellum iuvarent.

14. Ad ea Vologeses nihil pro causa, sed opperiendos sibi fratres Pacorum ac Tiridaten rescribsit, illum locum tempusque consilio destinatum, quid de Armenia cernerent; adiecisse deos

gained it, an equality I mean to say, in the numbers of those who brought deliverance and those who received it.' The sentence is quite intelligible, although the exact expression is inaccurate, for those who were rescued formed no part really of those who would obtain the crown for delivering their comrades from danger. Below, 'diu noctuque' occurs, H. ii. 5. So Sallust (Jug. 38. 44). In H. iii. 76, "noctu dieque" occurs.

13. *si eliceret*] For this form of 'si,' 'to see if,' cf. i. 48. Below in 'munimenta propugnabant,' the accusative is unusual. But cf. xiii. 31, "quae libidine deliquerant ambitu propugnant." Suet. C. Julius Caesar, 23, "propugnaturos absentiam suam."

cladis Caudinae Numantinaeque] This is an emendation for the reading of the Cod. Med. "caudi nenu antineque." The reference of course is to the disaster at the Caudine Forks, 321 A.C., and to the treaty of Numantia, 137 A.C., which the Senate refused to ratify.

aut Poenis] As 'Samnitibus' refers to 'cladis Caudinae,' it is clear that 'Poenis' must, if correct, refer to 'cladis Numantinae.' Walther suggests, and I think with some reason, that the Numantine war was a sort of offshoot from the struggle with Carthage, and is viewed as forming an episode in the Punic war, or rather a concluding piece winding up the performance. Below, for 'contra daret,' cf. H. i. 65, "si fortuna contra daret."

14. *illum locum*] Wherever and whenever Vologeses and his brothers were together, there and then would be the proper place and time for coming to some decision about Armenia. 'Cernere' here is for 'decernere,' an archaistic and poetical use of the word. Cf. Cic de Leg. iii. 3. "quodcumque senatus creverit agunto;" and Virg. xii. 109. Below, 'dignum' is constructed substantively like "vetus ac penitus infixum" in xv. 5, 'grave, lubricum,' &c. Cf. Cic. ad Attic. viii. 15. "Suscipe curam et cogitationem dignissimam virtutis tuae."

dignum Arsacidarum, simul ut de legionibus Romanis statuerent. missi posthac Paeto nuntii et regis colloquium petitum, qui Vasacen praefectum equitatus ire iussit. tum Paetus Lucullos, Pompeios et si qua Caesares optinendae donandaeve Armeniae egerant, Vasaces imaginem retinendi largiendive penes nos, vim penes Parthos memorat. et multum in vicem disceptato, Monobazus Adiabenus in diem posterum testis iis quae pepigissent adhibetur. placuitque liberari obsidio legiones et decedere omnem militem finibus Armeniorum castellaque et commeatus Parthis tradi, quibus perpetratis copia Vologesi fieret mittendi ad Neronem legatos.

15. Interim flumini Arsaniae (is castra praefluebat) pontem imposuit, specie sibi illud iter expedientis, sed Parthi quasi documentum victoriae iusserant; namque iis usui fuit, nostri per diversum iere. addidit rumor sub iugum missas legiones et alia ex rebus infaustis, quorum simulacrum ab Armeniis usurpatum est. namque et munimenta ingressi sunt, antequam agmen Romanum excederet, et circumstetere vias, captiva olim mancipia aut iumenta adgnoscentes abstrahentesque. raptae etiam vestes, retenta arma, pavido milite et concedente, ne qua proelii causa existeret. Vologeses armis et corporibus caesorum aggeratis, quo cladem nostram testaretur, visu fugientium legionum abstinuit. fama moderationis quaerebatur, postquam superbiam expleverat. flumen Arsaniam elephanto insidens, proximus quisque regem vi equorum perrupere, quia rumor incesserat pontem cessurum oneri dolo fabricantium: sed qui ingredi ausi sunt, validum et fidum intellexere.

16. Ceterum obsessis adeo suppeditavisse rem frumentariam constitit, ut horreis ignem inicerent, contraque prodiderit Corbulo

Lucullos, &c.] Cf. Liv. Epit. 98, "L. Lucullus in Armenia Mithridatem, et Tigranem . . . fudit" (69 A.C.), and Epit. 101, "Cn. Pompeius Tigranem in deditionem accepit eique ademptis Syria Phoenice Cilicia regnum Armeniae restituit" (66 A.C.). What the Caesars had done will be seen from ii. 3, vi. 31, xi. 8, xii. 44, &c.

15. *praefluebat*] The accusative with this verb occurs only in Horace iv. 14. 26, and the elder Pliny, N. H. iii. 16. The Arsanias was an affluent of the Euphrates (Plin. v. 20, vi. 31). It is supposed to be the modern Arsen. For the passage cf. Dion Cass. lxii. 21, *ὁ Πάρθος ἀφῆκεν αὐτοὺς προδιομολησάμενος ἵνα τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτῷ Ἀρσανίαν ζεύξωσιν . . . ἵνα, ἐνδείξηται σφίσιν ὅτι κρείττων αὐτῶν ἦν.*

quorum simulacrum] 'A very near resemblance to which.' The Romans were not actually sent under the yoke: they were spared that indignity; but there was a very near approach to it: they underwent indignities almost as humiliating; and these are detailed in the following clauses.

proximus quisque regem] Cf. Liv. viii. 32, "qui proximi tribunal forte steterant." 'Prope' is used in the same construction, Plaut. Bacch. v. 1. 18, "prope me nescio quis loquitur."

16. *prodiderit Corbulo*] In his writings, (as the tense shows). Pliny refers to his memoirs, in the list of authors consulted for the 5th and 6th books of his Natural

Parthos inopes copiarum et pabulo attrito relicturos oppugnationem, neque se plus tridui itinere afuisse. adicit iure iurando Paeti cautum apud signa, adstantibus iis quos testificando rex misisset, neminem Romanum Armeniam ingressurum, donec referrentur litterae Neronis, an paci annueret. quae ut augendae infamiae composita, sic reliqua non in obscuro habentur, una die quadraginta milium spatium emensum esse Paetum, desertis passim sauciis, neque minus deformem illam fugientium trepidationem quam si terga in acie vertissent. Corbulo cum suis copiis aput ripam Euphratis obvius non eam speciem insignium et armorum praetulit, ut diversitatem exprobraret. maesti manipuli ac vicem commilitonum miserantes ne lacrimis quidem temperare; vix prae fletu usurpata consalutatio. decesserat certamen virtutis et ambitio gloriae felicium hominum affectus: sola misericordia valebat, et apud minores magis.

17. Ducum inter se brevis sermo secutus est, hoc conquerente iam inritum laborem, potuisse bellum fuga Parthorum finiri: ille integra utrique cuncta respondit: converterent aquilas et iuncti invaderent Armeniam abscessu Vologesis infirmatam. non ea imperatoris habere mandata Corbulo: periculo legionum commotum e provincia egressum; quando in incerto habeantur Parthorum conatus, Suriam repetiturum: sic quoque optimam Fortunam orandam, ut pedes confectus spatiis itinerum alacrem et facilitate camporum praevenientem equitem adsequeretur. exin Paetus per Cappadociam hibernavit: at Vologesis ad Corbulonem missi nuntii, detraheret castella trans Euphraten amnemque, ut olim, medium faceret. ille Armeniam quoque diversis praesidiis vacuam

History, and in v. 20, in his account of the Euphrates.

pabulo attrito] 'With their fodder almost exhausted.' Cf. H. i. 10, "attritis opibus;" and H. ii. 56, "attritis Italiae rebus." For the ellipse of 'fuisse' with 'relicturos' see ii. 73, and the note there under 'adsecuturum.' Below, for the reason why the oath was taken 'apud signa,' cf. i. 39.

apud minores] This seems contrasted with 'ducum,' immediately following, and means consequently 'the soldiers of lower rank.' In xv. 20, 'minorum' is similarly employed, "praevalidi provincialium et opibus nimiis ad iniurias minorum elati."

17. *equitem*] The cavalry, I think, of the Parthians. Corbulo was afraid that even if he started at once (sic quoque) his weary legions would scarcely be able to reach Syria in time to check the Parthian cavalry (in case they invaded Syria). He speaks of the march of the two armies as a kind of race, each being anxious to get into Syria, by different routes, before the other. Others take 'equitem' to be the cavalry of Corbulo: but I do not see why Corbulo's horsemen might not have been restrained to keep pace with his infantry then as well as at any other time.

diversis praesidiis] 'Hostile garrisons,' 'garrisons of the opposite party,' i. e. of Tiridates and his supporters against Tigranes. Cf. Juv. xiii. 136, "Si decies laetis diversa parte tabellis;" Suet. Jul. 29, "consules e parte diversa." So

fieri expostulabat. et postremo concessit rex; dirutaque quae Euphraten ultra communiverat Corbulo, et Armenii sine arbitro relicti sunt.

18. At Romae tropaea de Parthis arcusque medio Capitolini montis sistebantur, decreta ab senatu integro adhuc bello neque tum omissa, dum aspectui consulitur spreta conscientia. quin et dissimulandis rerum externarum curis Nero frumentum plebis vetustate corruptum in Tiberim iecit, quo securitatem annonae sustentaret. cuius pretio nihil additum est, quamvis ducentas ferme naves portu in ipso violentia tempestatis et centum alias Tiberi subvectas fortuitus ignis absumpsisset. tris dein consulares, L. Pisonem, Ducenium Geminum, Pompeium Paulinum vectigalibus publicis praeposuit, cum insectatione priorum principum, qui gravitate sumptuum iustos reditus anteissent: se annuum sexcenties sestertium rei publicae largiri.

19. Percrebuerat ea tempestate pravissimus mos, cum propinquis comitiis aut sorte provinciarum plerique orbi fictis adoptionibus adsciscerent filios, praeturasque et provincias inter patres sortiti statim emitterent manu quos adoptaverant. magna cum invidia senatum adeunt, ius naturae, labores educandi adversus fraudem et artes et brevitatem adoptionis enumerant. satis pretii esse orbis quod multa securitate, nullis oneribus gratiam honores cuncta prompta et obvia haberent. sibi promissa legum diu exspectata in ludibrium verti, quando quis sine sollicitudine parens, sine luctu orbus longa patrum vota repente adaequaret. factum

Tacitus uses 'ex diverso' H. ii. 75, and ii. 5 and 73. Below, 'sine arbitro' is 'without any one to interfere with them.' Cf. xvi. 11, "mortem sine arbitro permittens;" and Cic. de Off. iii. 31, "remotis arbitris ad se adulescentem iussit venire."

18. *securitatem annonae sustentaret*] 'Keep up an easy feeling with reference to the corn market.' Nero threw away a quantity of spoilt wheat, in order to make the lower orders suppose that there must be abundance, if he threw away so much.

portu in ipso] Sc. 'Ostia.' Below, 'qui gravitate,' &c., is 'who by the extravagance of their expenditure had outstripped the regular income of the State.'

L. Pisonem] Cf. xiii. 28. 'Ducenius Geminus was praefectus urbi under Galba (H. i. 14), and must have been consul suffectus in some year unknown. For Pompeius Paulinus, cf. xiii. 53. He too was consul suffectus.

19. *pravissimus mos*] In this way the object of the Lex Papia Poppaea was eluded; a law which directed the claims of candidates to be weighed to some extent by the number of children they had. Of course below 'inter patres' is 'amongst those who were really fathers.' This is clearly the sense from the next words 'senatum adeunt,' and from 'longa patrum vota' farther on.

emitterent manu] 'Released them' from the 'patria potestas,' by 'emancipatio,' an act involving a triple sale of the son by the father, and a double manumission by the purchaser; a fourth sale to the parent, and a final manumission by him. See Dr. Smith's Dict. of Antiquities, under 'Emancipatio.' Below, for 'magna cum invidia,' cf. iv. 53.

ex eo senatus consultum, ne simulata adoptio in ulla parte muneris publici iuvaret ac ne usurpandis quidem hereditatibus prodesset.

20. Exim Claudius Timarchus Cretensis reus agitur ceteris criminibus, ut solent praevalidi provincialium et opibus nimiis ad iniurias minorum elati: una vox eius usque ad contumeliam senatus penetraverat, quod dictitasset in sua potestate situm, an pro consulibus qui Cretam obtinuissent grates agerentur. quam occasionem Paetus Thrasea ad bonum publicum vertens, postquam de reo censuerat provincia Creta depellendum, haec addidit: 'usu probatum est, patres conscripti, leges egregias, exempla honesta apud bonos ex delictis aliorum gigni. sic oratorum licentia Cinciam rogationem, candidatorum ambitus Iulias leges, magistratuum avaritia Calpurnia scita pepererunt; nam culpa quam poena tempore prior, emendari quam peccare posterius est. ergo adversus novam provincialium superbiam dignum fide constantiaque Romana capiamus consilium, quo tutelae sociorum nihil derogetur, nobis opinio decedat, qualis quisque habeatur, alibi quam in civium iudicio esse.

21. Olim quidem non modo praetor aut consul sed privati etiam mittebantur, qui provincias viserent et quid de cuiusque obsequio videretur referrent, trepidabantque gentes de aestimatione singulorum: at nunc colimus externos et adulamur, et quo modo ad nutum alicuius grates, ita promptius accusatio decernitur. decernaturque et maneat provincialibus potentiam suam tali modo ostentandi: sed laus falsa et precibus expressa perinde cohibeatur

20. *penetraverat*] 'Had gone so far as to insult the Senate.' The expressions used by Timarchus are spoken of as so many arrows or shafts, and one of them had struck so deep as to fix a stigma on the Senate.

rogationem] Tacitus does not use 'rogatio' here in its distinctive sense, as in any way distinguished from 'lex,' or 'scitum.' Properly 'rogatio' was any measure proposed to a body possessed of legislative authority, and was therefore an incipient 'lex' or 'plebiscitum,' as the case might be. As a matter of fact the 'Cincia rogatio' (xi. 5) was really a 'plebiscitum,' a law passed A.C. 204 in the comitia tributa, on the rogation of a Tribunus, M. Cincius Alimentus. The Juliae Leges embraced a lex de ambitu, passed in the time of Augustus (Suet. August. 34). The Lex Calpurnia de repetundis was a 'scitum,' being proposed by L. Calpurnius Piso, 149 A.C., a Tribunus plebis. Although Tacitus says 'scita,' there was only one.

21. *singulorum*] These are either individual Romans who after travelling with a libera legatio, reported at home the condition of the provinces, or persons sent on special missions to bring home such reports. The genitive is a subjective one: 'the report given by individuals.'

ostentandi] The genitive seems to me unintelligible. Tacitus uses a genitive after adjectives put substantively, as in xiii. 26, and elsewhere. See note on xv. 5, and also note on ii. 43, under 'insectandi.' But there is nothing of the kind here. I believe some word to have dropped out. The reading of the Cod.

quam malitia, quam crudelitas. plura saepe peccantur dum demeremur quam dum offendimus. quaedam immo virtutes odio sunt, severitas obstinata, invictus adversum gratiam animus. inde initia magistratuum nostrorum meliora ferme et finis inclinat, dum in modum candidatorum suffragia conquirimus; quae si arceantur, aequabilius atque constantius provinciae regentur. nam ut metu repetundarum infracta avaritia est, ita vetita gratiarum actione ambitio cohibetur.'

22. Magno adsensu celebrata sententia, non tamen senatus consultum perfici potuit, abnuentibus consulibus ea de re relatum. mox auctore principe sanxere, ne quis ad concilium sociorum referret agendas apud senatum pro praetoribus prove consulibus grates, neu quis ea legatione fungeretur.

Isdem consulibus gymnasium ictu fulminis conflagravit, effigiesque in eo Neronis ad informe aes liquefacta. et motu terrae celebre Campaniae oppidum Pompei magna ex parte proruit. defunctaque virgo Vestalis Laelia, in cuius locum Cornelia ex familia Cossorum capta est.

23. Memmio Regulo et Verginio Rufo consulibus natam sibi ex Poppaea filiam Nero ultra mortale gaudium accepit appellavitque Augustam, dato et Poppaeae eodem cognomento. locus puerperio colonia Antium fuit, ubi ipse generatus erat. iam senatus uterum Poppaeae commendaverat dis votaque publice susceperat, quae multiplicata exsolutaque. et additae supplicationes templumque Fecunditati et certamen ad exemplar Actiacae religionis

Med. is 'optentandi,' one inaccuracy at all events.

22. *ea de re relatum*] Tacitus uses a substantive, 'relatus,' in Germ. 3, "carmina quorum relatu," and H. i. 30, "neque enim virtutum relatu in comparatione Othonis opus est;" both times in the ablative case. But it does not follow that he would therefore use an accusative of the same word. I believe the construction is, 'de ea re relatum esse' (a verb). Cf. iii. 34, "plures obturbabant neque relatum de negotio neque Caecinam dignum tantae rei censorem."

propraetoribus] That is, 'legati pro praetore,' as distinguished from the 'proconsules' of the senatorial provinces. Below, for 'capta est,' cf. ii. 86.

oppidum Pompei] Tacitus does not agree with Seneca in the date of this event. Seneca (Nat. Quaest. vi. 1) puts it in the following year, "Pompeios celebrem Campaniae urbem . . . consedisse terrae motu . . . audivimus. Nonis Februariis hic fuit motus Regulo et Verginio consulibus."

23. *Memmio Regulo*] C. Memmius Regulus, son, no doubt, of the P. Memmius Regulus, consul suffectus A.D. 31 (v. 11). L. Verginius Rufus was again apparently consul suffectus A.D. 69, and A.D. 97, in which year he died (Plin. Epist. ii. 1).

generatus erat] 'Was born :' a solitary instance according to Draeger. For the vows mentioned in the next sentence, cf. Fr. Arv. tab. xvii. b. xii. k. Februar. "(in capi)tolio vota soluta quae suscepe(rant pr)o partu et incolumitate Poppaeae."

Actiacae religionis] Cf. Suet. Aug. 18, "quoque Actiacae victoriae memoria celebratior et in posterum esset urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit, ludosque illic quinquennales constituit." What these games were Dion Cass. tells

decretum, utque Fortunarum effigies aureae in solio Capitolini Iovis locarentur, ludicrum circense ut Iuliae genti apud Bovillas, ita Claudiae Domitiaeque apud Antium ederetur. quae fluxa fuere, quartum intra mensem defuncta infante. rursusque exortae adulationes censentium honorem divae et pulvinar aedemque et sacerdotem. atque ipse ut laetitiae, ita maeroris inmodicus egit. adnotatum est, omni senatu Antium sub recentem partum effuso, Thraseam prohibitum inmoto animo praenuntiam imminentis caedis contumeliam excepisse. secutam dehinc vocem Caesaris ferunt, qua reconciliatum se Thraseae apud Senecam iactaverit, ac Senecam Caesari gratulatum: unde gloria egregiis viris et pericula gliscebant.

24. Inter quae veris principio legati Parthorum mandata regis Vologesis litterasque in eandem formam attulere: se priora et totiens iactata super optinenda Armenia nunc omittere, quoniam di, quamvis potentium populorum arbitri, possessionem Parthis non sine ignominia Romana tradidissent. nuper clausum Tigranen; post Paetum legionesque cum opprimere posset, incolumes dimisisse. satis adprobatam vim; datum et lenitatis experimentum. nec recusaturum Tiridaten accipiendo diademati in urbem venire, nisi sacerdotii religione attineretur. iturum ad signa et effigies principis, ubi legionibus coram regnum auspicaretur.

25. Talibus Vologesis litteris, quia Paetus diversa tamquam rebus integris scribebat, interrogatus centurio, qui cum legatis advenerat, quo in statu Armenia esset, omnes inde Romanos excessisse respondit. tum intellecto barbarorum inrisu qui peterent quod eripuerant, consuluit inter primores civitatis Nero, bellum anceps an pax inhonesta placeret. nec dubitatum de bello. et Corbulo militum atque hostium tot per annos gnarus gerendae rei praeficitur, ne cuius alterius inscitia rursum peccaretur, quia Paeti piguerat. igitur inriti remittuntur, cum donis tamen,

us (li. 1), ἀγῶνά τέ τινα καὶ μουσικὸν καὶ γυμνικὸν ἱπποδρομίας τε πεντετηρικὸν ἱερὸν κατέδειξεν Ἄκτια αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσας.

apud Bovillas] Cf. ii. 41, "sacrarium genti Iuliae effigiesque divo Augusto aput Bovillas dicantur."

24. *quamvis potentium*] 'No matter how powerful.' For 'quamvis' in this sense (equivalent to 'quantumvis'), cf. xvi. 16, "quamvis honestos civium exitus;" and H. i. 26, "consilii quamvis egregii . . . inimicus."

effigies principis] These were placed near the standards in the camp. Cf. iv. 2, H. ii. 29. Compare Suet. Tib. 48, "solae nullam Seiani imaginem inter signa coluissent."

25. *cuius alterius*] 'Of any second person.' Paetus and his successor being regarded as a pair, in which case 'alter,' not 'alius,' is naturally used. Nipperdey quotes Agric. v., "quae cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur;" Suet. Nero, 24. "ne cuius alterius hieronicarum memoria aut vestigium extaret usquam;" H. ii. 90, "tamquam apud alterius civitatis senatum populumque."

unde spes fieret non frustra eadem oraturum Tiridaten, si preces ipse attulisset. Syriaeque exsecutio Cestio, copiae militares Corbuloni permissae et quinta decuma legio ducente Mario Celso e Pannonia adiecta est. scribitur tetrarchis ac regibus praefectisque et procuratoribus et qui praetorum finitimas provincias regebant, iussis Corbulonis obsequi, in tantum ferme modum aucta potestate, quem populus Romanus Cn. Pompeio bellum piraticum gesturo dederat. regressum Paetum, cum graviora metueret, facetiis insectari satis habuit Caesar, his ferme verbis: ignoscere se statim, ne tam promptus in pavorem longiore sollicitudine aegresceret.

26. At Corbulo quarta et duodecuma legionibus, quae fortissimo quoque amisso et ceteris exterritis parum habiles proelio videbantur, in Syriam translatis, sextam inde ac tertiam legiones, integrum militem et crebris ac prosperis laboribus exercitum, in Armeniam ducit. addiditque legionem quintam, quae per Pontum agens expers cladis fuerat, simul quintadecumanos recens adductos et vexilla delectorum ex Illyrico et Aegypto, quodque alarum cohortiumque, et auxilia regum in unum conducta apud Melitenen, qua tramittere Euphraten parabat. tum lustratum rite exercitum ad contionem vocat orditurque magnifica de auspiciis imperatoris rebusque a se gestis, adversa in inscitiam Paeti declinans, multa auctoritate, quae viro militari pro facundia erat.

27. Mox iter L. Lucullo quondam penetratum, apertis quae

Syriaeque exsecutio] Cf. i. 11, "plures facilius munia rei publicae sociatis laboribus exsecuturos." The expression seems only a brief one for 'Syriaeque administrandae munerum exsecutio.' 'Cestius' is an emendation for 'citio,' of the Cod. Med. Cestius Gallus was legatus pro praetore of Syria at the outbreak of the Jewish war.

praefectisque] These are the commanders of the allied 'cohortes' (H. v. 10) and 'alae' (xv. 26), "quodque alarum cohortiumque." The 'procuratores' are not those of the 'rei privatae' of Nero, but the governors of the lesser provinces, Cappadocia for instance (xii. 49).

et qui praetorum] These, I suppose, would be legati pro praetore of imperial provinces, such as Cilicia, Galatia; and the proconsular governors of senatorial provinces, such as Bithynia, who had been praetors before their appointment. The words—except for geographical reasons—might include all governors, except those of Asia and Africa, who were always 'consulares.' Cf. i. 74, and the note there.

quem . . . dederat] The expression is a little curious: 'increasing his power to about the same limit which the Roman people had assigned to Pompeius,' giving Corbulo as great powers as had been given to Pompeius.

26. *vexilla delectorum*] See note on i. 17, for an explanation of this. Below, for 'auxilia regum,' cf. xiii. 7.

declinans] Orelli quotes Sall. Hist. ii. Fr. 37, "ad hoc rumoribus adversa in pravitatem, secunda in casum, fortunam in temeritatem declinando corrumpebant." The sense is the same as in xiv. 38, "adversa pravitati prospera ad fortunam referebat."

27. *L. Lucullo*] In the Mithridatic war. Cf. Plutarch, Lucullus, 24, &c. 'Penetrare iter' is only found here. The accusative is a cognate one, after

vetustas obsaepserat, pergit. et venientes Tiridatis Vologesisque de pace legatos haud aspernatus, adiungit iis centuriones cum mandatis non inmitibus : nec enim adhuc eo ventum, ut certamine extremo opus esset. multa Romanis secunda, quaedam Parthis evenisse, documento adversus superbiam. proinde et Tiridati conducere intactum vastationibus regnum dono accipere, et Vologesen melius societate Romana quam damnis mutuis genti Parthorum consulturum. scire quantum intus discordiarum quamque indomitas et praeferoces nationes regeret: contra imperatori suo immotam ubique pacem et unum id bellum esse. simul consilio terrorem adicere, et megistanas Armenios, qui primi a nobis defecerant, pellit sedibus, castella eorum excindit, plana edita, validos invalidosque pari metu complet.

28. Non infensum nec cum hostili odio Corbulonis nomen etiam barbaris habebatur, eoque consilium eius fidum credebant. ergo Vologeses neque atrox in summam, et quibusdam praefecturis indutias petit: Tiridates locum diemque colloquio poscit. tempus propinquum, locus, in quo nuper obsessae cum Paeto legiones erant, barbaris delectus est ob memoriam laetioris sibi rei, Corbuloni non vitatus, ut dissimilitudo fortunae gloriam augeret. neque infamia Paeti angebatur, quod eo maxime patuit, quia filio eius tribuno ducere manipulos atque operire reliquias malae pugnae imperavit. die pacta Tiberius Alexander, inlustris eques Romanus, minister bello datus, et Vinicianus Annius, gener Cor-

the model of 'pergere iter, ire viam,' &c.

pellit sedibus] Tacitus often joins the historic infinitive with a finite verb. See note on ii. 4, under 'ubi minitari.' This transition seems found sometimes when a general statement is first made, and the items which form it are then subjoined. Here Corbulo adopted a general policy of intimidation, and the steps in it are then detailed. So H. iii. 10, "ubi crudescere seditio,"—a general statement,—and then "et a conviciis ad tela transibant,"—the specific incident in the process. Elsewhere the infinitive expresses something which is capable of being viewed as consisting of successive acts: the finite verb follows when this is no longer the case. So ii. 4, "ubi minitari Artabanus et parum subsidii in Armeniis erat." Cf. iii. 26. I confess xii. 51, seems to fall under neither head quite satisfactorily. Perhaps the sense is, that Agrippina's body was generally shaken, and an item in the distress was a palpitation of the heart, &c.

28. *atrox in summam*] Cf. H. ii. 16, "Corsicam prope adflixit Decumi Pacarii temeritas tanta mole belli nihil in summam profutura ipsi exitiosa." So xiii. 38, "nihil in summam pacis proficiebatur." The sense is, that Vologeses did not give a surly answer with reference to the whole question at issue.

Tiberius Alexander] A Jew, procurator of Judaea after Cuspius Fadus (Joseph. Ant. Jud. xx. 5). He was praefect of Egypt 69 A.D. (H. i. 11). For 'inlustris eques Romanus,' cf. ii. 59.

Vinicianus Annius] So Rycke for the Vinianus Annius of the MS. He was probably the son of M. Annius Vinicianus (vi. 9), and brother of Annius Pollio (xv. 56, 71). He was sent to Rome under pretence of escorting Tiridates, but really as a hostage to Nero for his father-in-law's conduct (Dio. lxii. 23).

bulonis, nondum senatoria aetate sed pro legato quintae legioni inpositus, in castra Tiridatis venere, honore eius ac ne metueret insidias tali pignore; viceni dehinc equites adsumpti. et viso Corbulone rex prior equo desiluit; nec cunctatus Corbulo, sed pedes uterque dexteras miscuere.

29. Exin Romanus laudat iuvenem omissis praecipitibus tuta et salutaria capessentem. ille de nobilitate generis multum praefatus, cetera temperanter adiungit: iturum quippe Romam laturumque novum Caesari decus, non adversis Parthorum rebus supplicem Arsaciden. tum placuit Tiridaten ponere apud effigiem Caesaris insigne regium nec nisi manu Neronis resumere; et colloquium osculo finitum. dein paucis diebus interiectis, magna utrimque specie, inde eques compositus per turmas et insignibus patriis, hinc agmina legionum stetere fulgentibus aquilis signisque et simulacris deum in modum templi: medio tribunal sedem curulem et sedes effigiem Neronis sustinebat. ad quam progressus Tiridates, caesis ex more victimis, sublatum capiti diadema imagini subiecit, magnis apud cunctos animorum motibus, quos augebat insita adhuc oculis exercituum Romanorum caedes aut obsidio. at nunc versos casus: iturum Tiridaten ostentui gentibus, quanto minus quam captivum?

30. Addidit gloriae Corbulo comitatem epulasque; et rogitante rege causas, quotiens novum aliquit adverterat, ut initia vigiliarum per centurionem nuntiari, convivium bucina dimitti et structam ante augurale aram subdita face accendi, cuncta in maius attollens admiratione prisci moris affecit. postero die spatium oravit, quo tantum itineris aditurus fratres ante matremque viseret: obsidem interea filiam tradit litterasque supplices ad Neronem.

31. Et digressus Pacorum apud Medos, Vologesen Ecbatanis repperit, non incuriosum fratris: quippe et propriis nuntiis a Corbulone petierat, ne quam imaginem servitii Tiridates perferret neu

Augustus fixed the senatorial age at 25 (Dio lii. 20).

29. *insignibus*] For the case, cf. iii. 24. Below, 'capiti' is the reading of the MS., for which the editors have printed 'capite,' on the ground that the dative after 'sublatum' could only be used of some person; but I think it may be right, after the analogy of "parto iam decori abstrahi" (ii. 26), and "extractum custodiae iuvenem" (vi. 23).

30. *affecit*] The subject of course is Corbulo, and 'regem' is understood from 'rogitante rege' at the beginning of the sentence. The object of the altar here spoken of was, I suppose, as Lipsius says, to receive the offerings made to the gods at the beginning of the feast. See his note on the passage. For 'augurale,' cf. ii. 13.

31. *Ecbatanis*] A city of southern Media, near the Orontes range. The genuine form is probably Agbatana. The name is derived by Bochart from 'agbatha,' 'many coloured' (cf. Herod. i. 98, where he speaks of the colours of the seven ramparts). Others connect it with 'achmetha,' and through the He-

ferrum traderet aut complexu provincias optinentium arceretur foribusve eorum adsisteret, tantusque ei Romae quantus consulibus honor esset. scilicet externae superbiae sueto non inerat notitia nostri, apud quos vis imperii valet, inania tramittuntur.

32. Eodem anno Caesar nationes Alpium maritimarum in ius Latii transtulit. equitum Romanorum locos sedilibus plebis anteposuit apud circum; namque ad eam diem indiscreti inibant, quia lex Roscia nihil nisi de quattuordecim ordinibus sancxit. spectacula gladiatorum idem annus habuit pari magnificentia ac priora: sed feminarum illustrium senatorumque plures per arenam foedati sunt.

33. C. Laecanio M. Licinio consulibus acriore in dies cupidine adigebatur Nero promiscuas scaenas frequentandi. nam adhuc per domum aut hortos cecinerat Iuvenalibus ludis, quos ut parum celebres et tantae voci angustos spernebat. non tamen Romae incipere ausus Neapolim quasi Graecam urbem delegit: inde initium fore, ut transgressus in Achaiam insignesque et antiquitus sacras coronas adeptus maiore fama studia civium eliceret. ergo contractum oppidanorum volgus, et quos e proximis coloniis et municipiis eius rei fama acciverat, quique Caesarem per honorem aut varios usus sectantur, etiam militum manipuli, theatrum Neapolitanorum complent.

34. Illic, plerique ut arbitrabantur, triste, ut ipse, providum potius et secundis numinibus evenit: nam egresso qui adfuerat

brew make it to be 'a collection of dwellings.' Others suppose it to mean 'treasure city.' Hamadan is generally supposed to occupy the site of this Ecbatana.

complexu provincias optinentium] Tiridates was not to be prevented from offering and receiving the salutations usual between equals amongst the Romans. He was not to be treated slightingly, as though unworthy of civility from the provincial rulers. Suetonius tells us (Nero, 37) that Nero never condescended to kiss any one on arrival or departure. Cf. Suet. Tib. 10, "paucosque admodum in digressu osculatus." Besides this, Tiridates was not to be kept waiting for an interview.

32. *Alpium maritimarum*] These were the mountain range along the coast of Liguria, from Genua to the river Varus, where the mountains turn north and extend to the Cottian Alps. The Alps Maritimae under the empire formed a province under a procurator (H. ii. 12). The 'ius Latii' was the New Latinitas, by which any magistrate in the town possessing it, by virtue of having held office therein, obtained the 'civitas.'

apud circum] Claudius (Suet. Claud. 21) assigned distinctive seats to the senators at the circus. Nero now gave separate places to the knights: "loca equiti secreta a ceteris tribuit" (Suet. Nero, 11). The arrangements of the Lex Roscia (67 A.C.) were applicable to the theatre only, not to the circus.

33. *M. Licinio*] M. Licinius Crassus was the son of the M. Licinius Crassus of iv. 62, and brother apparently of Piso Licinianus, Pompeius Magnus, and Crassus Scribonianus (H. i. 48). Below, 'promiscuas scaenas' is 'stages accessible to all;' theatres where any one could be present as a 'spectator.' Nero's performances had hitherto been private.

Iuvenalibus ludis] Cf. xiv. 15.

populo vacuum et sine ullius noxa theatrum collapsum est. ergo per conpositos cantus grates dis atque ipsam recentis casus fortunam celebrans petiturusque maris Hadriae traiectus apud Beneventum interim consedit, ubi gladiatorium munus a Vatinio celebre edebatur. Vatinius inter foedissima eius aulae ostenta fuit, sutrinae tabernae alumnus, corpore detorto, facetiis scurrilibus, primo in contumelias assumptus; dehinc optimi cuiusque criminatione eo usque valuit, ut gratia, pecunia, vi nocendi etiam malos praemineret.

35. Eius munus frequentanti Neroni ne inter voluptates quidem a sceleribus cessabatur. isdem quippe illis diebus Torquatus Silanus mori adigitur, quia super Iuniae familiae claritudinem divum Augustum atavum ferebat. iussi accusatores obicere prodigum largitionibus, neque aliam spem quam in rebus novis esse. quin non ignobiles habere, quos ab epistulis et libellis et rationibus appellet, nomina summae curae et meditamenta. tum intimus quisque libertorum vincti abreptique. et cum damnatio instaret, bracchiorum venas Torquatus interscidit. secutaque Neronis oratio ex more, quamvis sontem et defensioni merito diffisum victurum tamen fuisse, si clementiam iudicis exspectasset.

36. Nec multo post, omissa in praesens Achaia (causae in incerto fuere) urbem revisit, provincias orientis, maxime Aegyptum,

34. *in contumelias assumptus*] It is not quite clear whether this means that Vatinius was a butt for others, a recipient of insults and cuffs, or a scurrilous jester upon others. But comparing "Livia in familiam Iuliam nomenque Augustae adsumebatur" (i. 8), and similar passages, the former is probably the sense. For Vatinius, cf. H. i. 37, Dialog. de Orat. 11. He is the man alluded to by Juvenal (v. 46), "tu Beneventani sutoris nomen habentem siccabis calicem nasorum quattuor."

35. *Torquatus Silanus*] Consul A.D. 53. Probably he was brother to Marcus and Lucius Junius Silanus mentioned in xiii. 1. If so, the following table will show his relationship to Augustus :—

Augustus.
|
Julia m. M. Agrippa.
|
Julia.
|
Aemilia Lepida m. App. Junius Silanus.
|
Torquatus Silanus.

He was thus great-great-grandson of Augustus, so that 'abavum' would be the proper reading, not 'atavum.' But as there is, I believe, no absolute proof of his relationship to Marcus and Lucius Junius Silanus, I leave the text as I find it.

quin non ignobiles] So I read for the 'qui ne innobiles' of the Cod. Med. I find Ritter has made the same emendation. The same charge was brought against the nephew of this Torquatus (xvi. 8), "tamquam disponeret iam imperii curas praeficeretque rationibus et libellis et epistolis libertos." A man who did this could only be aping the arrangement of a court ('summa curae'), and consequently aspiring to a crown.

secretis imaginationibus agitans. dehinc edicto testificatus non longam sui absentiam et cuncta in re publica perinde immota ac prospera fore, super ea profectione adiit Capitolium. illic veneratus deos, cum Vestae quoque templum inisset, repente cunctos per artus tremens, seu numine exterrente, seu facinorum recordatione numquam timore vacuus, deseruit inceptum, cunctas sibi curas amore patriae leviores dictitans. vidisse maestos civium vultus, audire secretas querimonias, quod tantum *itineris* aditurus esset, cuius ne modicos quidem egressus tolerarent, sueti adversum fortuita aspectu principis refoveri. ergo ut in privatis necessitudinibus proxima pignora praevalerent, ita populum Romanum vim plurimam habere parendumque retinenti. haec atque talia plebi volentia fuere, voluptatum cupidine et, quae praecipua cura est, rei frumentariae angustias, si abesset, metuenti. senatus et primores in incerto erant, procul an coram atrocior haberetur: dehinc, quae natura magnis timoribus, deterius credebant quod evenerat.

37. Ipse quo fidem acquireret nihil usquam perinde laetum sibi, publicis locis struere convivia totaque urbe quasi domo uti. et celeberrimae luxu famaque epulae fuerė, quas a Tigillino paratas ut exemplum referam, ne saepius eadem prodigentia narranda sit. igitur in stagno Agrippae fabricatus est ratem, cui superpositum convivium navium aliarum tractu moveretur. naves auro et ebore distinctae, remigesque exoleti per aetates et scientiam libidinum componebantur. volucres et feras diversis e terris et animalia maris Oceano abusque petiverat. crepidinibus stagni lupanaria astabant illustribus feminis completa: et contra scorta visebantur nudis corporibus. iam gestus motusque obsceni; et postquam tenebrae incedebant, quantum iuxta nemoris et circumiecta tecta consonare cantu et luminibus clarescere. ipse per licita atque inlicita foedatus nihil flagitii reliquerat quo corruptior

36. *imaginationibus*] A rare word. Draeger says it only occurs elsewhere in the elder Pliny.

volentia] Cf. H. iii. 52, "Muciano volentia rescripsere."

cupidine . . . et metuenti] For the co-ordination of the substantive and adjective, cf. ii. 1, "haud perinde nostri metu quam fidei popularium diffisus;" iv. 72, "Frisii . . . nostra magis avaritia quam obsequii inpatientes." Below, 'deterius credebant,' &c., means that that which did happen seemed the worst thing which could have happened. The people, if Nero remained at Rome, thought it would have been better if he had gone away, and *vice versâ*.

37. *in stagno Agrippae*] This was probably in the gardens of Agrippa's house, near the Pantheon, erected by him in the Campus Martius.

crepidinibus] For the use of the simple ablative instead of an ablative with a preposition, cf. iii. 61, and the note there on Delo. Below, 'clarescere' is only found, except metaphorically, in writers of the silver age.

ageret, nisi paucos post dies uni ex illo contaminatorum grege (nomen Pythagorae fuit) in modum sollemnium coniugiorum denupsisset. inditum imperatori flammeum, visi auspices, dos et genialis torus et faces nuptiales, cuncta denique spectata quae etiam in femina nox operit.

38. Sequitur clades, forte an dolo principis incertum (nam utrumque auctores prodidere), sed omnibus quae huic urbi per violentiam ignium acciderunt gravior atque atrocior. initium in ea parte circi ortum, quae Palatino Caelioque montibus contigua est, ubi per tabernas, quibus id mercimonium inerat quo flamma alitur, simul coeptus ignis et statim validus ac vento citus longitudinem circi corripuit. neque enim domus munimentis saeptae vel templa muris cincta aut quid aliud morae interiacebat. impetu pervagatum incendium plana primum, deinde in edita assurgens et rursus inferiora populando, anteiit remedia velocitate mali et obnoxia urbe artis itineribus hucque et illuc flexis atque enormibus vicis, qualis vetus Roma fuit. ad hoc lamenta paventium feminarum, fessa aut rudis pueritiae aetas, quique sibi quique aliis consulebant, dum trahunt invalidos aut opperiuntur, pars mora, pars festinans, cuncta impediebant. et saepe, dum in tergum respectant, lateribus aut fronte circumveniebantur, vel si in proxima evaserant, illis quoque igni correptis, etiam quae longinqua crediderant in eodem casu reperiebantur. postremo, quid vitarent quid peterent ambigui, complere vias, sterni per agros; quidam

nomen Pythagorae fuit] 'Pythagorae' is the genitive probably. Cf. ii. 16, and the note under 'Idistaviso.' Perhaps in the expression 'contaminatorum grege,' Tacitus was thinking of the words of Horace, "contaminatorum cum grege turpium morbo virorum." (Car. i. 37. 9, 10).

38. *an dolo principis*] Dion Cassius (lxii. 17) and Suetonius (Nero, 38) have no doubt about the Emperor's handy-work in the conflagration. The former seems to attribute it to a childish desire to rival Priam, who saw Troy in flames. Suetonius represents Nero as desirous to get rid of the narrow winding streets, and rebuild the city more splendidly than before.

in ea parte circi] Tacitus seems to mean the eastern end of the Circus Maximus, abutting on the valley between the Palatine and Caelian hills. The Circus could scarcely be said to be contiguous to the Palatine and Caelian hills, except rather vaguely to indicate the point of the building where the fire began.

obnoxia urbe] 'The city being at its mercy by reason of its crowded lanes, and its streets winding hither and thither, and destitute of all regularity.' After 'obnoxia,' supply 'incendio,' from 'incendium,' the subject of the sentence. For the irregularity of Rome, cf. Liv. v. 55 (after the destruction of the city by the Gauls), "festinatio curam exemit vicos dirigendi . . . formaque urbis sit occupatae magis quam divisae similis."

fessa aut rudis pueritiae aetas] The Cod. Med. has 'aetate' after 'fessa;' but this must be a blunder. Tacitus (xiv. 33) speaks of 'fessa aetas' meaning the aged; and in i. 46, has "Augustum fessa aetate." The sense is, 'the weary years of the aged, or the inexperienced life of childhood.'

amissis omnibus fortunis diurni quoque victus, alii caritate suorum, quos eripere nequiverant, quamvis patente effugio interiere. nec quisquam defendere audebat, crebris multorum minis restinguere prohibentium, et quia alii palam faces iaciebant atque esse sibi auctorem vociferabantur, sive ut raptus licentius exercerent seu iussu.

39. Eo in tempore Nero Antii agens non ante in urbem regressus est quam domui eius, qua Palatium et Maecenatis hortos continuaverat, ignis propinquaret. neque tamen sisti potuit, quin et Palatium et domus et cuncta circum haurirentur. sed solacium populo exturbato ac profugo campum Martis ac monumenta Agrippae, hortos quin etiam suos patefecit et subitaria aedificia extruxit quae multitudinem inopem acciperent; subvectaque utensilia ab Ostia et propinquis municipiis, pretiumque frumenti minutum usque ad ternos nummos. quae quamquam popularia in irritum cadebant, quia pervaserat rumor ipso tempore flagrantis urbis inisse eum domesticam scaenam et cecinisse Troianum excidium, praesentia mala vetustis cladibus adsimulantem.

40. Sexto demum die apud imas Esquilias finis incendio factus, prorutis per inmensum aedificiis, ut continuae violentiae campus et velut vacuum caelum occurreret. necdum positus metus, et rediit haud levius rursum grassatus ignis patulis magis urbis locis, eoque strages hominum minor: delubra deum et porticus amoenitati dicatae latius procidere. plusque infamiae id incendium habuit, quia praediis Tigillini Aemilianis proruperat; videbaturque

diurni quoque victus] This genitive depends on 'fortunis,' repeated in a slightly different meaning: 'losing all their fortune, even the means of acquiring daily food.'

39. *continuaverat*] Cf. Suet. Nero, 31, "domum a Palatio Esquilias usque fecit: quam primo Transitoriam, mox incendio absumptam restitutamque auream nominavit." There was probably a sort of viaduct spanning the Velia, with a carriage-way beneath. From this viaduct the flames seem to have spread, and to have destroyed to some extent the building on the Palatine. Below, the 'monumenta Agrippae' are the Pantheon, Thermae, Saepta Julia, Porticus Argonautarum, Porticus Vipsania, &c.

usque ad ternos nummos] Three sesterces the modius, or quarter-bushel, or twelve sesterces a bushel, and therefore ninety-six sesterces or sixteen shillings a quarter. This seems about one-fourth of the average price in the time of Pliny the elder (N. H. xviii. 10). Martial (xii. 77) says, "modius datur aere quaterno," giving it as an instance of extraordinary cheapness. A modius for four asses, or sixteen asses a bushel; that is, 128 asses, or 51¼ sesterces, or 8*s.* 4*d.* a quarter, is marvellously cheap, if Martial is really speaking literally—about one-sixth of the price of wheat at this date (Sept. 1870).

40. *rediit*] This second fire lasted three days: so an inscription (Grut. 61, 3) states, "quando urbs per novem dies arsit Neronianis temporibus." It broke out in the Aemilian Gardens of Tigillinus, under the Pincian Hill, at the outskirts of the city.

praediis Tigillini Aemilianis] The 'Aemiliana' were buildings outside the gates of Rome, in the Campus Martius

Nero condendae urbis novae et cognomento suo appellandae gloriam quaerere. quippe in regiones quattuordecim Roma dividitur, quarum quattuor integrae manebant, tres solo tenus deiectae: septem reliquis pauca tectorum vestigia supererant, lacera et semusta.

41. Domuum et insularum et templorum, quae amissa sunt, numerum inire haud promptum fuerit: sed vetustissima religione, quod Servius Tullius Lunae, et magna ara fanumque, quae praesenti Herculi Arcas Evander sacraverat, aedesque Statoris Iovis vota Romulo Numaeque regia et delubrum Vestae cum Penatibus populi Romani exusta; iam opes tot victoriis quaesitae et Graecarum artium decora, exin monumenta ingeniorum antiqua et incorrupta: quamvis in tanta resurgentis urbis pulchritudine multa seniores meminerint, quae reparari nequibant. fuere qui adnotarent XIIII Kal. Sextiles principium incendii huius ortum, et quo Senones captam urbem inflammaverint. alii eo usque cura progressi sunt, ut totidem annos mensesque et dies inter utraque incendia numerent.

42. Ceterum Nero usus est patriae ruinis extruxitque domum, in qua haud perinde gemmae et aurum miraculo essent, solita pridem et luxu volgata, quam arva et stagna et in modum solitudinum hinc silvae inde aperta spatia et prospectus, magistris et machinatoribus Severo et Celere, quibus ingenium et audacia erat, etiam quae natura denegavisset, per artem temptare et viribus principis illudere. namque ab lacu Averno navigabilem fossam

apparently. Cf. Varro, R. R. iii. 2, "eorum aedificia qui habitant extra Portam Flumentanam aut in Aemilianis."

quattuor integrae] The four regions which entirely escaped injury were probably the Porta Capena, the Esquilina, the Alta Semita, and the Transtiberina. The three wholly destroyed were the Isis and Serapis, the Palatium, and the Circus Maximus.

41. *Servius Tullius Lunae*] There appears, as far as I can find, to be no mention of any temple of Luna dedicated by this king. He dedicated a temple to Juno (Liv. i. 45); and Livy (xl. 2) speaks of a temple of Luna on the Aventine. Ritter supposes Tacitus to have possibly confounded the two; and all that can be said is, that it may be so or may not.

eo usque cura] The usual form would have been 'eo usque curae.' Cf. iv. 14, "eo flagitiorum et virium venisse.' The sense of course is, 'to such an extent in their elaborate calculations.' The point of the coincidence discovered by the curious seems to have been, as Grotefend ingeniously suggests, that the interval spoken of was made up of a certain number of years, the same number of months, and again the same number of days. Thus, from July 19, 390 A.C., the date of the Gallic fire, and July 19, A.D. 64, are exactly 453 years; and 417 years, 417 months, and 417 days make this period within about 38 days. For if x represent the required number of days, then x months will contain $\frac{365}{12}$ x days, and x years will contain 365 x days. The equation, therefore, is $x + \frac{365}{12} x + 365 x = 453 \times 365$, and the solution to this equation gives a value of $417\frac{1}{10}$ nearly to x.

42. *illudere*] Cf. H. ii. 94, "tamquam in summa abundantia pecuniae illudere." The architects 'used the Emperor's money in mere wantonness, made sport of it, as it were.' Suetonius

usque ad ostia Tiberina depressuros promiserant, squalenti litore aut per montes adversos. neque enim aliut umidum gignendis aquis occurrit quam Pomptinae paludes: cetera abrupta aut arentia, ac si perrumpi possent, intolerandus labor nec satis causae. Nero tamen, ut erat incredibilium cupitor, effodere proxima Averno iuga conisus est, manentque vestigia irritae spei.

43. Ceterum urbis quae domui supererant non, ut post Gallica incendia, nulla distinctione nec passim erecta, sed dimensis vicorum ordinibus et latis viarum spatiis cohibitaque aedificiorum altitudine ac patefactis areis additisque porticibus quae frontem insularum protegerent. eas porticus Nero sua pecunia extructurum purgatasque areas dominis traditurum pollicitus est. addidit praemia pro cuiusque ordine et rei familiaris copiis, finivitque tempus intra quod effectis domibus aut insulis apiscerentur. ruderi accipiendo Ostienses paludes destinabat, utique naves, quae frumentum Tiberi subvectavissent, onustae rudere decurrerent, aedificiaque ipsa certa sui parte sine trabibus saxo Gabino Albanove

(Nero, 31) gives an account of the Golden House: "tanta laxitas ut porticus triplices miliarias haberet: item stagnum maris instar, circum saeptum aedificiis ad urbium speciem: rura insuper arvis atque vinetis et pascuis silvisque varia, cum multitudine omnis generis pecudum ac ferarum." Of the three porticoes, it would seem one extended from the old house of Augustus, on the Palatine, or perhaps the bridge of Caligula over the Velabrum, across the Via Sacra to the Esquiline; and a second from the same starting-point to the Caelian Hill; and the extremities of these were, I suppose, formed by a third portico. The extreme points of the two former galleries would be the baths of Titus and the portico of Claudius, near his unfinished temple on the Mons Caelius, which Nero entirely destroyed (Suet. Vesp. 9); Martial fixes them so (Spectac. 2):—

"Hic ubi miramur velocia munera thermas
Abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager,
Claudia diffusas ubi porticus explicat umbras
Ultima pars aulae deficientis erat."

A pond, or lake, occupied what was afterwards the site of the Colosseum. So Martial (Spectac. 2):—

"Hic ubi conspicui venerabilis amphitheatri
Erigitur species stagna Neronis erant."

squalenti litore] 'Along a waste, neglected shore.'

gignendis aquis] There was no supply of water to fill the channel or make it navigable. The length of this canal was some 160 miles, and wide enough for two quinqueremes to pass (Suet. Nero, 31).

43. *ceterum urbis, &c.*] 'But those parts of the city which were not occupied by the house.' Draeger quotes Liv. xxi. 4, "id quod gerendis rebus superesset."

aedificiorum altitudine] Augustus had limited the height of houses at Rome to seventy feet (Strabo, v. 3, 7, or p. 235). Juvenal (iii. 269) speaks of the height of the buildings as increasing the dangers of the streets: "quod spatium tectis sublimibus, unde cerebrum Testa ferit."

apiscerentur] Nero fixed a limit of time, within which the houses or blocks were to be finished, to enable the builder to claim the reward. The whole reconstruction of the city seems to have been completed before Nero's death, which followed in a month short of four years. This would look as if the destruction had not been quite so great as is represented.

utique naves] This clause depends on some verb like 'imperabat,' supplied from 'destinabat.'

solidarentur, quod is lapis ignibus impervius est; iam aqua privatorum licentia intercepta quo largior et pluribus locis in publicum flueret, custodes, et subsidia reprimendis ignibus in propatulo quisque haberet; nec communione parietum, sed propriis quaeque muris ambirentur. ea ex utilitate accepta decorem quoque novae urbi attulere. erant tamen qui crederent, veterem illam formam salubritati magis conduxisse, quoniam angustiae itinerum et altitudo tectorum non perinde solis vapore perrumperentur: at nunc patulam latitudinem et nulla umbra defensam graviore aestu ardescere.

44. Et haec quidem humanis consiliis providebantur. mox petita a dis piacula aditique Sibyllae libri, ex quibus supplicatum Volcano et Cereri Proserpinaeque, ac propitiata Iuno per matronas, primum in Capitolio, deinde apud proximum mare, unde hausta aqua templum et simulacrum deae perspersum est; et sellisternia ac pervigilia celebravere feminae quibus mariti erant. sed non ope humana, non largitionibus principis aut deum placamentis decedebat infamia quin iussum incendium crederetur. ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos et quaesitissimis poenis affecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat.

quisque haberet] If the text be correct, the meaning ought to be, that each citizen should have firemen or watermen (slaves, of course), and buckets ready in case of fire. But I do not see how this arrangement of every house (every large house, I suppose, it can only mean) having certain slaves told off to prevent fire would increase the public supply of water, which had been lessened by the encroachments of individuals. This could only have been effectually prevented by the appointment of public watermen, whose duty it would be to see that the supplies of water were not interfered with. I can hardly think the text sound, unless we suppose it a very strong case of zeugma, and the sense to be, that there were to be public firemen, and each person besides was to have buckets and other requisite aids against fire. These public firemen, or rather watermen, are called 'castellarii' and 'aquarii' in various inscriptions. (Orelli quotes Lat. Inscript. n. 2899 and 3203).

44. *simulacrum deae perspersum est*] For this custom of washing the images of the various goddesses, cf. Ovid. Fast. iv. 136, "tota lavanda dea est," and iii. 12, "sacra lavaturas mane petebat aquas;" and Lucan. i. 600, "et lotam parvo revocant Almone Cybebem." So the Argive maidens washed the image of Pallas. Cf. Callim. Hymnus in Lavacrum Palladis, beginning ὅσσαι λωτροχόοι τᾶς παλλάδος, ἔξιτε πᾶσαι. Cf. Eurip. Iphig. in Taur. κἀκεῖνο (τὸ βρέτας) νίψαι, σοῦ θιγόντος ὡς, ἐρῶ. Spanheim quotes Arnobius (lib. vii. p. 237, ed. Batav.), "lavatio Deum matris est hodie. Sordescunt enim Divi et ad sordes abluendas lavantibus aquis opus atque antiqua cineris frictione." The washing of the goddess was, of course, emblematical of the purity required in her worshippers. Below, 'sellisternia' is for the goddesses what 'lectisternia' were for the gods. Women sat at meals on 'sellae,' the men only reclining on couches. This arrangement was adopted in the solemn feasts to the deities (Val. Max. ii. 1, § 2).

per flagitia invisos] This is a very different account from that given by the friend of Tacitus, the younger Pliny, who speaks of the early Christians as professing a morality unusually pure. Clearly Tacitus did not take the trouble to inquire into the matter, but accepted the popular account or misrepresentation

auctor nominis eius Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat; repressaque in praesens exitiabilis superstitio rursum erumpebat, non modo per Iudaeam, originem eius mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque. igitur primum correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti laniatu canum interirent aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi, atque ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. hortos suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat et circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigae permixtus plebi vel curriculo insistens.

of the character of the new sect, coloured as it was apparently by the reminiscences of the terrible Jewish war. Knowing that the religion of the Nazarenes would not be content with sharing the honours paid to the old gods of the heathen world, but would insist on their utter abolition, he at once looked on them as deadly innovators, and believed, without investigation, the worst said against them. But there still remains to be explained the sudden enmity felt against the Christians in Nero's time. It is clear that the profession of Christianity at Rome had been unattended with any danger at the period in question. St. Paul, as an instance of this, was allowed to dwell two years in his own hired dwelling, extending Christianity even amongst the members of the imperial household. This toleration of the new faith was only a continuance of an indulgence notoriously granted previously, as the story in Tertullian (Apol. 5), whether it be true or false, shows, and illustrated by the course adopted by Nero when Pomponia Graecina was accused of adherence to a foreign superstition (Tac. Ann. xiii. 32). To find the members of this sect all at once denounced as guilty of the most heinous offences, and actuated by a blind hatred towards their fellow-men ('odio humani generis') is a little surprising; for there was certainly nothing in their conduct to account for such virulent animosity against them. Indeed they appear, as Dr. Merivale observes (History of the Romans under the Empire, ch. liv.), to have filled no large space in Roman eyes. I can only acquiesce in the explanation, suggested by Gibbon, that the Christians and Jews were regarded as very much the same, and the hatred felt against the latter was consequently bestowed in full measure on the former. Tiberius had removed four thousand turbulent Jewish fanatics to Sardinia (ii. 85), and Claudius expelled the whole nation from Rome. Suetonius remarks (Claud. 25), "Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit;" and a confusion between the Jews, with their false Christs, and the Christians with their real Christ, was not unnatural. Tacitus certainly speaks of both in the same language, the words, 'odio generis humani' being paralleled by "adversus omnes alios hostile odium" (H. v. 5). It may be added, that the information given by Tacitus in the following passage may have been derived by him from the official notice which, as a matter of course, would be sent to Rome by the procurator of Judaea.

qui fatebantur] The admission, apparently, was that of belonging to the sect of Christians, not of firing the city. For the construction below, 'in crimine convicti,' cf. Suet. Claud. 14, "in maiore fraude convictis ad bestias condemnavit." Orelli quotes Cic. de Inven. ii. § 32, "ostendere si in pari ante peccato convictus sit," and pro Sulla, § 83, "quotiens quisque est in hoc scelere convictus."

aut flammandi] The nominative case; the construction being 'interirent aut crucibus affixi aut flammandi.' But the construction is very awkward, for 'interirent flammandi' ought to mean that the burning was subsequent to the death, whereas the sense must be that burning was one form of death. Cf. Juv. i. 155, "taeda lucebis in illa qua stantes ardent qui fixo gutture fumant."

unde quamquam adversus sontes et novissima exempla meritos miseratio oriebatur, tamquam non utilitate publica sed in saevitiam unius absumerentur.

45. Interea conferendis pecuniis pervastata Italia, provinciae eversae sociique populi et quae civitatium liberae vocantur. inque eam praedam etiam dii cessere, spoliatis in urbe templis egestoque auro, quod triumphis, quod votis omnis populi Romani aetas prospere aut in metu sacraverat. enimvero per Asiam atque Achaiam non dona tantum sed simulacra numinum abripiebantur missis in eas provincias Acrato ac Secundo Carinate. ille libertus cuicumque flagitio promptus, hic Graeca doctrina ore tenus exercitus animum bonis artibus non induerat. ferebatur Seneca, quo invidiam sacrilegii a semet averteret, longinqui ruris secessum oravisse, et postquam non concedebatur, ficta valetudine, quasi aeger nervis, cubiculum non egressus. tradidere quidam venenum ei per libertum ipsius, cui nomen Cleonicus, paratum iussu Neronis vitatumque a Seneca proditione liberti seu propria formidine, dum persimplici victu et agrestibus pomis, ac si sitis admoneret, profluente aqua vitam tolerat.

46. Per idem tempus gladiatores apud oppidum Praeneste temptata eruptione praesidio militis, qui custos adesset, coerciti sunt, iam Spartacum et vetera mala rumoribus ferente populo, ut est novarum rerum cupiens pavidusque. nec multo post clades rei navalis accipitur, non bello (quippe haud alias tam immota pax), sed certum ad diem in Campaniam redire classem Nero iusserat, non exceptis maris casibus. ergo gubernatores, quamvis

45. *quae civitatium liberae vocantur*] These states were not of course entirely free, but enjoyed certain privileges, such as the election of their own magistrates, and the use of their own code of laws. There is an instance in early Roman history of this autonomy being granted after conquest, in the case of the Hernici (Liv. ix. 43, "suae leges redditae"). I suppose the 'liberae civitates' differed from the 'socii,' who had foedus aequum, in this point, that the former were made 'liberae' after conquest by a special favour, whereas the latter need not have been in collision with Rome, or if they had, might have come off on equal terms. Rhodes, and Tarsus in Cilicia were both free states.

inque eam praedam] Cf. i. 1, "in Augustum cessere," and the note on the passage.

ore tenus] Cf. xvi. 32, "auctoritatem Stoicae sectae praeferebat, habitu et ore ad exprimendam imaginem honesti exercitus, ceterum animo perfidiosus."

46. *qui custos adesset*] In i. 62, Tacitus writes, "igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus." In the latter case the relative clause is a mere definition. Perhaps the sense here is, 'the force naturally on duty, as it would of course be under the circumstances.' The use of the subjunctive appears to arise from the meaning being akin to that often conveyed by that mood after 'qui,' viz., 'the sort of person or thing to do so and so.' It seems to me that the full sense is, 'the force on guard then, and intended usually to be on guard, for that very purpose.' Below, Spartacus was the hero of the Servile war, 73—71 A.C.

saeviente pelago, a Formiis movere; et gravi Africo, dum promunturium Miseni superare contendunt, Cumanis litoribus inpacti triremium plerasque et minora navigia passim amiserunt.

47. Fine anni volgantur prodigia, imminentium malorum nuntia. vis fulgurum non alias crebrior, et sidus cometes, sanguine illustri semper Neroni expiatum. bicipites hominum aliorumve animalium partus abiecti in publicum aut in sacrificiis, quibus gravidas hostias inmolare mos est, reperti. et in agro Placentino viam propter natus vitulus, cui caput in crure esset; secutaque haruspicum interpretatio, parari rerum humanarum aliud caput, sed non fore validum neque occultum, quia in utero repressum aut iter iuxta editum sit.

48. Ineunt deinde consulatum Silius Nerva et Atticus Vestinus, coepta simul et aucta coniuratione, in quam certatim nomina dederant senatores eques miles, feminae etiam, cum odio Neronis, tum favore in C. Pisonem. is Calpurnio genere ortus ac multas insignesque familias paterna nobilitate complexus, claro apud volgum rumore erat per virtutem aut species virtutibus similes. namque facundiam tuendis civibus exercebat, largitionem adversum amicos, et ignotis quoque comi sermone et congressu; aderant etiam fortuita, corpus procerum, decora facies: sed procul gravitas morum aut voluptatum parsimonia; levitati ac magnificentiae et aliquando luxu indulgebat. idque pluribus probabatur, qui in tanta vitiorum dulcedine summum imperium non restrictum nec perseverum volunt.

49. Initium coniurationi non a cupidine ipsius fuit: nec tamen

47. *caput in crure esset*] The subjunctive here seems due to the 'oratio obliqua,' the idea in the mind of Tacitus being that he was describing the remarks or thoughts of others: so that 'esset' is equivalent to 'ferebatur esse.'

aut iter iuxta editum sit] This is a curious use of 'aut.' Cf. ii. 47, "quique, Mosteni aut Macedones Hyrcani vocantur." The sense is very nearly the same as 'et vicissim.' The idea of the whole sentence is, that the prodigy might be looked at from two points of view: the head was checked in the animal's womb, so as not to issue at the usual time, but to be produced later with the leg to which it was attached; this portended a want of strength in the new head of the state: or again, from another point of view, the birth took place by the road side; this indicated an absence of all secrecy in the forthcoming movement.

48. *Silius Nerva*] A. Licinius Nerva Silianus (or A. Licinius Silius Nerva) was grandson probably of A. Licinius Nerva Silianus, consul A.D. 7, and son of P. Silius Nerva, consul A.D. 28 (iv. 68).

C. Pisonem] The Pisos had been a distinguished family long before the establishment of the empire. Under the empire the members of the house became rivals of the ruling princes. One was condemned in the reign of Tiberius (iii. 15). The present head of the family was banished by Caligula (Schol. ad Juv. v. 108; Suet. Calig. 37), but restored by Claudius. He was a famous draughts-player, we learn from the Scholiast ("in latrunculorum usu perfectus et callidus").

facile memoraverim, quis primus auctor, cuius instinctu concitum sit quod tam multi sumpserunt. promptissimos Subrium Flavum tribunum praetoriae cohortis et Sulpicium Asprum centurionem extitisse constantia exitus docuit; et Lucanus Annaeus Plautiusque Lateranus consul designatus vivida odia intulere. Lucanum propriae causae accendebant, quod famam carminum eius premebat Nero prohibueratque ostentare, vanus adsimulatione: Lateranum consulem designatum nulla iniuria, sed amor rei publicae sociavit. at Flavius Scaevinus et Afranius Quintianus, uterque senatorii ordinis, contra famam sui principium tanti facinoris capessivere. nam Scaevino dissoluta luxu mens et proinde vita somno languida: Quintianus mollitia corporis infamis et a Nerone probroso carmine diffamatus contumelias ultum ibat.

50. Ergo dum scelera principis et finem adesse imperio deligendumque qui fessis rebus succurreret, inter se aut inter amicos iaciunt, adgregavere Claudium Senecionem, Cervarium Proculum, Vulcatium Araricum, Iulium Augurinum, Munatium Gratum, Antonium Natalem, Marcium Festum, equites Romanos. ex quibus Senecio, e praecipua familiaritate Neronis, speciem amicitiae etiam tum retinens eo pluribus periculis conflictabatur; Natalis particeps ad omne secretum Pisoni erat; ceteris spes ex novis rebus petebatur. adscitae sunt super Subrium et Sulpicium, de quibus rettuli, militares manus, Gavius Silvanus et Statius Proximus tribuni cohortium praetoriarum, Maximus Scaurus et Venetus Paulus centuriones. sed summum robur in Faenio Rufo praefecto videbatur, quem vita famaque laudatum per saevitiam inpudicitiamque Tigillinus in animo principis anteibat, fatigabatque criminationibus ac saepe in metum adduxerat quasi adulterum Agrippinae et desiderio eius ultioni intentum. igitur ubi coniuratis praefectum quoque praetorii in partes descendisse crebro ipsius sermone facta fides, promptius iam de tempore ac loco caedis agitabant. et cepisse impetum Subrius Flavus ferebatur in scaena canentem Neronem adgrediendi, aut cum ardente domo

49. *famam carminum*] Another account of the animosity of Lucan against Nero is that the Emperor's favour was lost by indiscreet acts, and then the poet began to lampoon his old friend. So the fragment on Lucan ascribed to Suetonius declares; but it is quite likely that Nero was really jealous of Lucan's powers.

vanus adsimulatione] Cf. iv. 59, "adsimulabat iudicis partes," 'he assumed the rôle of a judge.' So here similarly 'fruitless in the assumption (of poetic skill);' the point of assumption being easily inferred from the fact that 'carminum' has preceded. For the sense of 'vanus' here, cf. H. ii. 22, "ne inrisus ac vanus iisdem castris adsideret."

50. *ardente domo*] These words are a little obscure. I do not think that

per noctem huc illuc cursaret incustoditus. hic occasio solitudinis, ibi ipsa frequentia tanti decoris testis pulcherrimum animum extimulaverant, nisi impunitatis cupido retinuisset, magnis semper conatibus adversa.

51. Interim cunctantibus prolatantibusque spem ac metum Epicharis quaedam, incertum quonam modo sciscitata (neque illi ante ulla rerum honestarum cura fuerat), accendere et arguere coniuratos, ac postremum lentitudinis eorum pertaesa et in Campania agens primores classiariorum Misenensium labefacere et conscientia illigare conisa est tali initio. erat navarchus in ea classe Volusius Proculus, occidendae matris Neronis inter ministros, non ex magnitudine sceleris provectus, ut rebatur. is mulieri olim cognitus, seu recens orta amicitia, dum merita erga Neronem sua et quam in irritum cecidissent aperit adicitque questus et destinationem vindictae, si facultas oreretur, spem dedit posse inpelli et plures conciliare: nec leve auxilium in classe, crebras occasiones, quia Nero multo apud Puteolos et Misenum maris usu laetabatur. ergo Epicharis plura; et omnia scelera principis orditur, neque senatui quid manere. sed provisum quonam modo poenas eversae rei publicae daret: accingeretur modo navare operam et militum acerrimos ducere in partes, ac digna pretia expectaret; nomina tamen coniuratorum reticuit. unde Proculi indicium inritum fuit, quamvis ea quae audierat ad Neronem detu-

Dr. Merivale (History of the Romans under the Empire, ch. liii.) is right in referring them to the great conflagration of the city, in which Nero's house was more or less injured (if I am right in so understanding him), and thence inferring that the conspiracy had been long in agitation. I believe the meaning to be that Nero's house was to be fired, and Nero himself slain in the subsequent confusion. Below, the reading 'pulcherrimum animum' seems corrupt. One can hardly suppose Tacitus so to have described Sabrius Flavus: a man who was influenced by a fear of personal risk (impunitatis cupido) could not be said to have a very noble soul.

51. *cunctantibus, &c.*] Instead of the construction employed here, an ablative absolute, followed by 'coniuratos' as the object of the verb, Tacitus might have written "cunctantes prolatantesque coniuratos," the participles agreeing with the object governed by 'accendere et arguere.' Cf. xiv. 10, "perfecto demum scelere magnitudo eius intellecta est;" xv. 30, "rogitante rege causas . . . admiratione prisci moris affecit."

pertaesa et in Campania agens] For the 'et' which might have been omitted, cf. xiv. 47, and the note there. But if the sense be 'weary of their dilatoriness, and happening to be in Campania' (so that the locality suggested the act), then 'et' is, I think, quite natural: but Tacitus might have only intended to say that, weary of the delay, while in Campania, she tampered with the fleet: if so, other writers would have omitted the conjunction. Below, 'erat navarchus' is the reading of the Cod. Gudianus; the Cod. Med. having 'erant narchus.'

ergo Epicharis plura] 'So Epicharis moved farther in the matter.' The next words, 'neque senatui quid manere,' may I think be correct: 'and no power of obtaining redress was left to the senate.' The fathers could do nothing, but still the case was not hopeless; it remained to adopt another method, that of a conspiracy and assassination.

lisset. accita quippe Epicharis et cum indice composita nullis testibus innisum facile confutavit. sed ipsa in custodia retenta est, suspectante Nerone haud falsa esse etiam quae vera non probabantur.

52. Coniuratis tamen metu proditionis permotis placitum maturare caedem apud Baias in villa Pisonis, cuius amoenitate captus Caesar crebro ventitabat balneasque et epulas inibat omissis excubiis et fortunae suae mole. sed abnuit Piso, invidiam praetendens, si sacra mensae dique hospitales caede qualiscumque principis cruentarentur: melius apud urbem in illa invisa et spoliis civium extructa domo vel in publico patraturos quod pro re publica suscepissent. haec in commune, ceterum timore occulto, ne L. Silanus eximia nobilitate disciplinaque C. Cassii, apud quem educatus erat, ad omnem claritudinem sublatus imperium invaderet, prompte daturis qui a coniuratione integri essent quique miserarentur Neronem tamquam per scelus interfectum. plerique Vestini quoque consulis acre ingenium vitavisse Pisonem crediderunt, ne ad libertatem oreretur, vel delecto imperatore alio sui muneris rem publicam faceret. etenim expers coniurationis erat, quamvis super eo crimine Nero vetus adversum insontem odium expleverit.

53. Tandem statuere circensium ludorum die, qui Cereri celebratur, exequi destinata, quia Caesar rarus egressu domoque aut hortis clausus ad ludicra circi ventitabat promptioresque aditus erant laetitia spectaculi. ordinem insidiis composuerant, ut

composita] 'Confronted.' Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 7. 19, "par pugnat uti non compositus melius cum Bitho Bacchius;" and Senec. de Provid. 4, "ignominiam iudicat gladiator cum inferiore componi."

52. *cuius amoenitate*] The emendation 'quo eius' is entirely unnecessary. Cf. xi. 38, "ferrumque accepit quod frustra iugulo admovens ictu tribuni transfigitur." Also Agric. 38, "unde proximo latere Britanniae lecto omni redierat," where the sense is, 'whence having coasted the nearer shore of Britain, it had returned to it,' the relative belonging entirely to the first clause of the sentence. So Curt. iii. 1. 22, "iamque ad urbem Ancyram ventum erat ubi numero copiarum inito Paphlagoniam intrat." Below, 'fortunae suae mole' is 'the burdensome show appertaining to his station.' The trappings of royalty waxed oppressive to Nero, and he liked to cast them aside now and then.

L. Silanus] This Lucius Iunius Silanus Torquatus was son of the M. Silanus mentioned in xiii. 1, where see the note.

prompte daturis] Unless 'operam' be omitted by an error of the copyist, the sense must be, 'as all would readily confer it (imperium) on him.'

ad libertatem oreretur] 'Should start up (as a pioneer) to restore the old constitutional liberty, or, if another Imperator were chosen, should make the government of the state (appear) a gift from himself:' a thing to be given to any one he chose. On pretence of complicity in the conspiracy, with which he was altogether unconnected, Nero took the opportunity of satisfying an old grudge he bore Vestinus.

53. *ludorum die*] The 'ludi circenses' at the Cerealia seem to have been held on the 12th and 19th of April. See Orelli's note; cf. Ovid's Fasti, iv. 393, &c.

Lateranus, quasi subsidium rei familiari oraret, deprecabundus et genibus principis accidens prosterneret incautum premeretque, animi validus et corpore ingens. tum iacentem et impeditum tribuni et centuriones et ceterorum, ut quisque audentiae habuisset, adcurrerent trucidarentque, primas sibi partes expostulante Scaevino, qui pugionem templo Salutis in Etruria sive, ut alii tradidere, Fortunae Ferentino in oppido detraxerat gestabatque velut magno operi sacrum. interim Piso apud aedem Cereris opperiretur, unde eum praefectus Faenius et ceteri accitum ferrent in castra, comitante Antonia Claudii Caesaris filia ad eliciendum volgi favorem, quod C. Plinius memorat. nobis quoquo modo traditum non occultare in animo fuit, quamvis absurdum videretur aut inanem ad spem Antoniam nomen et periculum commodavisse, aut Pisonem notum amore uxoris alii matrimonio se obstrinxisse, nisi si cupido dominandi cunctis adfectibus flagrantior est.

54. Sed mirum quam inter diversi generis ordinis, aetatis sexus, dites pauperes taciturnitate omnia cohibita sint, donec proditio coepit e domo Scaevini; qui pridie insidiarum multo sermone cum Antonio Natale, dein regressus domum testamentum obsignavit, promptum vagina pugionem, de quo supra rettuli, vetustate obtusum increpans, asperari saxo et in mucronem ardescere iussit eamque curam liberto Milicho mandavit. simul affluentius solito convivium initum, servorum carissimi libertate et alii pecunia donati. atque ipse maestus et magnae cogitationis manifestus erat, quamvis laetitiam vagis sermonibus simularet. postremo volneribus ligamenta quibusque sistitur sanguis parare eundem Milichum monet, sive gnarum coniurationis et illuc usque fidum, seu nescium et tunc primum arreptis suspitionibus, ut plerique tradidere, de consequentibus. nam cum secum servilis

audentiae habuisset] A Greek construction. Cf. Thucyd. i. 22, ὡς τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχοι.

in Etruria] These words are a gloss apparently, for Ferentinum is in Etruria. There was a difference of opinion as to the exact name of the goddess; some called her 'Salus,' others 'Fortuna,' both probably meaning the goddess Nortia, a Tuscan divinity. There was a temple of Salus on the Quirinal Hill at Rome; but of course this was not the one, and the words 'in Etruria' were no doubt appended to indicate as much.

inanem ad spem] 'It seemed ridiculous that Antonia, for a mere barren hope, should have made them a temporary gift of her name, and the consequent danger to herself.' Piso would never have married her and made her empress: he was too fond of his wife for that. For 'nisi si,' see vi. 31.

54. *inter diversi generis*] Sc. homines.

de consequentibus] This seems to mean that, although no writer distinctly knew him to be only then for the first time made aware of the existence of the conspiracy, yet they nearly all assumed such to be the case, judging from his subsequent acts. I suppose they argued that if he had known of it before, he would have given information earlier.

animus praemia perfidiae reputavit simulque inmensa pecunia et potentia obversabantur, cessit fas et salus patroni et acceptae libertatis memoria. etenim uxoris quoque consilium adsumpserat muliebre ac deterius: quippe ultro metum intentabat, multosque astitisse libertos ac servos, qui eadem viderint; nihil profuturum unius silentium; at praemia penes unum fore, qui indicio praevenisset.

55. Igitur coepta luce Milichus in hortos Servilianos pergit; et cum foribus arceretur, magna et atrocia adferre dictitans deductusque ab ianitoribus ad libertum Neronis Epaphroditum, mox ab eo ad Neronem, urguens periculum, graves coniuratos et cetera quae audierat coniectaverat docet. telum quoque in necem eius paratum ostendit accirique reum iussit. is raptus per milites et defensionem orsus, ferrum, cuius argueretur olim religione patria cultum et in cubiculo habitum ac fraude liberti subreptum respondit, tabulas testamenti saepius a se et incustodita dierum observatione signatas. pecunias et libertates servis et ante dono datas, sed ideo tunc largius, quia tenui iam re familiari et instantibus creditoribus testamento diffideret. enimvero liberales semper epulas struxisse, et vitam amoenam et duris iudicibus parum probatam. fomenta volneribus nulla iussu suo, sed quia cetera palam vana obiecisset, adiungere crimen, cuius sese pariter indicem et testem faceret. adicit dictis constantiam; incusat ultro intestabilem et consceleratum, tanta vocis ac vultus securitate, ut labaret indicium, nisi Milichum uxor admonuisset Antonium Natalem multa cum Scaevino ac secreta collocutum et esse utrosque C. Pisonis intimos.

Ernesti's interpretation is "scriptoribus qui post illa tempora vixere et scripsere." I cannot think this to be the meaning.

ultro metum] 'She—not dwelling now on the hope of reward—went in the opposite direction, and held before his eyes the fear of ruin.' She might have simply ceased to endeavour to influence her husband by holding out the prospect of gain: she did more—she endeavoured to frighten him into betraying the scheme.

55. *in hortos Servilianos*] It is not known where these gardens were. From Suet. Nero, 47, "transiit in hortos Servilianos; ubi praemissis libertorum fidissimis Ostiam," &c., it has been inferred that they were near the Tiber, and by the road to Ostia.

incustodita dierum observatione] Scaevinus meant by this to imply that the fact of his having sealed his will on the particular day mentioned, proved nothing: he was always doing it, without meaning any thing especial by it: for this purpose all days were alike. The Lex Aelia Sentina, passed in the time of Augustus (about A.D. 3), made void any manumission effected to defraud creditors. Scaevinus, therefore, was afraid lest any manumission directed by his will would not be allowed to remain unmolested. But his defence was somewhat weak, for the law applied to manumissions made with fraudulent aim during the lifetime of the owner, as well as by will.

56. Ergo accitur Natalis, et diversi interrogantur, quisnam is sermo, qua de re fuisset. tum exorta suspitio, quia non congruentia responderant, inditaque vincla. et tormentorum aspectum ac minas non tulere: prior tamen Natalis, totius conspirationis magis gnarus, simul arguendi peritior, de Pisone primum fatetur, deinde adicit Annaeum Senecam, sive internuntius inter eum Pisonemque fuit, sive ut Neronis gratiam pararet, qui infensus Senecae omnes ad eum opprimendum artes conquirebat. tum cognito Natalis indicio Scaevinus quoque pari inbecillitate, an cuncta iam patefacta credens nec ullum silentii emolumentum, edidit ceteros. ex quibus Lucanus Quintianusque et Senecio diu abnuere: post promissa inpunitate corrupti, quo tarditatem excusarent, Lucanus Aciliam matrem suam, Quintianus Glitium Gallum, Senecio Annium Pollionem, amicorum praecipuos, nominavere.

57. Atque interim Nero recordatus Volusii Proculi indicio Epicharim attineri ratusque muliebre corpus impar dolori tormentis dilacerari iubet. at illam non verbera, non ignes, non ira eo acrius torquentium ne a femina spernerentur, pervicere quin obiecta denegaret. sic primus quaestionis dies contemptus. postero cum ad eosdem cruciatus retraheretur gestamine sellae (nam dissolutis membris insistere nequibat), vinclo fasciae, quam pectori detraxerat, in modum laquei ad arcum sellae restricto indidit cervicem et corporis pondere conisa tenuem iam spiritum expressit, clariore exemplo libertina mulier in tanta necessitate alienos ac prope ignotos protegendo, cum ingenui et viri et equites Romani senatoresque intacti tormentis carissima suorum quisque pignorum proderent. non enim omittebant Lucanus quoque et Senecio et Quintianus passim conscios edere, magis magisque pavido Nerone, quamquam multiplicatis excubiis semet saepsisset.

56. *diversi*] 'Apart from each other.' Cf. Germ. 16, "colunt discreti ac diversi;" and xvi. 30, "steteruntque diversi." Below, for 'inditaque vincla,' cf. xi. 1 and 32. 'Indere' is a very favourite word of Tacitus; cf. 'indere castella' (iv. 46); 'vocabula' (iv. 55), 'effigiem' (i. 74), 'custodes' (iii. 28), 'pontes' (xii. 57), 'flammeum' (xv. 37) occur.

arguendi peritior] 'More skilled in selecting whom to accuse.' Natalis knew what persons Nero would be glad to hear accused, and consequently he selected his victims judiciously. The Annius Pollio mentioned in this chapter, is perhaps, the grandson of the Annio Pollio of vi. 9.

57. *vinclo fasciae*] The 'strophium.' Cf. Non. p. 538 M. "Strophium est fascia brevis quae virginalem horrorem cohibet mamillarum." Also cf. Mart. xiv. 66, Catull. lxiv. 65.

ingenui et viri] These are respectively opposed to 'libertina' and 'mulier,' so that the sense is 'free-born persons and men;' and 'ingenui,' although masculine, embraces women as well as men.

58. Quin et urbem, per manipulos occupatis moenibus, insesso etiam mari et amne, velut in custodiam dedit. volitabantque per fora, per domos, rura quoque et proxima municipiorum pedites equitesque, permixti Germanis, quibus fidebat princeps quasi externis. continua hinc et vincta agmina trahi ac foribus hortorum adiacere. atque ubi dicendam ad causam introissent, laetatum erga coniuratos, et fortuitus sermo, subiti occursus, si convivium, si spectaculum simul inissent, pro crimine accipi, cum super Neronis ac Tigillini saevas percunctationes Faenius quoque Rufus violenter urgueret, nondum ab indicibus nominatus, et quo fidem inscitiae pararet, atrox adversus socios. idem Subrio Flavo assistenti adnuentique, an inter ipsam cognitionem destringeret gladium caedemque patraret, renuit infregitque impetum iam manum ad capulum referentis.

59. Fuere qui prodita coniuratione, dum auditur Milichus, dum dubitat Scaevinus, hortarentur Pisonem pergere in castra aut rostra escendere studiaque militum et populi temptare. si conatibus eius conscii aggregarentur, secuturos etiam integros; magnamque motae rei famam, quae plurimum in novis consiliis valeret. nihil adversum haec Neroni provisum. etiam fortes viros subitis terreri, nedum ille scaenicus, Tigillino scilicet cum pelicibus suis comitante, arma contra cieret. multa experiendo confieri, quae segnibus ardua videantur. frustra silentium et fidem in tot consciorum animis et corporibus sperare; cruciatui aut praemio cuncta pervia esse. venturos qui ipsum quoque vincirent, postremo indigna nece afficerent. quanto laudabilius periturum, dum amplectitur rem publicam, dum auxilia libertati invocat. miles potius deesset et plebes desereret, dum ipse maioribus, dum pos-

58. *Germanis*] Cf. xiii. 18. These German guards of Nero are mentioned in several inscriptions; for instance,—Frisians (Lat. Inscript. n. 174), Batavians (n. 3538), Ubians (7420, a. *pp*).

agmina trahi] 'Continuous troops of criminals were dragged in chains.'

laetatum] Sc. esse. 'That any symptom of pleasure should have been displayed towards the conspirators.' If any one on meeting a conspirator was known to have shown any marks of gratification at the meeting, this was magnified into a charge against him. For the use of 'erga' here, cf. iv. 11, "erga exitus dominantium fama atrocior;" and H. ii. 55, "erga eos decretae laudes." The Cod. Med. has "sed fortuitus sermo;" but it hardly can be right, and 'et' may easily have become 'set' (or 'sed'), following as it does 'coniuratos.'

59. *dum amplectitur*] This use of the present indicative after 'dum' is in accordance with the usual custom of Tacitus. Here it occurs even in the 'oratio obliqua.' For a similar instance, cf. H. v. 17, "suam illic victoriam Germanis obstitisse dum omissis telis praeda manus impediunt." In the next clause, however, the imperfect subjunctive is used. Cf. i. 10, and the note under 'abstulerat.'

deesset] 'If there were to be a failure any where, it would be better for it to arise from the backwardness of the soldiery and the desertion of the popu-

teris, si vita praeriperetur, mortem adprobaret. inmotus his et paululum in publico versatus, post domi secretus, animum adversum suprema firmabat, donec manus militum adveniret, quos Nero tirones aut stipendiis recentes delegerat: nam vetus miles timebatur quamquam favore inbutus. obiit abruptis bracchiorum venis. testamentum foedis adversus Neronem adulationibus amori uxoris dedit, quam degenerem et sola corporis forma commendatam amici matrimonio abstulerat. nomen mulieris Atria Galla, priori marito Domitius Silus. hic patientia, illa inpudicitia Pisonis infamiam propagavere.

60. Proximam necem Plautii Laterani consulis designati Nero adiungit, adeo propere, ut non complecti liberos, non illud breve mortis arbitrium permitteret. raptus in locum servilibus poenis sepositum manu Statii tribuni trucidatur, plenus constantis silentii nec tribuno obiciens eandem conscientiam.

Sequitur caedes Annaei Senecae, laetissima principi, non quia coniurationis manifestum compererat, sed ut ferro grassaretur, quando venenum non processerat. solus quippe Natalis et hactenus prompsit, missum se ad aegrotum Senecam, uti viseret conquerereturque cur Pisonem aditu arceret: melius fore, si amicitiam familiari congressu exercuissent. et respondisse Senecam sermones mutuos et crebra colloquia neutri conducere; ceterum salutem suam incolumitate Pisonis inniti. haec ferre Gavius Silvanus tribunus praetoriae cohortis, et an dicta Natalis suaque responsa nosceret percunctari Senecam iubetur. is forte an prudens ad eum diem ex Campania remeaverat quartumque apud

lace than from any want of spirit in Piso. If he must die, he should let his death be one to satisfy what was due to his ancestors and the opinion of posterity.'

hic patientia] It is not very clear how the want of spirit displayed by Silus helped to perpetuate the disgrace of Piso. Perhaps Tacitus means, that owing to the former husband's passive submission to his disgrace and the wife's wantonness, the whole affair was so peculiarly disgraceful that men could never forget it.

60. *non illud breve mortis arbitrium*] 'Not the usual choice of death, slight (favour) as it was.' There is a little confusion in the expression, for it was not the choice of death, so much as the favour of being allowed to choose it, which was a trifling one.

in locum] This was probably beyond the walls, through the Porta Esquilina. It seems to have been called 'Sessorium.' So the Scholiast on Hor. Epod. v. 100, "hinc Esquilina porta Romae dicitur ad Sessorium ubi certus erat locus sepulcrorum ad corpora pauperum aut sceleratorum viliumque comburenda." Cf. also Hor. Sat. i. 8, 11.

sed ut ferro grassaretur] Nero seized the opportunity afforded him of putting Seneca to death by the sword on the ground of complicity in the plot, although there was no proof of such complicity; but it furnished the Emperor with a handle for getting rid of him. Below, for 'hactenus' ('to this extent, and no further'), cf. xiv. 51, "aspectum eius aversatum sciscitanti hactenus respondisse, ego me bene habeo."

lapidem suburbano rure substiterat. illo propinqua vespera tribunus venit et villam globis militum saepsit; tum ipsi cum Pompeia Paulina uxore et amicis duobus epulanti mandata imperatoris edidit.

61. Seneca missum ad se Natalem conquestumque nomine Pisonis quod a visendo eo prohiberetur, seque rationem valetudinis et amorem quietis excusavisse respondit. cur salutem privati hominis incolumitati suae anteferret, causam non habuisse; nec sibi promptum in adulationes ingenium. idque nulli magis gnarum quam Neroni, qui saepius libertatem Senecae quam servitium expertus esset. ubi haec a tribuno relata sunt Poppaea et Tigillino coram, quod erat saevienti principi intimum consiliorum, interrogat an Seneca voluntariam mortem pararet. tum tribunus nulla pavoris signa, nihil triste in verbis eius aut vultu deprensum confirmavit. ergo regredi et indicere mortem iubetur. tradit Fabius Rusticus non eo quo venerat itinere reditum, sed flexisse ad Faenium praefectum, et expositis Caesaris iussis an obtemperaret interrogavisse, monitumque ab eo ut exequeretur, fatali omnium ignavia. nam et Silvanus inter coniuratos erat augebatque scelera, in quorum ultionem consenserat. voci tamen et aspectui pepercit intromisitque ad Senecam unum ex centurionibus, qui necessitatem ultimam denuntiaret.

62. Ille interritus poscit testamenti tabulas; ac denegante centurione conversus ad amicos, quando meritis eorum referre

61. *excusavisse*] Cf. note on v. 2.

quod erat saevienti] Poppaea and Tigillinus were the Emperor's favourite advisers when any scheme of cruelty was in agitation.

fatali omnium ignavia] 'With a spiritlessness on the part of all, which lay on them like a doom.' These cowardly men were the victims of fatality, and hardly free agents. Below, 'augebatque,' &c., means that Silvanus lent himself as a tool for carrying out Nero's crimes, and so swelled the list of atrocities which he had undertaken to assist in punishing.

voci tamen et aspectui pepercit] It is clear that the sense of the first clause here is, that Seneca was spared the pang of *hearing the voice* of Silvanus giving the order for his execution. Consequently it follows that the sense of the second clause is, that Seneca was spared the pain of *looking on* Silvanus, the instrument of his own murder. The sense is, 'the tribune forebore to obtrude his voice and aspect on Seneca.' I imagine, therefore, that in xii. 47, "visui consuluit" has the same meaning, viz., that Pharasmanes forebore to show himself to his victims at their execution. In these passages 'aspectus' and 'visus' are used passively, 'the being seen;' not actively, 'the act of seeing.'

62. *testamenti tabulas*] It is impossible to say whether these words imply that Seneca had already made his will, or only then for the first time attempted to make it. The form of the expression seems to me to be in favour of the former sense: if Tacitus had intended the latter, I think, perhaps, he would have said 'in testamentum tabulas.' That 'codicilli' are mentioned below (c. 64), as containing directions for his funeral, does not in itself seem to prove that there was no 'testamentum' ('codicilli' being an informal will), for Seneca might easily have left informal directions on a subject not mentioned in the will.

gratiam prohiberetur, quod unum iam et tamen pulcherrimum habeat, imaginem vitae suae relinquere testatur, cuius si memores essent, bonarum artium famam tum constantis amicitiae laturos. simul lacrimas eorum modo sermone, modo intentior in modum coercentis, ad firmitudinem revocat, rogitans ubi praecepta sapientiae, ubi tot per annos meditata ratio adversum imminentia? cui enim ignaram fuisse saevitiam Neronis? neque aliut superesse post matrem fratremque interfectos quam ut educatoris praeceptorisque necem adiceret.

63. Ubi haec atque talia velut in commune disseruit, complectitur uxorem, et paululum adversus praesentem fortitudinem mollitus rogat oratque temperaret dolorem aeternum suscipere, sed in contemplatione vitae per virtutem actae desiderium mariti solaciis honestis toleraret. illa contra sibi quoque destinatam mortem adseverat manumque percussoris exposcit. tum Seneca gloriae eius non adversus, simul amore, ne sibi unice dilectam ad iniurias relinqueret, 'vitae' inquit 'delenimenta monstraveram tibi, tu mortis decus mavis: non invidebo exemplo. sit huius tam fortis exitus constantia penes utrosque par, claritudinis plus in tuo fine.' post quae eodem ictu bracchia ferro exsolvunt. Seneca, quoniam senile corpus et parco victu tenuatum lenta effugia sanguini praebebat, crurum quoque et poplitum venas abrumpit. saevisque cruciatibus defessus, ne dolore suo animum uxoris infringeret atque ipse visendo eius tormenta ad inpatientiam delaberetur, suadet in aliud cubiculum abscedere. et novissimo quoque momento suppeditante eloquentia advocatis scriptoribus pleraque tradidit, quae in vulgus edita eius verbis invertere supersedeo.

64. At Nero nullo in Paulinam proprio odio, ac ne glisceret invidia crudelitatis, *iubet* inhiberi mortem. hortantibus militibus servi libertique obligant bracchia, premunt sanguinem incertum

63. *paululum adversus praesentem fortitudinem mollitus*] 'Melted for a moment to a state of feeling at variance with the fortitude displayed by him at this crisis.' For the use of 'adversus,' cf. xii. 54, and the note there.

temperaret . . . suscipere] For the infinitive after 'temperare,' cf. Plaut. Poenulus, prolog. 22, "dormire temperent;" and 34, "voce sua tinnire temperent." Also Aul. Gell. iv. 29, "dies in quibus rem quampiam novam exordiri temperandum est."

in contemplatione vitae] Cf. Agric. 46, "placide quiescas, nosque domum tuam ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces: admiratione te potius te immortalibus laudibus et si natura suppeditet, aemulatione te decorabimus."

invertere, &c.] 'Which already communicated to the public in his own words, I forbear to give in altered language.' The editors quote, Senec. Suas. p. 20, "tam diligentes tum auditores erant . . . ut unius verba surripi non possent: at nunc cuilibet orationes invertere tuto licet pro suis."

an ignarae. nam, ut est vulgus ad deteriora promptum, non defuere qui crederent, donec inplacabilem Neronem timuerit, famam sociatae cum marito mortis petivisse, deinde oblata mitiore spe blandimentis vitae evictam; cui addidit paucos postea annos, laudabili in maritum memoria et ore ac membris in eum pallorem albentibus, ut ostentui esset multum vitalis spiritus egestum. Seneca interim, durante tractu et lentitudine mortis, Statium Annaeum, diu sibi amicitiae fide et arte medicinae probatum, orat provisum pridem venenum, quo damnati publico Atheniensium iudicio extinguerentur, promeret; adlatumque hausit frustra, frigidus iam artus et cluso corpore adversum vim veneni. postremo stagnum calidae aquae introiit, respergens proximos servorum addita voce, libare se liquorem illum Iovi liberatori. exim balneo inlatus et vapore eius exanimatus, sine ullo funeris sollemni crematur. ita codicillis praescripserat, cum etiam tum praedives et praepotens supremis suis consuleret.

65. Fama fuit Subrium Flavum cum centurionibus occulto consilio, neque tamen ignorante Seneca, destinavisse, ut post occisum opera Pisonis Neronem Piso quoque interficeretur tradereturque imperium Senecae, quasi insontibus claritudine virtutum ad summum fastigium delecto. quin et verba Flavi vulgabantur, non referre dedecori, si citharoedus demoveretur et tragoedus succederet, quia ut Nero cithara, ita Piso tragico ornatu canebat.

66. Ceterum militaris quoque conspiratio non ultra fefellit, accensis indicibus ad prodendum Faenium Rufum, quem eundem conscium et inquisitorem non tolerabant. ergo instanti minitantique renidens Scaevinus neminem ait plura scire quam ipsum,

64. *tractu*] 'Owing to the protracted tardiness and slowness of his death.' Cf. xv. 10, "tractu belli." Below, 'quo damnati' is the reading of the Codex Gudianus for the 'quod anti' of the Cod. Med.

frigidus iam artus] This construction is common in Tacitus. Cf. i. 50, "frontem tectus;" ii. 13. 17; H. iii. 74; Germ. 17. The meaning is simply, that Seneca's already chilled body could not induce the poison to exert its influence, for which purpose warmth is required (calidae aquae). There is no idea of his frame being fortified by antidote against poisons. Below, 'stagnum' is 'a bath,' a meaning not found elsewhere.

65. *quasi insontibus*] Piso was to be slain as if the conspirators had been entirely guiltless of any complicity in the assassination of Nero, and on his death Seneca was to be raised to the throne. The adjective is either in the dative or ablative (without a preposition), both constructions being familiar to Tacitus. See note on ii. 50.

referre dedecori] This dative is not very easy to understand. It seems equivalent to 'quod ad dedecus,' 'as for the disgrace, it made no difference:' one was as bad as the other. Some of the editors alter this to 'dedecoris;' but I cannot find any similar instance, for such expressions as 'referre magni parvi,' &c. do not seem of the same kind, the genitives expressing the *amount* of the difference, which is hardly the case in 'dedecoris' here.

hortaturque ultro redderet tam bono principi vicem. non vox adversum ea Faenio, non silentium, sed verba sua praepediens et pavoris manifestus, ceterisque et maxime Cervario Proculo equite Romano ad convincendum eum conisis, iussu imperatoris a Cassio milite, qui ob insigne corporis robur adstabat, corripitur vinciturque.

67. Mox eorundem indicio Subrius Flavus tribunus pervertitur, primo dissimilitudinem morum ad defensionem trahens, neque se armatum cum inermibus et effeminatis tantum facinus consociaturum; dein, postquam urguebatur, confessionis gloriam amplexus. interrogatusque a Nerone, quibus causis ad oblivionem sacramenti processisset, 'oderam te' inquit, 'nec quisquam tibi fidelior militum fuit, dum amari meruisti. odisse coepi, postquam parricida matris et uxoris, auriga et histrio et incendiarius extitisti.' ipsa rettuli verba, quia non, ut Senecae, volgata erant, nec minus nosci decebat militaris viri sensus incomptos et validos. nihil in illa coniuratione gravius auribus Neronis accidisse constitit, qui ut faciendis sceleribus promptus, ita audiendi quae faceret insolens erat. poena Flavi Veianio Nigro tribuno mandatur. is proximo in agro scrobem effodi iussit, quam visam Flavus ut humilem et angustam increpans, circumstantibus militibus, 'ne hoc quidem' inquit 'ex disciplina.' admonitusque fortiter protendere cervicem, 'utinam' ait 'tu tam fortiter ferias!' et ille multum tremens, cum vix duobus ictibus caput amputavisset, saevitiam apud Neronem iactavit, sesquiplaga interfectum a se dicendo.

68. Proximum constantiae exemplum Sulpicius Asper centurio praebuit, percunctanti Neroni, cur in caedem suam conspiravisset, breviter respondens non aliter tot flagitiis eius subveniri potuisse. tum iussam poenam subiit. nec ceteri centuriones in perpetiendis suppliciis degeneravere: at non Faenio Rufo par animus, sed lamentationes suas etiam in testamentum contulit.

67. *postquam parricida, &c.*] One may wonder whether Flavus here enumerates Nero's crimes in the order of atrocity: whether in his opinion Nero's appearance on the stage and in the circus was worse than the murder of his mother. Cf. Juv. viii. 219, "nullis aconita propinquis miscuit, in scena nunquam cantavit Orestes, Troica non scripsit." Below, for the dative of the gerundive after promptus, cf. xii. 4, "accipiendis adversus generum suspicionibus caritate filiae promptior."

sensus] Persius (i. 69) uses the word in the same meaning ('sentiments'): "ecce modo heroas sensus afferre videmus nugari solitos Graece."

68. *subveniri*] Cf. Suet. Nero, 36, "nonnulli etiam imputarent tamquam aliter illi non possent nisi morte succurrere dedecorato flagitiis omnibus." The sense apparently is that Asper thought he was doing Nero a kindness in preventing him from having any further opportunity of committing crimes; he was doing him a good turn in cutting short his career: it was a kindness to Nero himself.

Opperiebatur Nero, ut Vestinus quoque consul in crimen attraheretur, violentum et infensum ratus: sed ex coniuratis consilia cum Vestino non miscuerant, quidam vetustis in eum simultatibus, plures, quia praecipitem et insociabilem credebant. ceterum Neroni odium adversus Vestinum ex intima sodalitate coeperat, dum hic ignaviam principis penitus cognitam despicit, ille ferociam amici metuit, saepe asperis facetiis inlusus, quae ubi multum ex vero traxere, acrem sui memoriam relinquunt. accesserat repens causa, quod Vestinus Statiliam Messalinam matrimonio sibi iunxerat, haut nescius inter adulteros eius et Caesarem esse.

69. Igitur non crimine, non accusatore exsistente, quia speciem iudicis induere non poterat, ad vim dominationis conversus Gerellanum tribunum cum cohorte militum inmittit iubetque praevenire conatus consulis: occuparet velut arcem eius, opprimeret delectam iuventutem, quia Vestinus imminentes foro aedes decoraque servitia et pari aetate habebat. cuncta eo die munia consulis impleverat conviviumque celebrabat, nihil metuens an dissimulando metu, cum ingressi milites vocari eum a tribuno dixere. ille nihil demoratus exsurgit et omnia simul properantur: clauditur cubiculo, praesto est medicus, abscinduntur venae, vigens adhuc balneo infertur, calida aqua mersatur, nulla edita voce qua semet miseraretur. circumdati interim custodia qui simul discubuerant, nec nisi provecta nocte omissi sunt, postquam pavorem eorum, ex mensa exitium opperientium, et imaginatus et inridens Nero satis supplicii luisse ait pro epulis consularibus.

70. Exim Annaei Lucani caedem imperat. is profluente sanguine ubi frigescere pedes manusque et paulatim ab extremis

repens causa] Cf. vi. 13, "quid repens aut vetustate obscurum." The sense is not 'a reason which arose just before' (which would be 'recens'), but 'a reason which arose suddenly.'

Statiliam Messalinam] Cf. Suet. Nero, 35, "deinde Statiliam Messalinam Tauri bis consulis ac triumphalis abneptem (uxorem duxit), qua ut poteretur virum eius Atticum Vestinum consulem in honore ipso trucidavit." Cf. vi. 11.

69. *speciem iudicis*] The reading of the Cod. Med. is 'indiciis,' which I think can hardly be right, for if there was no accuser there could be no evidence; and if the words could mean that Nero was unable to give any plausible colouring to the evidence, still they could only be so used, I think, if evidence were actually forthcoming. I have adopted the emendation 'iudicis,' and the meaning is, 'to put on the guise of a judge.' As there was no accuser, of course the Emperor could not play the rôle of a judge.

occuparet velut arcem eius] 'He should seize at once on what might be regarded as his fortress.' The house of Vestinus was a sort of citadel from its position. Draeger quotes Suet. Nero, 37, "elatus inflatusque tantis velut successibus," and Cic. de Orat. i. 54, "erat enim Athenis . . . . quasi poenae aestimatio." Below, 'dissimulando metu' might, as Draeger says, be the dative of the purpose, as in xii. 32, "adversus rebelles et inbuendis sociis ad officia legum." But I think it is more probably the ablative: 'possessed with a fear which required concealment.'

cedere spiritum fervido adhuc et compote mentis pectore intellegit, recordatus carmen a se compositum, quo volneratum militem per eius modi mortis imaginem obisse tradiderat, versus ipsos rettulit, eaque illi suprema vox fuit. Senecio posthac et Quintianus et Scaevinus non ex priore vitae mollitia, mox reliqui coniuratorum periere, nullo facto dictove memorando.

71. Sed compleri interim urbs funeribus, Capitolium victimis; alius filio, fratre alius aut propinquo aut amico interfectis, agere grates deis, ornare lauru domum, genua ipsius advolvi et dextram osculis fatigare. atque ille gaudium id credens Antonii Natalis et Cervarii Proculi festinata indicia inpunitate remuneratur. Milichus praemiis ditatus conservatoris sibi nomen, Graeco eius rei vocabulo, adsumpsit. e tribunis Gavius Silvanus, quamvis absolutus, sua manu cecidit; Statius Proximus veniam, quam ab imperatore acceperat, vanitate exitus corrupit, exuti dehinc tribunatu . . . . Pompeius, Cornelius Martialis, Flavius Nepos, Statius Domitius, quasi principem non quidem odissent, sed tamen existimarentur. Novio Prisco per amicitiam Senecae, et Glitio Gallo atque Annio Pollioni infamatis magis quam convictis data exilia. Priscum Artoria Flaccilla coniux comitata est, Gallum Egnatia Maximilla, magnis primum et integris opibus, post ademptis, quae utraque gloriam eius auxere. pellitur et Rufrius Crispinus occasione coniurationis, sed Neroni invisus, quod Pop-

70. *carmen a se compositum*] The passage seems to be that in the Pharsalia, ix. 811: —

"Sanguis erant lacrimae: quaecunque foramina novit
Humor ab his largus manat cruor: ora redundant
Et patulae nares: sudor rubet: omnia plenis
Membra fluunt venis: totum est pro vulnere corpus."

Cf. also iii. 638, 599. The words 'per eius modi mortis imaginem' are rather curious: 'by a resemblance to a death of the kind described,' i. e. 'by a death resembling the one in question.' Lucan's death took place on the last day of April.

71. *ipsius*] Of Nero. This shows, I think, that 'domum' is the house of Nero, the opposition being between the house and the owner of it. Others take 'domum' to be each man's house, decorated by him with laurel. For the practice, cf. Juv. x. 65, "pone domi laurus, duc in Capitolia magnum cretatumque bovem." Below, the 'Graecum vocabulum' was σωτήρ.

vanitate exitus corrupit] 'Neutralized it by a vainglorious resolve to die.' Statius was pardoned, and therefore the aim of his voluntary death could only be to win applause for his self-inflicted martyrdom.

quasi principem] 'On the ground, not that they had actually shown hatred to the prince, but were supposed to entertain it.'

quae utraque] The two grounds on which her fame rested were first her great wealth; this made her resolution to follow him into exile, instead of remaining at home to enjoy it, the more praiseworthy: and afterwards her loss of riches, which made her a still more remarkable instance of conjugal affection, in clinging to her husband, although it had cost her her wealth. Others take 'utraque' to be her love and loss of riches.

paeam quondam matrimonio tenuerat. Verginium *Flavum et Musonium* Rufum claritudo nominis expulit: nam Verginius studia iuvenum eloquentia, Musonius praeceptis sapientiae fovebat. Cluvidieno Quieto, Iulio Agrippae, Blitio Catulino, Petronio Prisco, Iulio Altino, velut in agmen et numerum, Aegaei maris insulae permittuntur. at Caedicia uxor Scaevini et Caesennius Maximus Italia prohibentur, reos fuisse se tantum poena experti. Acilia mater Annaei Lucani sine absolutione, sine supplicio dissimulata.

72. Quibus perpetratis Nero et contione militum habita bina nummum milia viritim manipularibus divisit addiditque sine pretio frumentum, quo ante ex modo annonae utebantur. tum, quasi gesta bello expositurus, vocat senatum et triumphale decus Petronio Turpiliano consulari, Cocceio Nervae praetori designato, Tigillino praefecto praetorii tribuit, Tigillinum et Nervam ita extollens, ut super triumphales in foro imagines apud Palatium quoque effigies eorum sisteret. consularia insignia Nymphidio, ... quia nunc primum oblatus est, pauca repetam: nam et ipse pars Romanarum cladium erit. igitur matre libertina ortus, quae corpus decorum inter servos libertosque principum vulgaverat, ex G. Caesare se genitum ferebat, quoniam forte quadam habitu procerus et torvo vultu erat, sive G. Caesar, scortorum quoque cupiens, etiam matri eius illusit.

73. Sed Nero vocato senatu, oratione inter patres habita, edictum apud populum et collata in libros indicia confessionesque damnatorum adiuncxit. etenim crebro vulgi rumore lacerabatur,

Verginium Flavum, &c.] There is a Verginius Flavus mentioned in the Life of Persius by Suetonius, as the poet's instructor. Dion Cassius speaks of the banishment of Musonius Rufus (lxii. 27). Below, 'in agmen et numerum,' is 'crowded together as if to form a troop and band. Cf. ii. 80, "in numerum legionis composuerat;" and H. i. 87, "in numeros legionis composuerat." These men formed the rank and file of the condemned party.

Caesennius Maximus] Martial calls him Caesonius; cf. Mart. vii. 44, "Maximus ille tuus Ovidi, Caesonius hic est cuius adhuc vultum vivida cera tenet. Hunc Nero damnavit: sed tu damnare Neronem ausus es, et profugi, non tua, fata sequi."

72. *Petronio Turpiliano*] Cf. xiv. 29. The Cocceius Nerva here is the future emperor. He is mentioned in an inscription (Lat. Inscript. n. 5435) as receiving the 'triumphalia.'

pars Romanarum cladium] Cf. Virg. Aen. ii. 4, "quaeque ipsa miserrima vidi et quorum pars magna fui." So Tennyson in Ulysses:—

"I am a part of all that I have met!"

73. *Sed Nero*] This is an instance of the resumptive force of 'sed.' A digression about Nymphidius had intervened: the thread of the story already begun is caught up again by 'sed.' Cf. Cic. de Orat. ii. 12, "quum audio socrum meam Laeliam (facilius enim mulieres incorruptam antiquitatem conservant . . .) sed eam sic audio, &c.;" Cic. in Catil. iii. 2, "nam tum cum ex urbe Catilinam eiciebam (non enim iam vereor huius verbi invidiam . . .) sed tum cum illum, &c."

tamquam viros et insontes ob invidiam aut metum extincxisset. ceterum coeptam adultamque et revictam coniurationem neque tunc dubitavere quibus verum noscendi cura erat, et fatentur qui post interitum Neronis in urbem regressi sunt. at in senatu cunctis, ut cuique plurimum maeroris, in adulationem demissis, Iunium Gallionem, Senecae fratris morte pavidum et pro sua incolumitate supplicem, increpuit Salienus Clemens, hostem et parricidam vocans, donec consensu patrum deterritus est, ne publicis malis abuti ad occasionem privati odii videretur, neu composita aut obliterata mansuetudine principis novam ad saevitiam retraheret.

74. Tum indiscreta dona et grates deis decernuntur, propriusque honos Soli, cui est vetus aedes apud circum, in quo facinus parabatur, qui occulta coniurationis numine retexisset; utque circensium Cerealium ludicrum pluribus equorum cursibus celebraretur mensisque Aprilis Neronis cognomentum acciperet, templum Saluti extrueretur eo loci, ex quo Scaevinus ferrum prompserat. ipse eum pugionem apud Capitolium sacravit inscripsitque Iovi Vindici: in praesens haud animadversum post arma Iulii Vindicis ad auspicium et praesagium futurae ultionis trahebatur. reperio in commentariis senatus Cerialem Anicium consulem designatum pro sententia dixisse, ut templum divo Neroni quam maturrime publica pecunia poneretur. quod quidem ille decernebat tamquam mortale fastigium egresso et venerationem hominum merito, ... quorundam ad omina dolum sui exitus verteretur: nam deum honor principi non ante habetur quam agere inter homines desierit.

viros et insontes] 'The guiltless as well as the guilty.' Nero was thought to have punished not only those who were concerned in the conspiracy, but others who were entirely innocent, from envy and fear. The people thought some of those who were put to death to be really conspirators, but others they believed to be innocent. 'Et' is 'also.' Cf. i. 4, "provecta iam senectus aegro et corpore fatigabatur."

Iunium Gallionem] This was Marcus Annaeus Novatus. On his adoption by Iunius Gallio (vi. 3) he was called L. Iunius Gallio.

74. *indiscreta*] So Bezzenberger for 'decreta,' the reading of the Cod. Med. Cf. i. 35, "indiscretis vocibus."

templum Saluti] There was already a temple to Salus or Fortuna on the spot, for Scaevinus (xv. 53) had taken his dagger from it. Perhaps a more splendid edifice was to be erected on the same site.

post arma Iulii Vindicis] Julius Vindex was legatus pro praetore of Gallia. He headed an insurrection against Nero A.D. 68, but unsuccessfully (Suet. Nero, 40; H. i. 51), being defeated by Verginius Rufus.

divo Neroni] This piece of flattery proposed (but not carried, '*decernebat*') by Anicius was not very happy, because, as divine honours were only paid to the Roman emperors after death (up to that time and long subsequently to it), the words 'Divo Neroni' could easily be twisted into an omen of the Emperor's speedy death. The rest of the passage after 'merito' is altogether corrupt. For the mood of 'desierit,' cf. Germ. 13, "arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris quam civitas suffecturum probaverit."

CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XVI.

CONTENTS.

1. Inlusit dehinc Neroni fortuna per vanitatem ipsius et promissa Caeselli Bassi, qui origine Poenus, mente turbida, nocturnae quietis imaginem ad spem haud dubiae rei traxit, vectusque Romam, principis aditum emercatus, expromit repertum in agro suo specum altitudine inmensa, quo magna vis auri contineretur, non in formam pecuniae, sed rudi et antiquo pondere. lateres quippe praegraves iacere, astantibus parte alia columnis; quae per tantum aevi occulta augendis praesentibus bonis. ceterum, ut

1. *per vanitatem ipsius*] 'Through his own recklessness.' Nero was carried away by hopes, the grounds of which he did not investigate properly. Below, 'mente turbida' implies that Caesellius Bassus was not far from insane.

occulta] Sc. 'esse.' Below, 'coniectura' is the ablative case, and the subject of

coniectura demonstrat, Dido Phoenissam Tyro profugam condita Carthagine illas opes abdidisse, ne novus populus nimia pecunia lasciviret, aut reges Numidarum, et alias infensi, cupidine auri ad bellum accenderentur.

2. Igitur Nero, non auctoris, non ipsius negotii fide satis spectata nec missis per quos nosceret an vera adferrentur, auget ultro rumorem mittitque qui velut partam praedam adveherent. dantur triremes et delectum remigium iuvandae festinationi. nec aliud per illos dies populus credulitate, prudentes diversa fama tulere. ac forte quinquennale ludicrum secundo lustro celebrabatur, ab oratoribusque praecipua materia in laudem principis adsumpta est. non enim solitas tantum fruges nec confusum metallis aurum gigni, sed nova ubertate provenire terram et obvias opes deferre deos, quaeque alia summa facundia nec minore adulatione servilia fingebant, securi de facilitate credentis.

3. Gliscebat interim luxuria spe inani, consumebanturque veteres opes quasi oblatis quas multos per annos prodigeret. quin et inde iam largiebatur; et divitiarum expectatio inter causas paupertatis publicae erat. nam Bassus, effosso agro suo latisque circum arvis, dum hunc vel illum locum promissi specus adseverat, sequunturque non modo milites sed populus agrestium efficiendo operi adsumptus, tandem posita vaecordia, non falsa antea somnia sua seque tunc primum elusum admirans, pudorem et metum morte voluntaria effugit. quidam vinctum ac mox dimissum tradidere ademptis bonis in locum regiae gazae.

4. Interea senatus, propinquo iam lustrali certamine, ut de-

'demonstrat' is Caesellius Bassus. The clause 'Dido (cf. Virg. iv. 383; these Greek accusatives were fashionable in Quintilian's days, cf. Quint. i. 5. 63), . . . abdidisse' depends on 'expromit,' or a similar word.

et alias] 'Even on other grounds.' The kings of Numidia were inclined to hostilities on other grounds, and would at once seize on this additional reason.

2. *velut partam*] 'As though it had been already secured,' and only awaited removal. I do not see any necessity for altering this to 'paratam.'

tulere] Cf. vi. 49, "quamquam maesta et miseranda diu ferret;" xv. 46, "vetera mala rumoribus ferente populo." The populace credited any rumour about the matter; the thoughtful took different views of the various items in the story. For the 'quinquennale ludicrum,' mentioned below, cf. xiv. 20.

confusum metallis aurum gigni] 'Gold mixed (with other substances) is found in the mines.' 'Confusum' seems used absolutely, and 'metallis' is put for 'in metallis,' for which cf. iii. 61, under 'Delo.' Below, 'provenire' is unusual: it is generally applied to crops. In Plautus it is found with a personal subject; cf. Trucul. ii. 6. 35, "cum tu recte provenisti, cumque es aucta liberis gratulor."

3. *in locum regiae gazae*] 'To make up for the loss of the royal treasure.' The treasure is called 'regia,' not because it was intended for Nero, but as having belonged to Dido.

4. *lustrali certamine*] Cf. xvi. 2. Below, 'ludicra deformitas' is 'the disgraceful exhibition of himself at the games,' in the way of singing.

decus averteret, offert imperatori victoriam cantus adicitque facundiae coronam, qua ludicra deformitas velaretur. sed Nero nihil ambitu nec potestate senatus opus esse dictitans, se aequum adversum aemulos et religione iudicum meritam laudem adsecuturum, primo carmen in scaena recitat; mox flagitante vulgo ut omnia studia sua publicaret (haec enim verba dixere) ingreditur theatrum, cunctis citharae legibus obtemperans, ne fessus resideret, ne sudorem nisi ea quam indutui gerebat veste detergeret, ut nulla oris aut narium excrementa viserentur. postremo flexus genu et coetum illum manu veneratus sententias iudicum opperiebatur ficto pavore. et plebs quidem urbis, histrionum quoque gestus iuvare solita, personabat certis modis plausuque composito. crederes laetari, ac fortasse laetabantur per incuriam publici flagitii.

5. Sed qui remotis e municipiis severamque adhuc et antiqui moris retinentes Italiam, quique per longinquas provincias lascivia inexperti officio legationum aut privata utilitate advenerant, neque aspectum illum tolerare neque labori inhonesto sufficere, cum manibus nesciis fatiscerent, turbarent gnaros ac saepe a militibus verberarentur, qui per cuneos stabant, ne quod temporis momentum inpari clamore aut silentio segni praeteriret. constitit plerosque equitum, dum per angustias aditus et ingruentem multitudinem enituntur, obtritos, et alios, dum diem noctemque sedilibus continuant, morbo exitiabili correptos. quippe gravior inerat metus, si spectaculo defuissent, multis palam et pluribus occultis, ut nomina ac voltus, alacritatem tristitiamque coeuntium scrutarentur. unde tenuioribus statim inrogata supplicia, adversum illustres dissimulatum ad praesens et mox redditum odium. ferebantque Vespasianum, tamquam somno coniveret, a Phoebo liberto increpitum aegreque meliorum precibus obtectum, mox imminentem permitiem maiore fato effugisse.

6. Post finem ludicri Poppaea mortem obiit, fortuita mariti iracundia, a quo gravida ictu calcis afflicta est. neque enim

5. *retinentes*] 'Who still kept Italy strict and up to the old standard.' The construction here is awkward: 'remotis e municipiis' and 'retinentes' are made to balance each other, 'those who arrived from the distant municipia and, consequently, in the character of persons who still kept,' &c.

lascivia inexperti] Cf. H. i. 8, "bellis inexpertus;" and H. ii. 75, "suas legiones civili bello inexpertas."

morbo exitiabili] Suetonius (Nero, 23) speaks of the shifts to which the spectators were driven in order to escape from the performances. Some pretended death, and were carried out like corpses. Below, 'redditum odium' is 'hatred was paid back' for their conduct,

maiore fato] 'A destiny reserving him for greater things.'

venenum crediderim, quamvis quidam scriptores tradant, odio magis quam ex fide: quippe liberorum cupiens et amori uxoris obnoxius erat. corpus non igni abolitum, ut Romanus mos, sed regum externorum consuetudine differtum odoribus conditur tumuloque Iuliorum infertur. ductae tamen publicae exequiae, laudavitque ipse apud rostra formam eius et quod divinae infantis parens fuisset aliaque fortunae munera pro virtutibus.

7. Mortem Poppaeae ut palam tristem, ita recordantibus laetam ob inpudicitiam eius saevitiamque, nova insuper invidia Nero complevit prohibendo C. Cassium officio exequiarum, quod primum indicium mali. neque in longum dilatum est, sed Silanus additur, nullo crimine, nisi quod Cassius opibus vetustis et gravitate morum, Silanus claritudine generis et modesta iuventa praecellebant. igitur missa ad senatum oratione removendos a re publica utrosque disseruit, obiectavitque Cassio quod inter imagines maiorum etiam C. Cassi effigiem coluisset, ita inscriptam 'duci partium': quippe semina belli civilis et defectionem a domo Caesarum quaesitam. ac *ne* memoria tantum infensi nominis ad discordias uteretur, adsumpsisse L. Silanum, iuvenem genere nobilem, animo praeruptum, quem novis rebus ostentaret.

8. Ipsum dehinc Silanum increpuit isdem quibus patruum eius Torquatum, tamquam disponeret iam imperii curas praeficeretque rationibus et libellis et epistulis libertos, inania simul et falsa: nam Silanus intentior metu et exitio patrui ad praecavendum exterritus erat. inducit posthac vocabulo indicum, qui in Lepidam,

6. *conditur*] This is from 'condio,' not 'condo,' for were it from the latter, some word would have been added probably, as 'arca,' 'capulo,' or the like; and if it is used absolutely for 'is buried,' the next words are either a mere tautology, or should have come first. Pliny (xii. 41) says the spices used at Poppaea's funeral were more than a whole year would produce in Arabia. This could only imply the burning of the body. But Pliny is rather given to the repetition of wild stories. The 'tumulus Iuliorum' is the Mausoleum (i. 8).

7. *ne memoria*] Cassius (xii. 11) was not content with bringing up the name and memory of a man long since dead, for the purpose of fostering discord; he brought forward something more tangible, in the person of L. Silanus (xv. 52), still amongst the living.

8. *inania simul*] These words are in apposition to the whole sentence—'charges at once trifling and false.' They were not true, and would have been quite harmless if they had been. Torquatus was accused of appointing freedmen to keep his accounts, compose any documents, notices, &c., required by him, and manage his correspondence: all in imitation of the Caesars, who had fiscal account keepers, chancellors, and amanuenses. Below, 'inducit posthac,' &c., means that the informers who were brought on the scene (i. 7) could scarcely be called informers, for their information was fictitious, and no real information at all.

Cassii uxorem, Silani amitam, incestum cum fratris filio et diros sacrorum ritus confingerent. trahebantur ut conscii Volcatius Tullinus ac Marcellus Cornelius senatores et Calpurnius Fabatus eques Romanus; qui appellato principe instantem damnationem frustrati, mox Neronem circa summa scelera distentum quasi minores evasere.

9. Tunc consulto senatus Cassio et Silano exilia decernuntur: de Lepida Caesar statueret. deportatusque in insulam Sardiniam Cassius, et senectus eius exspectabatur. Silanus, tamquam Naxum deveheretur, Ostiam amotus; post municipio Apuliae, cui nomen Barium est, clauditur. illic indignissimum casum sapienter tolerans a centurione ad caedem misso corripitur; suadentique venas abrumpere, animum quidem morti destinatum ait, sed non remittere percussori gloriam ministerii. at centurio quamvis inermem, praevalidum tamen et irae quam timori propiorem cernens premi a militibus iubet. nec omisit Silanus obniti et intendere ictus, quantum manibus nudis valebat, donec a centurione volneribus adversis tamquam in pugna caderet.

10. Haud minus prompte L. Vetus socrusque eius Sextia et Pollitta filia necem subiere, invisi principi tamquam vivendo exprobrarent interfectum esse Rubellium Plautum, generum L. Veteris. sed initium detegendae saevitiae praebuit interversis patroni rebus

Silani amitam] The table will make this clear:—

C. Appius Silanus m. Aemilia Lepida.

M. Iunius Silanus. | Iunia Calvina (xii. 8). | Iunia Lepida m. C. Cassius (xvi. 8).

L. Silanus Torquatus (xvi. 8).

Marcellus Cornelius] He was put to death by Galba, A.D. 68, in Spain, (H. i. 37). Borghesi supposes him to be the L. Cornelius Marcellus spoken of in an inscription (Mur. 693, 7) as "quaestor, propraetore provinciae Siciliae, provinciae eiusdem proconsul."

9. *consulto senatus*] Cf. iii. 24, and the note there.

senectus eius] Nero was content to wait for the death of Cassius, which could not be far off, he thought, as he was already an old man. (He had been consul 35 years ago, in the year A.D. 30, Dig. i. 2. 2. 47.) This seems to be the sense, not that Nero was contented to wait until Cassius should grow old and die of age.

Barium] A town on the coast of Apulia, about 75 miles north of Brundisium. It was on the Via Appia (Hor. Sat. i. 5. 97). It was made the capital of Apulia by the Greek emperors in the middle ages.

10. *L. Vetus*] Cf. xiii. 11, and xiv. 58. Below, the MS. has Polutia, but Nipperdey observes that the lady's gentile name was Antistia (xiv. 22), and the name here given cannot be Polutia, which is also a gentile name, and therefore he corrects it to Pollitta, as a cognomen. But cf. ii. 30, and the note on P. Quirinius.

interversis patroni rebus] 'Having embezzled his master's property.' Cf. Suet. Vitell. 7, "quorum publica vestigia interverterat," and Plautus, Asin. ii. 1. 10, "unde sumam? quem intervortam?" and Rudens, v. 3. 44, "non hercle istoc me

ad accusandum transgrediens Fortunatus libertus, adscito Claudio Demiano, quem ob flagitia vinctum a Vetere Asiae pro consule exsolvit Nero in praemium accusationis. quod ubi cognitum reo, seque et libertum pari sorte componi, Formianos in agros digreditur. illic eum milites occulta custodia circumdant. aderat filia, super ingruens periculum longo dolore atrox, ex quo percussores Plauti mariti sui viderat; cruentamque cervicem eius amplexa servabat sanguinem et vestes respersas, vidua inplexa luctu continuo nec ullis alimentis nisi quae mortem arcerent. tum hortante patre Neapolim pergit. et quia aditu Neronis prohibebatur, egressus obsidens, audiret insontem neve consulatus sui quondam collegam dederet liberto, modo muliebri eiulatu, aliquando sexum egressa voce infensa clamitabat, donec princeps inmobilem se precibus et invidiae iuxta ostendit.

11. Ergo nuntiat patri abicere spem et uti necessitate: simul adfertur parari cognitionem senatus et trucem sententiam. nec defuere qui monerent magna ex parte heredem Caesarem nuncupare atque ita nepotibus de reliquo consulere. quod aspernatus, ne vitam proxime libertatem actam novissimo servitio foedaret, largitur in servos quantum aderat pecuniae; et si qua asportari possent, sibi quemque deducere, tris modo lectulos ad suprema retineri iubet. tunc eodem in cubiculo, eodem ferro abscindunt venas, properique et singulis vestibus ad verecundiam velati balineis inferuntur, pater filiam, avia neptem, illa utrosque intuens, et certatim precantes labenti animae celerem exitum, ut relinqueret suos superstites et morituros. servavitque ordinem fortuna, ac seniores prius, tum cui prima aetas extinguuntur. accusati post sepulturam decretumque ut more maiorum punirentur. et Nero

intervortes, si aliam praedam perdidi." For 'pari sorte componi,' below, cf. xv. 51, although, of course, here, the sense is not exactly as there 'confronted' but simply 'placed on the same footing.'

inplexa] This is the only instance I believe of this word so used. But as 'implicari morbo, terrore,' &c., are found, there seems no reason for altering the reading.

11. *nuntiat patri abicere spem*] There is no other instance, according to Draeger, of the infinitive after 'nuntiare' (in the sense of ordering). For the same use of 'denuntiare,' cf. xi. 37, "denuntiatque centurionibus et tribuno qui aderat exequi caedem."

uti necessitate] 'To submit to his fate.' Cf. vi. 54, "documenta sequentia erunt bene Arruntium morte usum." The 'grand-children' below are the children of Rubellius Plautus, (xiv. 59).

relinqueret] Sc. 'anima,' says Walther. I doubt; rather I think, the subject is 'quisque,' which is easily inferred from the general sense of the passage. Below, the words 'cui prima aetas' mean, of course, the daughter. She was a widow, and Walther objects that the words are only applicable to a child: but she is viewed in contrast with her aged father and grandmother. Below, for 'more maiorum,' cf. ii. 32.

intercessit, mortem sine arbitro permittens. ea caedibus peractis ludibria adiciebantur.

12. P. Gallus eques Romanus, quod Faenio Rufo intimus et Veteri non alienus fuerat, aqua atque igni prohibitus est. liberto et accusatori praemium operae locus in theatro inter viatores tribunicios datur. et mensis qui Aprilem eundemque Neroneum sequebatur, Maius Claudii, Iunius Germanici vocabulis mutantur, testificante Cornelio Orfito, qui id censuerat, ideo Iunium mensem transmissum, quia duo iam Torquati ob scelera interfecti infaustum nomen Iunium fecissent.

13. Tot facinoribus foedum annum etiam di tempestatibus et morbis insignivere. vastata Campania turbine ventorum, qui villas arbusta fruges passim disiecit pertulitque violentiam ad vicina urbi; in qua omne mortalium genus vis pestilentiae depopulabatur, nulla caeli intemperie, quae occurreret oculis. sed domus corporibus exanimis, itinera funeribus complebantur; non sexus, non aetas periculo vacua; servitia perinde et ingenua plebes raptim extingui, inter coniugum et liberorum lamenta, qui dum adsident, dum deflent, saepe eodem rogo cremabantur. equitum senatorumque interitus, quamvis promisci, minus flebiles erant, tamquam communi mortalitate saevitiam principis praevenirent.

Eodem anno dilectus per Galliam Narbonensem Africamque et Asiam habiti sunt supplendis Illyricis legionibus, ex quibus aetate aut valetudine fessi sacramento solvebantur. cladem Lugdunensem quadragies sestertio solatus est princeps, ut amissa urbi reponerent; quam pecuniam Lugdunenses ante obtulerant urbis casibus.

14. C. Suetonio Luccio Telesino consulibus Antistius Sosianus, factitatis in Neronem carminibus probrosis exilio, ut dixi, multatus,

12. *Maius Claudii*] The full name of Nero was Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus. Below, 'transmissum' is 'passed over' under that name: it was allowed to slip out of the calendar, and be replaced by a month bearing a new title. For the two Torquati, cf. xv. 35, and xvi. 8.

13. *corporibus exanimis*] Suetonius tells us (Nero, 39) that the number of deaths in Rome in one autumn was 30,000; "pestilentia unius autumni quo triginta milia ad rationem Libitinae venerunt." The Romans appear, from the expression here, to have kept a strict register of deaths.

Illyricis legionibus] Those of Pannonia, Moesia, and Dalmatia (ii. 44, iv. 5).

ante obtulerant] The people of Lyon had sent contributions to the city on some previous occasion, of which nothing is known, and in return Nero made them a present of more than £30,000 (quadragies). The calamity here alluded to was a fire, which occurred (Seneca Ep. 91) A.D. 58, so that Nero was in no great haste with his assistance. See the note of Lipsius.

14. *C. Suetonio*] For C. Suetonius Paulinus, cf. xiv. 29. C. Luccius Telesinus had a reputation for philosophy; he was banished by Domitian. See Lipsius' note. Below, for 'occasionum segnis,' cf. xiv. 33.

postquam id honoris indicibus tamque promptum ad caedes principem accepit, inquies animo et occasionum haud segnis Pammenem eiusdem loci exulem et Chaldaeorum arte famosum eoque multorum amicitiis innexum, similitudine fortunae sibi conciliat. ventitare ad eum nuntios et consultationes non frustra ratus, simul annuam pecuniam a P. Anteio ministrari cognoscit. neque nescium habebat Anteium caritate Agrippinae invisum Neroni opesque eius praecipuas ad eliciendam cupidinem eamque causam multis exitio esse. igitur interceptis Antei litteris, furatus etiam libellos, quibus dies genitalis eius et eventura secretis Pammenis occultabantur, simul repertis quae de ortu vitaque Ostorii Scapulae composita erant, scribit ad principem magna se et quae incolumitati eius conducerent adlaturum, si brevem exilii veniam inpetravisset: quippe Anteium et Ostorium imminere rebus et sua Caesarisque fata scrutari. exim missae liburnicae advehiturque propere Sosianus. ac vulgato eius indicio inter damnatos magis quam inter reos Anteius Ostoriusque habebantur, adeo ut testamentum Antei nemo obsignaret, nisi Tigillinus auctor extitisset, monito prius Anteio ne supremas tabulas moraretur. atque ille hausto veneno, tarditatem eius perosus intercisis venis mortem adproperavit.

15. Ostorius longinquis in agris apud finem Ligurum id temporis erat. eo missus centurio, qui caedem eius maturaret. causa festinandi ex eo oriebatur, quod Ostorius multa militari fama et civicam coronam apud Britanniam meritus, ingenti *vi* corporis armorumque scientia metum Neroni fecerat, ne invaderet pavidum semper et reperta nuper coniuratione magis exterritum. igitur centurio, ubi effugia villae clausit, iussa inperatoris Ostorio aperit. is fortitudinem saepe adversum hostes spectatam in se vertit: et quia venae quamquam interruptae parum sanguinis effundebant, hactenus manu servi usus ut inmotum pugionem extolleret, adpressit dextram eius iuguloque occurrit.

et consultationes] Sc. 'haberi,' supplied from 'ventitare.' Below, 'caritate Agrippinae' is 'his love for Agrippina,' comparing xii. 4, "caritate filiae promptior," and xii. 51, "ob mariti caritatem fugam toleravit."

dies genitalis] Cf. vi. 27, "interrogatur an suam quoque genitalem diem compererisset." The sense is not 'birth day,' for there could be no secrecy about that, but the 'horoscope' of Anteius. Just below, 'secretis' is 'in the secret repositories.' For M. Ostorius Scapula the younger, cf. xii. 31.

imminere rebus] 'Were threatening the empire;' were forming plans for seizing the imperial throne.

monito prius Anteio] Tigillinus had already warned Anteius to lose no time in making his will: he next induced some of his friends to attest it.

15. *adpressit dextram eius*] 'He pressed the slave's hand (towards himself) and so met his throat.' Ostorius pressed

16. Etiam si bella externa et obitas pro re publica mortes tanta casuum similitudine memorarem, meque ipsum satias cepisset aliorumque taedium expectarem, quamvis honestos civium exitus, tristes tamen et continuos aspernantium: at nunc patientia servilis tantumque sanguinis domi perditum fatigant animum et maestitia restringunt. neque aliam defensionem ab iis quibus ista noscentur exegerim, quam ne oderim tam segniter pereuntes. ira illa numinum in res Romanas fuit, quam non, ut in cladibus exercituum aut captivitate urbium, semel edito transire licet. detur hoc illustrium virorum posteritati, ut quo modo exequiis a promisca sepultura separantur, ita in traditione supremorum accipiant habeantque propriam memoriam.

17. Paucos quippe intra dies eodem agmine Annaeus Mela, Cerialis Anicius, Rufrius Crispinus, C. Petronius cecidere, Mela et Crispinus equites Romani dignitate senatoria, nam hic quondam praefectus praetorii et consularibus insignibus donatus ac nuper crimine coniurationis in Sardiniam exactus, accepto iussae

the hand of the slave who held the dagger slightly downwards, and springing, or at all events straining, upwards, dashed his throat against the point.

16. *meque ipsum . . . aliorumque*] Cf. ii. 3, and the note there.

restringunt] It is not quite clear what the exact force of the word is here. In xiv. 64, there is "restringitur vinclis venaeque eius per omnes artus exolvuntur," where the sense is 'she is bound fast.' It might be so here: 'bind the mind fast,' congeal it, as it were, with grief. It is used in exactly the opposite sense once in Plaut. Capt. iii. 1. 25, "saltem si non arriderent, dentis ut restringerent." In Lucret. ii. 406, and Ovid Metam. xii. 542, the reading is doubtful. I think, consequently, that it is more probable that Tacitus uses the word in the same meaning in both passages.

quam ne oderim] This is the reading of the Cod. Med., and probably the true one. 'Defensionem' can only be 'an excuse' for dwelling on such wearisome topics: the only excuse Tacitus says for so dwelling is the fear that if he failed to notice their sufferings, it might be put down to hatred for the individuals, which tempted him to hide any claim they might have on the sympathy of the reader. The reading generally adopted, 'oderint,' I do not understand: 'defensionem' cannot mean 'indulgence' for the wretches who perished so pusillanimously, but 'indulgence' for the historian who detailed the events; and if so, I do not see that with 'ne oderint' the sense could be any thing else than 'my own excuse for mentioning these horrors is that I wish to prevent my readers from loathing these men:' which is obviously not what Tacitus means to say.

semel edito] 'With a single recital,' 'when mention has been made once for all.' Cf. i. 46, 'cognito;' i. 49, 'intellecto,' and often.

17. *Annaeus Mela*] He seems to have resembled his brothers in certain points. In a sort of careless indifferentism he was, perhaps, like the Gallio who 'cared for none of these things,' and in fondness for wealth like Seneca, the over-rich (praedives). See Dr. Merivale's History of Rome under the Empire, ch. liii. Below, in the MS. the praenomen of Petronius is omitted, and 'ac' connects Petronius with Crispinus. Pliny the elder (N. H. xxxvii. 2) speaks of a Titus Petronius "consularis moriturus invidia Neronis." So Plutarch (de discrim. am. et adul. c. 35). The Scholiast, Juvenal, vi. 638, speaks of a Publius Petronius condemned by Nero. If the man here described is the same as Petronius Arbiter, his name would be Caius. See Orelli's note on xvi. 18. For 'dignitate senatoria,' cf. ii. 59.

mortis nuntio semet interfecit. Mela, quibus Gallio et Seneca parentibus natus, petitione honorum abstinuerat per ambitionem praeposteram, ut eques Romanus consularibus potentia aequaretur; simul adquirendae pecuniae brevius iter credebat per procurationes administrandis principis negotiis. idem Annaeum Lucanum genuerat, grande adiumentum claritudinis. quo interfecto dum rem familiarem eius acriter requirit, accusatorem concivit Fabium Romanum, ex intimis Lucani amicis. mixta inter patrem filiumque coniurationis scientia fingitur, adsimilatis Lucani litteris: quas inspectas Nero ferri ad eum iussit, opibus eius inhians. at Mela, quae tum promptissima mortis via, exsolvit venas, scriptis codicillis quibus grandem pecuniam in Tigillinum generumque eius Cossutianum Capitonem erogabat, quo cetera manerent. additur codicillis, tamquam de iniquitate exitii querens ita scripsisset, se quidem mori nullis supplicii causis, Rufrium autem Crispinum et Anicium Cerialem vita frui infensos principi. quae composita credebantur de Crispino, quia interfectus erat, de Ceriale, ut interficeretur. neque enim multo post vim sibi attulit, minore quam ceteri miseratione, quia proditam G. Caesari coniurationem ab eo meminerant.

18. De C. Petronio pauca supra repetenda sunt. nam illi dies per somnum, nox officiis et oblectamentis vitae transigebatur; utque alios industria, ita hunc ignavia ad famam protulerat, habebaturque non ganeo et profligator, ut plerique sua haurientium, sed erudito luxu. ac dicta factaque eius quanto solutiora et quandam sui neglegentiam praeferentia, tanto gratius in speciem simplicitatis accipiebantur. pro consule tamen Bithyniae et mox consul vigentem se ac parem negotiis ostendit. dein revolutus ad vitia, seu vitiorum imitatione, inter paucos familiarium Neroni adsumptus est, elegantiae arbiter, dum nihil amoenum et molle affluentia putat, nisi quod ei Petronius adprobavisset.

additur codicillis] 'A remark is added to the (informal) will as though he had appended a complaint of the unfairness of his death.' This remark was suspected of being a forgery of Nero, to excuse the murder of Crispinus, and pave the way for despatching Cerialis.

18. *supra*] 'More from the source,' higher up the stream, as it were. Sallust has "supra repetere" in this sense twice, Jug. 5. and Catil. 5. Below, for 'proconsul Bithyniae,' cf. i. 74. Petronius could only have been consul suffectus, for he is not the C. Petronius Turpilianus, who was consul in the year 61 A.D. and put to death by Galba (H. i. 6).

molle affluentia] Tacitus uses 'affluere' several times: ii. 6, "Rhenus ad Gallicam ripam latior et placidior adfluens;" H. iv. 25, "adfluentibus auxiliis Gallorum;" iv. 41, "multitudinem adfluentium increpat." Hence the sense here seems to be, 'soft in its onward flow.'

unde invidia Tigillini quasi adversus aemulum et scientia voluptatum potiorem. ergo crudelitatem principis, cui ceterae libidines cedebant, adgreditur, amicitiam Scaevini Petronio obiectans, corrupto ad indicium servo ademptaque defensione et maiore parte familiae in vincla rapta.

19. Forte illis diebus Campaniam petiverat Caesar, et Cumas usque progressus Petronius illic attinebatur; nec tulit ultra timoris aut spei moras. neque tamen praeceps vitam expulit, sed incisas venas, ut libitum, obligatas aperire rursum et alloqui amicos, non per seria aut quibus gloriam constantiae peteret. audiebatque referentes, nihil de inmortalitate animae et sapientium placitis, sed levia carmina et faciles versus. servorum alios largitione, quosdam verberibus affecit. iniit epulas, somno indulsit, ut quamquam coacta mors fortuitae similis esset. ne codicillis quidem, quod plerique pereuntium, Neronem aut Tigillinum aut quem alium potentium adulatus est: sed flagitia principis sub nominibus exsoletorum feminarumque et novitatem cuiusque stupri perscripsit atque obsignata misit Neroni. fregitque anulum, ne mox usui esset ad facienda pericula.

20. Ambigenti Neroni, quonam modo noctium suarum ingenia notescerent, offertur Silia, matrimonio senatoris haud ignota et ipsi ad omnem libidinem adscita ac Petronio perquam familiaris. agitur in exilium, tamquam non siluisset quae viderat pertuleratque, proprio odio. at Minucium Thermum praetura functum Tigillini simultatibus dedit, quia libertus Thermi quaedam de Tigillino criminose detulerat, quae cruciatibus tormentorum ipse, patronus eius nece inmerita luere.

21. Trucidatis tot insignibus viris, ad postremum Nero virtutem ipsam excindere concupivit interfecto Thrasea Paeto et Barea Sorano, olim utrisque infensus, et accedentibus causis in Thraseam,

19. *iniit epulas*] The reading of the Cod. Med. is 'et vias.' If it be correct, it must be 'showed himself abroad'—went into the streets—which seems an unlikely remark to annex to 'somno indulsit.'

20. *offertur Silia*] 'Silia occurs to him.' It strikes Nero that it must be somehow through Silia that the nature of his nightly orgies was divulged. For 'ingenia,' cf. H. ii. 71, "cetero Neronianae aulae ingenio." Of course 'ipsi' here is Nero.

proprio odio] 'From Nero's own dislike.' Thermus was a victim of the dislike entertained for him by Tigillinus. Below, Minucius Thermus is, perhaps, the son of the Minucius Thermus mentioned in vi. 7.

luere] I have adopted this emendation for 'lueret,' because Tacitus generally uses the plural in such sentences. Cf. xii. 45, "quia multitudinem hostium Tallio, iussa patris Rhadamistus obtendebant;" xv. 7, "quarum quartam Funisulanus Vettonianus duodecumam Calavius Sabinus regebant." But I am not disposed to quarrel with any one who prefers 'lueret:' 'charges for the freedman himself to expiate.'

quod senatu egressus est, cum de Agrippina referretur, ut memoravi, quodque iuvenalium ludicro parum expectabilem operam praebuerat; eaque offensio altius penetrabat, quia idem Thrasea Patavi, unde ortus erat, ludis cetastis a Troiano Antenore institutis habitu tragico cecinerat. die quoque, quo praetor Antistius ob probra in Neronem composita ad mortem damnabatur, mitiora censuit obtinuitque; et cum deum honores Poppaeae decernuntur, sponte absens, funeri non interfuerat. quae obliterari non sinebat Capito Cossutianus, praeter animum ad flagitia praecipitem iniquus Thraseae, quod auctoritate eius concidisset iuvantis Cilicum legatos dum Capitonem repetundarum interrogant.

22. Quin et illa obiectabat, principio anni vitare Thraseam sollemne iusiurandum; nuncupationibus votorum non adesse, quamvis quindecimvirali sacerdotio praeditum; numquam pro salute principis aut caelesti voce immolavisse; adsiduum olim et indefessum, qui volgaribus quoque patrum consultis semet fautorem aut adversarium ostenderet, triennio non introisse curiam; nuperrimeque, cum ad coercendos Silanum et Veterem certatim concurreretur, privatis potius clientium negotiis vacavisse. secessionem iam id et partes et, si idem multi audeant, bellum esse. 'ut quondam G. Caesarem' inquit 'et M. Catonem, ita nunc te, Nero, et Thraseam avida discordiarum civitas loquitur. et habet sectatores vel potius satellites, qui nondum contumaciam sententiarum sed habitum voltumque eius sectantur, rigidi et tristes, quo tibi lasciviam exprobrent. huic uni incolumitas tua sine *cura*, artes sine honore. prosperas principis res spernit: etiamne luctibus et doloribus non satiatur? eiusdem animi est Poppaeam

21. *ut memoravi*] Cf. xiv. 12; and for 'iuvenalium ludicro,' cf. xiv. 15. Below, 'expectabilem operam' is 'the assistance which had been looked for.' The word 'expectabilis' does not, as far as I know, occur in any other classical author.

ludis cetastis] This is corrupt. Some read 'ludis cetariis,' which appears unlikely to be correct. See, however, Nipperdey's note on the passage.

a Troiano Antenore institutis] Cf. Liv. i. 1; Virg. Æn. i. 247. Below, 'ad mortem damnabatur' is an instance of a construction only found in the silver age. Cf. vi. 38; Suet. Nero, 31, "ad opus damnari;" Calig. 27, "ad bestias condemnavit." The usual construction is 'morte, capite (or capitis) damnari;' as Calig. Tib. 61, "ne capite damnatos propinqui lugerent."

Capitonem repetundarum interrogant] Cf. xiii. 33, and Juv. viii. 92, "quam fulmine iusto et Capito et Numitor ruerint damnante senatu Piratae Cilicum."

22. *nuncupationibus votorum*] Cf. iv. 17, "pontifices eorumque exemplo ceteri sacerdotes cum pro incolumitate principis vota susciperent."

te . . . loquitur] Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 3. 12, "reges atque tetrarchas, omnia magna loquens;" and Cic. Paradox. vi. 3, "ne semper Curios et Luscinos loquamur;" and pro Milone, § 63, "multi etiam Catilinam atque illa portenta loquebantur." The reading of the Cod. Med. is 'tenebo' for which 'te, Nero,' is an emendation.

divam non credere, cuius in acta divi Augusti et divi Iuli non iurare. spernit religiones, abrogat leges. diurna populi Romani per provincias, per exercitus curatius leguntur, ut noscatur quid Thrasea non fecerit. aut transeamus ad illa instituta, si potiora sunt, aut nova cupientibus auferatur dux et auctor. ista secta Tuberones et Favonios, veteri quoque rei publicae ingrata nomina, genuit. ut imperium evertant, libertatem praeferunt: si perverterint, libertatem ipsam adgredientur. frustra Cassium amovisti, si gliscere et vigere Brutorum aemulos passurus es. denique nihil ipse de Thrasea scripseris: disceptatorem senatum nobis relinque.' extollit ira promptum Cossutiani animum Nero adicitque Marcellum Eprium acri eloquentia.

23. At Baream Soranum iam sibi Ostorius Sabinus eques Romanus poposcerat reum ex proconsulatu Asiae, in qua offensiones principis auxit iustitia atque industria, et quia portui Ephesiorum aperiendo curam insumpserat vimque civitatis Pergamenae, prohibentis Acratum Caesaris libertum statuas et picturas evehere, inultam omiserat. sed crimini dabatur amicitia Plauti et ambitio conciliandae provinciae ad spes novas. tempus damnationi delectum, quo Tiridates accipiendo Armeniae regno adventabat, ut ad externa rumoribus intestinum scelus obscuraretur, an ut magnitudinem imperatoriam caede insignium virorum quasi regio facinore ostentaret.

24. Igitur omni civitate ad excipiendum principem spectandumque regem effusa, Thrasea occursu prohibitus non demisit animum, sed codicillos ad Neronem composuit, requirens obiecta et expurgaturum adseverans, si notitiam criminum et copiam

Tuberones et Favonios] The reference is to Q. Aelius Tubero: "ille homo eruditissimus ac Stoicus stravit pelliculis hoedinis lectulos Punicanos (at an entertainment given to the Roman people by Q. Maximus) et exposuit vasa Samia" (Cic. pro Muraen. 36). M. Favonius was an imitator of M. Cato; and Plutarch (Brutus, 34) tells a story of him, that he burst rudely into a tent where Cassius and Brutus were sitting, and bade them listen to him, as he was older than they were; for which Brutus thrust him out of the tent, with the remark that, pretending to be a cynic, he was only a dog. Below, in 'scripseris' there is an allusion to the practice of the emperor sending messages to the senate by his quaestor (xvi. 27).

extollit] 'Urges on,' 'raises still higher.' Cf. xvi. 24, "quo claritudinem principis extolleret."

23. *statuas*] Cf. Juv. viii. 100, "plena domus tunc omnis . . . et cum Parrhasii tabulis signisque Myronis Phidiacum vivebat ebur . . . inde Dolabellae atque hinc Antonius inde Sacrilegus Verres referebant navibus altis occulta spolia." Also Cic. in Verrem, Act. i. § 14, "delubra omnia depopulatus est: deum denique nullum Siculis qui ei paullo magis affabre atque antiquo artificio factus videretur reliquit."

ad externa] 'Rumours having reference to foreign events.' There is a very similar instance in ii. 2, "laetantes ut ferme ad nova imperia."

diluendi habuisset. eos codicillos Nero properanter accepit, spe exterritum Thraseam scripsisse per quae claritudinem principis extolleret suamque famam dehonestaret. quod ubi non evenit vultumque et spiritus et libertatem insontis ultro extimuit, vocari patres iubet.

25. Tum Thrasea inter proximos consultavit, temptaretne defensionem *an* sperneret. diversa consilia adferebantur. quibus intrari curiam placebat, securos esse de constantia eius disserunt; nihil dicturum nisi quo gloriam augeret; segnes et pavidos supremis suis secretum circumdare. aspiceret populus virum morti obvium, audiret senatus voces quasi ex aliquo numine supra humanas: posse ipso miraculo etiam Neronem permoveri. sin crudelitati insisteret, distingui certe apud posteros memoriam honesti exitus ab ignavia per silentium pereuntium.

26. Contra qui opperiendum domui censebant, de ipso Thrasea eadem, sed ludibria et contumelias imminere: subtraheret aures conviciis et probris. non solum Cossutianum aut Eprium ad scelus promptos: superesse qui forsitan manus ictusque per immanitatem ingesturi; etiam bonos metu sequi. detraheret potius senatui, quem perornavisset, infamiam tanti flagitii, et relinqueret incertum quid viso Thrasea reo decreturi patres fuerint. ut Neronem flagitiorum pudor caperet, inrita spe agitari; multoque magis timendum ne in coniugem, in familiam, in cetera pignora eius saeviret. proinde intemeratus, inpollutus, quorum vestigiis et studiis vitam duxerit, eorum gloria peteret finem. aderat con-

24. *ultro extimuit*] The tables were turned, and instead of Thrasea, it was Nero who trembled: not the prisoner, but the judge. So Felix trembled before St. Paul.

25. *crudelitati insisteret*] Cf. ii. 21, "insisterent caedibus;" also H. ii. 46, "insistere spei."

per silentium pereuntium] This explains to some extent the reason why Nero's murders excited so very little indignation. They were not committed in broad daylight. As a rule, his victims, quietly submitting to their fate, destroyed themselves. They perished like cowards ('per ignaviam'), and, as such, their fate excited little commiseration in the public mind. Nero's alarm was excited when he thought Thrasea was intending to drag the matter before the observation of the populace by demanding a regular trial.

26. *domui*] A rarer form for 'domi.' Orelli refers to a paper by Klotz, in the Diurn. Antiquitatis Stud. a. 1835, p. 737, a reference which I can only copy, as I have not the means of examining the paper.

ingesturi] An emendation of Heinsius for 'augusti,' the reading of the Cod. Med., which clearly is wrong. The fear of violence was not, perhaps, ungrounded. Cf. H. iv. 41, "nec destitit senatus manus intentare Voculae donec curia excederet." Below, 'ut Neronem . . . caperet' depends on 'spe,' a construction only found in Latin of the silver age, and not common at any time.

eorum gloria] 'In accordance with the glorious principle of those,' &c. This, I think, is the meaning, not 'with credit to those,' &c., in which case the genitive would be an objective one. 'The

silio Rusticus Arulenus, flagrans iuvenis, et cupidine laudis offerebat se intercessurum senatus consulto: nam plebi tribunus erat. cohibuit spiritus eius Thrasea, ne vana et reo non profutura, intercessori exitiosa inciperet. sibi actam aetatem, et tot per annos continuum vitae ordinem non deserendum: illi initium magistratuum et integra quae supersint. multum ante secum expenderet, quod tali in tempore capessendae rei publicae iter ingrederetur. ceterum ipse, an venire in senatum deceret, meditationi suae reliquit.

27. At postera luce duae praetoriae cohortes armatae templum Genetricis Veneris insidere. aditum senatus globus togatorum obsederat non occultis gladiis, dispersique per fora ac basilicas cunei militares. inter quorum aspectus et minas ingressi curiam senatores, et oratio principis per quaestorem eius audita est: nemine nominatim compellato patres arguebat, quod publica munia desererent eorumque exemplo equites Romani ad segnitiam verterentur: etenim quid mirum e longinquis provinciis haud veniri, cum plerique adepti consulatum et sacerdotia hortorum

glorious act' here eulogized is suicide. At the time of which Tacitus is writing suicide was popular. When the Roman noble found the circumstances of the time insupportable, he removed himself from them: ἐξαγωγή was the technical word employed to express the act. Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 1. 66, εὐλόγως φασὶν ἐξάξειν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ βίου τὸν σοφὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ πατρίδος καὶ ὑπὲρ φίλων κἂν ἐν σκληροτέρᾳ γένηται ἀλγηδόνι ἢ πηρώσεσιν ἢ νόσοις ἀνιάτοις. In this passage we see how the Stoics confounded things which are separate. To regard life as a thing to be given up in obedience to a higher call—the call of duty—is noble, and the philosophy which taught this conferred on the world a vast benefit; but to throw life away merely to avoid pain or suffering—to lay it down simply because it is a burden hard to bear, is any thing but noble. It is, in fact, an Epicurean act, not suited to those who theoretically deny that pain or suffering is amongst the principles of action. Seneca is continually advocating suicide. 'There is nothing more contemptible,' he says (Ep. 117), 'than to wish for death: die at once if you wish to do so.' And he expresses approbation of the suicide of Marcellinus, who, after suffering from protracted illness, in accordance with the recommendation of a Stoic, put an end to his weary life (Ep. 77). At other times, however, he seems to think that men were a little too prone to ushering themselves out of existence; and the later Stoics, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius disapproved of it. See in the Oxford Essays, 1858, a paper on Ancient Stoicism, by Sir Alexander Grant.

Rusticus Arulenus] He suffered for his attachment to Thrasea long afterwards. Cf. Agric. 2, "legimus cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse." This is confirmed by Suetonius (Domit. 10) "interemit . . . Iunium Rusticum quod Paeti Thraseae et Helvidii Prisci laudes edidisset appellassetque eos sanctissimos viros."

27. *templum Genetricis Veneris*] The temple was built by C. Julius Caesar in the Forum Julii. Orelli suggests that the senate met here on this occasion to remind the senators that the prisoner was accused of conspiring against one who, by adoption at least, belonged to the great house which derived its descent from Venus. 'Genetrix' is the form which occurs in the best MSS. of Virgil and the majority of Inscriptions in the best ages. Below, for 'oratio principis,' cf. i. 81.

potius amoenitati inservirent. quod velut telum corripuere accusatores.

28. Et initium faciente Cossutiano, maiore vi Marcellus summam rem publicam agi clamitabat; contumacia inferiorum lenitatem imperitantis deminui. nimium mites ad eam diem patres, qui Thraseam desciscentem, qui generum eius Helvidium Priscum in isdem furoribus, simul Paconium Agrippinum, paterni in principes odii heredem, et Curtium Montanum detestanda carmina factitantem eludere inpune sinerent. requirere se in senatu consularem, in votis sacerdotem, in iure iurando civem, nisi contra instituta et caerimonias maiorum proditorem palam et hostem Thrasea induisset. denique agere senatorem et principis obtrectatores protegere solitus veniret, censeret quid corrigi aut mutari vellet: facilius perlaturos singula increpantem quam nunc silentium perferrent omnia damnantis. pacem illi per orbem terrae, an victorias sine damno exercituum displicere? ne hominem bonis publicis maestum, et qui fora theatra templa pro solitudine haberet, qui minitaretur exilium suum, ambitionis pravae compotem facerent. non illi consulta haec, non magistratus aut Romanam urbem videri. abrumperet vitam ab ea civitate, cuius caritatem olim, nunc et aspectum exuisset.

29. Cum per haec atque talia Marcellus, ut erat torvus ac minax, voce voltu oculis ardesceret, non illa nota et crebritate periculorum sueta iam senatus maestitia, sed novus et altior pavor manus et tela militum cernentibus. simul ipsius Thraseae venerabilis species obversabatur; et erant qui Helvidium quoque miserarentur, innoxiae adfinitatis poenas daturum. quid Agrippino obiectum nisi tristem patris fortunam? quando et ille perinde

amoenitati inservirent] 'Made themselves slaves, as it were, to their pleasure-grounds:' were so busy in enjoying them that they had no time for any thing else. Cf. xiii. 8, "ut famae inserviret."

28. *Helvidium Priscum*] He was quaestor of Achaia, under Nero (Scholiast to Juv. v. 36), and praetor designatus A.D. 70 (H. iii. 91). He was put to death under Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 15). His son is mentioned in Agricola, 45.

paterni in principes odii] M. Paconius, the father of the Paconius Agrippinus mentioned here was put to death by Tiberius on a charge of 'majestas' (Suet. Tib. 61, and xvi. 29). The reading of the Cod. Med. is 'ragonium;' but cf. xvi. 33.

requirere se] Cf. iii. 5, "fuere qui publici funeris pompam requirerent."

pacem illi per orbem terrae] Cf. Suet. Nero, 13, "Ianum geminum clausit tamquam nullo residuo bello," which is confirmed by inscriptions on coins, "pace P. R. vbiqve parta Ianvm clvsit."

29. *crebritate periculorum*] I have adopted the emendation of Rhenanus in the place of 'celebritate.' I can find no instance of this last word in the sense of 'frequent occurrence.' In Cic. ad Famil. vii. 2, "nos hic in multitudine et celebritate iudiciorum," the last words seem to mean, 'trials attended by crowds,'

innocens Tiberii saevitia concidisset. enimvero Montanum probae iuventae neque famosi carminis, quia protulerit ingenium, extorrem agi.

30. Atque interim Ostorius Sabinus Sorani accusator ingreditur orditurque de amicitia Rubellii Plauti, quodque proconsulatum Asiae Soranus pro claritate sibi potius adcommodatum quam ex utilitate communi egisset, alendo seditiones civitatium. vetera haec: sed recens et quo discrimini patris filiam conectebat, quod pecuniam magis dilargita esset. acciderat sane pietate Serviliae (id enim nomen puellae fuit), quae caritate erga parentem, simul inprudentia aetatis, non tamen aliut consultaverat quam de incolumitate domus, et an placabilis Nero, an cognitio senatus nihil atrox adferret. igitur accita est in senatum. steteruntque diversi ante tribunal consulum grandis aevo parens, contra filia intra vicesimum aetatis annum, nuper marito Annio Pollione in exilium pulso viduata desolataque, ac ne patrem quidem intuens, cuius onerasse pericula videbatur.

31. Tum interrogante accusatore, an cultus dotales, an detractum cervici monile venum dedisset, quo pecuniam faciendis magicis sacris contraheret, primum strata humi longoque fletu et silentio, post altaria et aram complexa 'nullos' inquit 'impios deos, nullas devotiones, nec aliut infelicibus precibus invocavi quam ut hunc optimum patrem tu, Caesar, vos, patres, servaretis incolumem. sic gemmas et vestes et dignitatis insignia dedi, quo modo si sanguinem et vitam poposcissent. viderint isti, antehac mihi ignoti, quo nomine sint, quas artes exerceant: nulla mihi principis mentio nisi inter numina fuit. nescit tamen miserrimus pater et, si crimen est, sola deliqui.'

32. Loquentis adhuc verba excipit Soranus proclamatque non illam in provinciam secum profectam, non Plauto per aetatem nosci potuisse, non criminibus mariti conexam: nimiae tantum pietatis ream separarent, atque ipse quamcumque sortem subiret.

and 'celebritas periculorum' in this sense would be meaningless here.

protulerit] Cf. H. iii. 37, "velut pro Vitellio conquerentes suum dolorem proferebant." The guilt of Montanus lay in the fact that he let his talent see the light of day: he did not hide it under a bushel. 'Famosi Carminis' here is a genitive of description, 'the author of no defamatory lampoon:' so "famosi libelli," i. 72; Suet. Tib. 28, "famosa de se suisque carmina."

30. *ingreditur*] Sc. Soranum. Cf. vi. 10, "ut vero Latinium Latiarem ingressus est."

31. *post altaria et aram*] These two words are joined elsewhere; as by Pliny (Panegyr. i.), "electus inter aras et altaria." Virgil (Eclog. v. 65) says, "en quattuor aras: ecce duas tibi Daphni, duoque altaria Phaebo." 'Altare' was a high altar, a larger and more costly structure than 'ara,' and erected only to the superior divinities. Sometimes

simul in amplexus occurrentis filiae ruebat, nisi interiecti lictores utrisque obstitissent. mox datus testibus locus; et quantum misericordiae saevitia accusationis permoverat, tantum irae P. Egnatius testis concivit. cliens hic Sorani, et tunc emptus ad opprimendum amicum, auctoritatem Stoicae sectae praeferebat, habitu et ore ad exprimendam imaginem honesti exercitus, ceterum animo perfidiosus, subdolus, avaritiam ac libidinem occultans; quae postquam pecunia reclusa sunt, dedit exemplum praecavendi, quo modo fraudibus involutos aut flagitiis commaculatos, sic specie bonarum artium falsos et amicitiae fallaces.

33. Idem tamen dies et honestum exemplum tulit Cassii Asclepiodoti, qui magnitudine opum praecipuus inter Bithynos, quo obsequio florentem Soranum celebraverat, labentem non deseruit, exutusque omnibus fortunis et in exilium actus, aequitate deum erga bona malaque documenta. Thraseae Soranoque et Serviliae datur mortis arbitrium. Helvidius et Paconius Italia depelluntur. Montanus patri concessus est, praedicto ne in re publica haberetur. accusatoribus Eprio et Cossutiano quinquagies sestertium singulis, Ostorio duodecies et quaestoria insignia tribuuntur.

34. Tum ad Thraseam in hortis agentem quaestor consulis missus vesperascente iam die. illustrium virorum feminarumque coetus frequentes egerat, maxime intentus Demetrio Cynicae institutionis doctori, cum quo, ut coniectare erat intentione vultus et auditis, si qua clarius proloquebantur, de natura animae et dissociatione spiritus corporisque inquirebat, donec advenit Domitius Caecilianus ex intimis amicis et ei quid senatus censuisset exposuit. igitur flentes queritantesque qui aderant facessere propere Thrasea

an 'altare' (or indeed several) was erected on an 'ara.' So here apparently.

32. *P. Egnatius testis*] Cf. Juv. iii. 116, "Stoicus occidit Baream delator amicum discipulumque senex." Also H. iv. 10, "celer professus sapientiam dein testis in Baream proditor corruptorque amicitiae cuius se magistrum ferebat."

fraudibus involutos] 'Wrapped up in hypocrisies.' Their real characters were swathed round with outside shows or deceptions.

33. *aequitate deum*] The gods treated instances of good or bad conduct in exactly the same way. They showed no partiality for either one or the other; in other words, there was no divine superintendence exercised over good or bad.

Helvidius et Paconius Italia depelluntur] Helvidius, on his banishment, retired to Apollonia (Schol. Juv. i. 36). The father of Montanus was one of Nero's boon companions (cf. Juv. iv. 107, &c.), and a gourmand, especially great in the matter of oysters.

praedicto ne in re publica haberetur] This seems to mean that Montanus was to be debarred from all the public functions which could usually be exercised by any citizen—the suffragium, honores, &c. Whether he remained in the city or retired to the country was, I suppose, left to his own choice.

34. *quaestor consulis*] 'A quaestor of the consul.' Dion Cassius (xlviii. 43) says that Appius Claudius and Caius Norbanus (38 A.C.) were the first consuls who had two quaestors each assigned

neu pericula sua miscere cum sorte damnati hortatur, Arriamque temptantem mariti suprema et exemplum Arriae matris sequi monet retinere vitam filiaeque communi subsidium unicum non adimere.

35. Tum progressus in porticum illic a quaestore reperitur, laetitiae propior, quia Helvidium generum suum Italia tantum arceri cognoverat. accepto dehinc senatus consulto Helvidium et Demetrium in cubiculum inducit; porrectisque utriusque bracchii venis, postquam cruorem effudit, humum super spargens, propius vocato quaestore 'libamus' inquit 'Iovi liberatori. specta, iuvenis; et omen quidem di prohibeant, ceterum in ea tempora natus es, quibus firmare animum expediat constantibus exemplis.' post lentitudine exitus graves cruciatus afferente, obversis in Demetrium * * *

them: οἷς πρώτοις δύο ἑκατέροις ταμιεῖαι συνεγένοντο.

neu pericula . . . miscere] Cf. i. 35, "neu mortem in iisdem laboribus . . . orabant." The correct form would be 'neu pericula miscerent,' or 'nec pericula miscere.' But the construction is due probably to the imperative *idea* running through the sentence, although the *form* is absent.

Arriae matris] Cf. Mart. i. 14:—

"Casta suo gladium cum traderet Arria Paeto
Quem de visceribus traxerat ipsa suis,
Si qua fides, vulnus quod feci non dolet, inquit,
Sed quod tu facies hoc mihi, Paete, dolet."

This Caecina Paetus was a follower of Scribonianus (xii. 52), and condemned to die in consequence.

INDEX.

N.

O.

P.

T.

U.

V.

W.

Z.

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